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The
Emma
Goldman
Papers

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65

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Goldman
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A Microfilm Edition

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Government Documents

December 23, 1919 to March 31, 1922

Edited by

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Contents

Reel 65

Government Documents: December 23, 1919 to March 31, 1922

- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 23 [Washington, D.C. to] J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / [Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 23 [Washington, D.C. to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [J. Edgar Hoover] Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice].
- Names of Deported Reds — 22 cm. *In* [New York Times (Dec. 23, 1919, fragment)] / [author unknown].
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- Good Riddance — 36 cm. *In* Hudson Dispatch (Dec. 23, 1919) / [author unknown].
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- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 24 [Washington, D.C. to] Superintendent of Water Transportation, New York / J.E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 24, Washington, D.C. [to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / J.E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice.
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 24 [Washington, D.C. to D.C.] Poole, Division of Russian Affairs, Department of State, [Washington, D.C.] / J.E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 26 [Washington, D.C. to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice].
- Community Centre Plan Being Backed by Leading Hebrews — 36 cm. *In* Hudson Dispatch (Dec. 27, 1919) / [author unknown].
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- [Letter] 1919 Dec. 29, New York [to J. Edgar] Hoover [Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger.
- [Agent Report In] re: Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Mina Lowensohn (Anarchist-Soviet Bulletin), Philadelphia [19]19 Dec. 29 / J.[F.] McDevitt [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].

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Department of State, Washington, D.C. / E. Sherman.
- [Report on Pinkerton's investigation of Goldman, Chicago? between 1920 and
1940] / [Agent? Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice?].
- [Report on] Alexander Berkman [Washington, D.C.?, between 1920 and 1936] /
[author unknown].
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the President, Washington, D.C. / Alexander LeDoulx.
- [List of Radical Literature, 1920-1930? (excerpt)] / [author unknown].
- [Report on V.A. Hajek, 1920?] / [Agent, Military Intelligence Division? War
Department?].
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- Photographs of Prominent Radicals [1920? (cover page)] / [Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice].
- [Photographs of Emma Goldman] / [Bureau of Investigation, Department of
Justice]. — 28 cm. *In* [Photographs of Prominent Radicals, 1920?].
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the Present Tendency Toward Radicalism [1920? Jan.?] / [author unknown].
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1920? Jan.? (excerpt)] / M[arlborough] Churchill, Director, Military Intelligence
[Division, War Department].
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[Washington, D.C.? 1920 Jan.?] / [Department of Justice].
- Resume of Deportation Proceedings instituted against Emma Goldman
[Washington, D.C.? 1920 Jan.?] / [Department of Justice].
- Resume of Deportation Proceedings instituted against Alexander Berkman
[Washington, D.C.? 1920 Jan.?] / [Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1920 Jan., Moscow [to] Comrade Workers [government transcript] /
Executive Committee of the Soviets of Workmen's, Peasants'
- [Letter] 1920 Jan., Moscow [to] Comrade Workers / Executive Committee of the
Soviets of Workmen's, Peasants'
- [Letter] 1920 Jan. 2 [Washington, D.C. to] Peter Gouled, Weehawken, N.J. / [A.
Mitchell Palmer] Attorney General [Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1920 Jan. 2 [Washington, D.C. to] Francis G. Caffey, U[nited] S[tates]
Attorney [Department of Justice], New York / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special
Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1920 Jan. 2, Washington, D.C. [to] A[lexander] B. Cox[e, Chief] Military
Intelligence Division, War Department, Washington, D.C. / J. E[dgar] Hoover,
Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice.
- [Letter] 1920 Jan. 2, Washington, D.C. [to] Harry Weinberger, New York /
T[homas] J. Spellacy, Assistant Attorney General, Department of Justice.
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[General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Wash[ingto]n [D.C.] /
The Survey Magazine.
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[General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] /
Frank L. Polk, Undersecretary [of State] Department of State.
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William N. Vaile [Representative]. — 28 cm. *In* Congressional Record (Jan. 5,
1920).

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- [Letter] 1920 Jan. 6, New York [to J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney, Department of Justice.
- [Letter] 1920 Jan. 7, New York [to Anthony] Caminetti, Commissioner [General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Lillian Wald.
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- [Telegram] 1920 Jan. 10 [Washington, D.C. to] Isaac Shorr, New York / A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].
- [Letter] 1920 Jan. 10 [Washington, D.C. to] D.C. Poole, Chief, Division of Russian [Affairs] Department of State, [Washington, D.C.] / [Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].
- [Letter] 1920 Jan. 10 [Washington, D.C. to] D.C. Poole, Chief, Division of Russian [Affairs] Department of State, [Washington, D.C.] / [Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].
- [Letter] 1920 Jan. 10 [en route to U.S.S.R. to unknown recipient] / [Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman].
- [Letter] 1920 Jan. 10 [en route to U.S.S.R. to unknown recipient (government? transcript)] / Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman.
- [Letter] 1920 Jan. 12, Washington [D.C. to William B. Wilson] Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Frank L. Polk, Undersecretary [of State] Department of State.
- [Letter] 1920 Jan. 13, New York [to J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney, Department of Justice.
- [Letter] 1920 Jan. 13, Washington [D.C. to William B. Wilson] Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Alvey A. Adee, Second Assistant Secretary, Department of State.
- [Letter] 1920 Jan. 16, Hangö, Fin[land to Frank] Harris [New York (government transcript)] / Emma Goldman.
- Is It Unprofessional for a Lawyer to Defend “Radicals” in Court? [1920 Jan.? 19?] / Harry Weinberger.
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- Gli scioperi colossali di America / P. Calcaterra. — 36 cm. *In Avanti!* (Jan. 20, 1920).
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- [Letter] 1920 Jan. 22 [Washington, D.C. to] George F. Lamb [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], New York / [Frank Burke] Assistant Director and Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1920 Jan. 22, Washington [D.C. to] M[arlborough] Churchill [Director] Military Intelligence Division, War Department, [Washington, D.C.] / W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State.
- [Letter] 1920 Jan. 23, New York [to] Frank Burke, Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / George F. Lamb, Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
- [Letter] 1920 Jan. 23 [Washington, D.C. to] Geo[rge] F. Lamb, Division Superintendent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], New York / [Frank Burke] Assistant Director and Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1920 Jan. 24, New York [to] Frank Burke, Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / George F. Lamb, Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
- [Telegram] 1920 Jan. 24 [Washington, D.C. to Arthur L.] Barkey [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Detroit, Mich. / [Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Memorandum] 1920 Jan. 24, Washington [D.C. to] A[nthony] Caminetti [Commissioner] General [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor, [Washington, D.C.] / Frank T. Hines, Chief, Transportation Service, War Department.
- [Letter] 1920 Jan. 25, Petrograd [to M. Eleanor] F[itzgerald] or St[ella] Ballantine, New York / [Alexander Berkman].
- [Letter] 1920 Jan. 26 [Washington, D.C. to] E[dward] J. Brennan [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Chicago / [Frank Burke] Assistant Director and Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Telegram] 1920 Jan. 26, Detroit, Mich. [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Department [of] Justice, Washington [D.C.] / [Arthur L.] Barkey [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Telegram] 1920 Jan. 26, Detroit, Mich. [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Department [of] Justice, Washington [D.C.] / [Arthur L.] Barkey [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].

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- [Telegram] 1920 Jan. 27 [Washington, D.C. to Arthur L.] Barkey [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Detroit, Mich. / [Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1920 Jan. 28, Detroit, Mich. [to] Frank Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Arthur L. Barkey, Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
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- That "Red" Army at Ellis Island Dwindles to 63 — 23 cm. *In* [The (New York) World (Jan. 28, 1920)] / [author unknown].
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- [Letter] 1920 Jan. 28, Petrograd [to Stella Ballantine, New York (government transcript)] / E[mma Goldman].
- [Letter, 1920 Jan. 28, Petrograd to M. Eleanor Fitzgerald, New York (government transcript)] / E[mma Goldman].
- [Letter, 1920 Jan. 28, Petrograd [to] H[arry] W[einberger, New York (government transcript)] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter] 1920 Jan. 29, Petrograd [to Frank? Harris?, New York? (government transcript)] / Emma Goldman.
- [Telegram] 1920 Jan. 29, Moscow [to Stella] Balla[n]tin[e], New York [government transcript] / Emma Goldman [and] Alexander Berkman.
- [Letter] 1920 Jan. 29, Washington, D.C. [to] J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Henry T. Rainey [Representative].
- [Letter] 1920 Jan. 29, Washington [D.C. to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner [General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State, Department of State.
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- [List of Names and Addresses of Buford Deportees' Correspondents] 1920 Jan. 31 / [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].
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- [Letter, 1920 Feb.? Moscow to] V.I. Lenin [Chairman of the Soviet Republic of People's Commissars, Moscow] / [Angelica] Balabanoff.
- [Letter] 1920 Feb. 3, New York [to] Robert [A.] Lansing, Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger.
- [Letter] 1920 Feb. 4, New York [to] Frank Burke, Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / George F. Lamb, Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
- [Letter] 1920 Feb. 4 [Washington, D.C. to A. Mitchell Palmer] Attorney General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Frank B. Brandegee [Senator].
- [Affidavit] 1920 Feb. 5 [in re: Abraham Schneider] / Louis Loeb, Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
- [Memorandum] 1920 Feb. 6 [Washington, D.C.? to] Trovillion [Washington, D.C.?] / [J. Edgar Hoover? Special Assistant to the Attorney General? Department of Justice?].
- [Letter] 1920 Feb. 6, Washington [D.C. to Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Robert [A.] Lansing [Secretary of State] Department of State.
- [Memorandum] 1920 Feb. 6 [Washington, D.C. to Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / W.J. P[eters, Law Division, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].
- [Letter] 1920 Feb. 6 [Washington, D.C. to] Lillian Wald, New York / A[n]thony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].
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- [Letter] 1920 Feb. 7, Washington, D.C. [to Robert A. Lansing] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / J.B. Hubrecht, Secretary of Legation [Dutch Embassy].
- [Letter] 1920 Feb. 9, Washington [D.C. to William B. Wilson] Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Alvey A. Ade, Second Assistant Secretary, Department of State.
- [Memorandum] 1920 Feb. 10, Washington [D.C. to Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / S[amuel] J. Gompers, Chief Clerk, Department of Labor.
- [Letter] 1920 Feb. 11, New York [to Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [F.W. Berkshire] Supervising Immigrant Inspector [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].
- [Letter] 1920 Feb. 12 [Washington, D.C. to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice].

- [Letter] 1920 Feb. 12 [Washington, D.C. to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [J. Edgar Hoover] Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1920 Feb. 12, Washington [D.C. to Robert A. Lansing] Secretary of State [Department of State, Washington, D.C.] / [William B. Wilson] Secretary [of Labor] Department of Labor.
- [List of Deportees on Board the Buford, 1920 Feb. 12?] / [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].
- [Letter] 1920 Feb. 14 [Washington, D.C. to] Frank B. Brandegee [Senator], Washington, D.C. / A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General [Department of Justice].
- [Memorandum] 1920 Feb. 16, Washington, D.C. [to J. Edgar] Hoover [Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / G.F.R. [Office of the Attorney General] Department of Justice.
- [Letter] 1920 Feb. 17 [Washington, D.C. to] John W. Rainey [Representative], Washington, D.C. / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1920 Feb. 17, New York [to Byrne H. Uhl, Acting] Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Ellis Island, N.Y. / A.T. Henderson [General Representative] Compagnie Generale Transatlantique.
- [Letter] 1920 Feb. 18, Washington [D.C. to] J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / M[arlborough] Churchill, Director, Military Intelligence [Division] War Department.
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- [Letter] 1920 Feb. 18, Ellis Island, N.Y. [to Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Byrne H. Uhl, Acting Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor.
- [Letter] 1920 Feb. 18, Ellis Island, N.Y. [to] Compagnie Generale Transatlantique, New York / [Byrne H. Uhl] Acting Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor.
- [Letter] 1920 Feb. 19, Washington [D.C. to William B. Wilson] Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Alvey A. Adee, Second Assistant Secretary, Department of State.
- [Report on Radical Activities in New York City] 1920 Feb. 20 / [V.? A.?] Hajek [Informant, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1920 Feb. 21, New York [to J. Edgar] Hoover [Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / George F. Lamb, Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
- [Letter] 1920 Feb. 21 [Washington, D.C. to Robert A. Lansing] Secretary of State [Department of State, Washington, D.C.] / [John W. Abercrombie] Acting Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor].
- [Letter] 1920 Feb. 21 [Washington, D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [John W. Abercrombie] Acting Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor].
- [Letter] 1920 Feb. 21, New York [to] William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger.

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- [Agent Report In re:] Dr. Ben Reitman – Anarchist Matter, Chicago, 1920 Feb. 23 / J. Spolansky [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Memorandum] 1920 Feb. 24, Washington [D.C. to John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / S[amuel] J. Gompers, Chief Clerk, Department of Labor.
- [Letter] 1920 Feb. 24, Washington [D.C. to William B. Wilson] Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Alvey A. Adey, Second Assistant Secretary, Department of State.
- [Report on American Anarchist-Communist Party] Chicago, 1920 Feb. 24-26 / [Agent, Military Intelligence Division, War Department].
- [Letter] 1920 Feb. 26 [Washington, D.C. to] Patrick J. Ahern, Washington, D.C. / [J. Edgar Hoover] Acting Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Report on] Bolshevik Propaganda [Berne, Switzerland] 1920 Feb. 27 / [Military Attache, American Legation].
- [Letter] 1920 Feb. 28, Moscow [to Angelica] Balabanoff, [Moscow] / [V.I.] Lenin, Chairman of the Soviet Republic of People's Commissars.
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- [Letter] 1920 March 2 [Washington, D.C. to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1920 March 8, Washington [D.C. to William B. Wilson] Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Alvey A. Adey, Second Assistant Secretary, Department of State.
- [Letter] 1920 March 11, Washington, D.C. [to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice.
- [Letter] 1920 March 12 [Washington, D.C. to Robert A. Lansing] Secretary of State [Department of State, Washington, D.C.] / Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor].
- [Letter] 1920 March 12, Washington [D.C. to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Alvey A. Adey, Second Assistant Secretary, Department of State.
- [List of Buford Deportees Who Could Not Pay For the Fee Stamp, 1920 March 12?] / [Department of State].
- [List of Questions, 1920 March 13? Moscow? to V.I. Lenin, Chairman of the Soviet Republic of People's Commissars, Moscow] / [Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman].
- [Letter] 1920 March 13, Moscow [to V.I.] Lenin [Chairman of the Soviet Republic of People's Commissars, Moscow] / Emma Goldman [and] Alexander Berkman.

- [Memorandum] 1920 March 13, Washington, D.C. [to J. Edgar] Hoover [Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / T.F. Baughman, Department of Justice.
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- [Letter] 1920 March 23, New York [to J. Edgar] Hoover [Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / George F. Lamb, Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
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- [Letter] 1920 April 3 [Washington, D.C. to] W[illiam] L. Hurley, Office of the
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- [Letter] 1920 April 6, New York [to] Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of State
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- [Letter] 1920 April 9, Washington [D.C. to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner
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Labor.
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- [Letter] 1920 April 15 [Washington, D.C. to] J.M. Pritchard, Memphis, Tenn. /
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- [Letter] 1920 April 20 [Washington, D.C. to] J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / A[lexander] B. Coxe, Acting Director, Military Intelligence [Division, War Department].
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- [Letter] 1920 April 26, Washington, D.C. [to] Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Albert Johnson [Representative].
- [Letter] 1920 April 26 [Washington, D.C. to] Albert Johnson [Representative, Washington, D.C.] / [Louis F. Post] Assistant Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor].
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- [Letter] 1920 May 25, New York [to] William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger.
- [Letter] 1920 May 25 [New York to] Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger.
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- [Letter] 1920 May 28 [London to Curtis C.] Williams [Second Secretary, American Embassy, Department of State, London] / G.M. Liddell.
- [Memorandum on Military Intelligence Reports, 19]20 May 28 [Washington, D.C.] / [Military Intelligence Division, War Department].
- [Memorandum, 19]20 May 29 [Washington, D.C. to W.J.] Peters [Law Officer, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / [Anthony] C[aminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].
- [Letter] 1920 June 2, London [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / L. L[anier] W[inslow, Secretary, American Embassy, Department of State].
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- [Letter] 1920 June 4 [Washington, D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor].
- [Letter] 1920 June 9, London [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, [Washington, D.C.] / L. L[anier] Winslow [Secretary, American Embassy, Department of State].
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- [Letter] 1920 June 12 [Washington, D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor].
- [Letter] 1920 June 16 [Washington, D.C. to] J. E[dgar] Hoover [Special Assistant to the Attorney General] Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / [William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State].
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- [Letter] 1920 June 16, New York [to] Archibald [E.] Stevenson [Chief Counsel, New York State Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities], New York / George F. Lamb, Division Superintendent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1920 June 18, Washington [D.C. to] C.H. Mason [Assistant to the Director] Military Intelligence Division, War Department, Washington, D.C. / Allan J. Carter [Division of Russian Affairs] Department of State.
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- [Letter] 1920 June 22 [Washington, D.C. to] Geo[rge] F. Lamb [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], New York / [Frank Burke] Assistant D[irector] and Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
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- [Letter] 1920 June 30, New York [to Alexander Berkman, Petrograd? (government transcript)] / [M. Eleanor] Fitz[gerald].
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- [Memorandum] 1920 Aug. 5, Berlin [to Marlborough Churchill] D[irector] M[ilitary] I[n]telligence Division, War Department, Washington, D.C. / Edward Davis, American Mission.
- [Memorandum] 1920 Aug. 9, Paris [to Bainbridge Colby] Secretary of State [Department of State, Washington, D.C.] / American Consul in Charge, Passport Department [Department of State].
- [Letter] 1920 Aug. 14, Washington, D.C. [to] A[lexander] B. Cox[e], Acting Director] Military Intelligence Division, War Department, Washington [D.C.] / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice.
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- [Letter] 1920 Aug. 27 [London to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / L. Lanier Winslow [Secretary, American Embassy, Department of State].
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- [Letter] 1920 Sept. 18, Washington [D.C. to William J.] Neale [Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / Alice Pettus Hall, Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce.
- [Memorandum] 1920 Sept. 20 [Washington, D.C. to A. Mitchell Palmer] Attorney General [Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / Assistant Attorney General [Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1920 Sept. 21, London [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, [Washington, D.C.] / L. L[anier] W[inslow, Secretary, American Embassy, Department of State].
- [List of Delegates to the Congress of the Third International in Moscow, 1920 Sept. 21? London] / [L. Lanier Winslow? Secretary? American Embassy, Department of State].
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- [Letter] 1920 Oct. 5 [Washington, D.C. to] Alice Pettus Hall, Washington, D.C. / L[ewis?] J. Baley, Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Telegram] 1920 Oct. 5, Detroit, Mich. [to William B. Wilson] Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington [D.C.] / [Harry?] Weinberger and Zeigler.
- [Memorandum] 1920 Oct. 6, Governor's Island, N.Y. [to John M. Dunn, Chief, Negative Branch, Military Intelligence Division, War Department], Washington, D.C. / Raymond Sheldon, A[ssistant] C[hief] of S[taff, Military Intelligence Division, War Department].
- [Memorandum] 1920 Oct. 6, Governor's Island, N.Y. [to Raymond Sheldon] Assistant Chief of Staff for Military Intelligence [War Department], Governor's Island, N.Y. / Melvin J. McKenna, Inspector [Military Intelligence Division, War Department].
- [Letter] 1920 Oct. 11, New York [to] A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Charles D. Or[th?].
- [Letter] 1920 Oct. 30, Washington, D.C. [to Dennis] E. Nolan, Director, Military Intelligence [Division] War Department, Washington [D.C.] / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice.

- [Letter] 1920 Nov. 9 [Washington, D.C. to] J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / [Dennis E. Nolan] Director, Military Intelligence [Division, War Department].
- [Memorandum] 1920 Nov. 9 [Washington, D.C. to] Military Attache, Berne, Switzerland / [Dennis E. Nolan] Director, Military Intelligence [Division, War Department].
- [Letter] 1920 Nov. 20 [Washington, D.C. to] William L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, [Washington, D.C.] / J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice].
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- [Letter] 1921 Jan. 13, Washington, D.C. [to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor, Washington [D.C.] / J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice].
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- [Letter] 1921 Jan. 15 [Washington, D.C. to] Lewis J. Baley, Chief, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / [Dennis E. Nolan] Director, Military Intelligence Division [War Department].
- [Letter] 1921 Jan. 18 [Washington, D.C. to] Commissioners of Immigration [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Montreal, Boston, Ellis Island, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New Orleans / Alfred Hampton Acting Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor.
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- [Letter] 1921 Feb. 12, Washington [D.C. to] J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, [Washington, D.C.] / William L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State.
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- [Letter] 1921 April 23, Beverley Hills, Calif. [to] Harry [M.] Daugherty, Attorney General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] B. Joyce.
[Emma Goldman on Russia] — 36 cm. *In* [unknown periodical (April? 23? 1921, fragment)] / [author unknown].
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- [Letter] 1921 June 4, Washington, D.C. [to] D[ennis] E. Nolan, Director, Military Intelligence [Division] War Department, Washington [D.C.] / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice.
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- [Letter] 1921 July 26, New York [to Alexander Schapiro, Moscow? (government transcript)] / M. Eleanor Fitzgerald.
[Letter] 1921 July 26, New York [to Alexander Schapiro, Moscow? (government transcript)] / M. Eleanor Fitzgerald.
- [Letter] 1921 July 30, Washington, D.C. [to] D[ennis] E. Nolan, Director, Military Intelligence [Division] War Department, [Washington, D.C.] / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice.
- [Memorandum] 1921 Aug. 2, Riga [Latvia to Dennis E. Nolan] Director, Military Intelligence [Division] War Dep[artmen]t, Washington, D.C. / T. Worthington Hollyday, Military Observer.
- [Letter] 1921 Aug. 4, London [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / L. L[anier] W[inslow], Secretary, American Embassy, Department of State].
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- [Letter] 1921 Aug. 13, Washington, D.C. [to] D[ennis] E. Nolan, Director, Military Intelligence [Division] War Department, [Washington, D.C.] / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice.
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- [Agent Report] In re: Louise Bryant (Mrs. John Reed), Emma Goldman, Teddy Ballantine, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1921 Aug. 30 / [Agent] 1074 [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
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- [Letter] 1921 Sept. 7 [Washington, D.C. to] L. Lanier Winslow, Secretary, American Embassy [Department of State], London / W[illiam] L. H[urley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State].
- General Intelligence Bulletin No. 70, week ending Sept. 17, 1921 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] / [Department of Justice].
- [Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, et al, Pittsburgh, Pa. [19]21 Sept. 24 / [Agent] 1076 [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1921 Sept. 26, Washington [D.C. to] Stuart Heintzelman, Director, Military Intelligence [Division, War Department], Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
- [Memorandum re: Emma Goldman, 1921 Oct. 1] / [Military Intelligence Division, War Department].
- [Memorandum re: Emma Goldman] 1921 Oct. 1 / [Military Intelligence Division? War Department?].
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- [Agent Report] In re: Dorothy Miller, Pittsburgh, Pa. [19]21 Oct. 25 / [Agent] 1071 [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1921 Oct. 25, Washington [D.C. to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
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- [Letter] 1921 Nov. 3 [Washington, D.C. to] W[illiam] J. Burns [Director] Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / [Stuart Heintzelman] A[ssistant] C[hief] of S[taff, Military Intelligence Division, War Department].
- [Letter] 1921 Nov. 3, Washington [D.C. to] W[illiam] L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State, Washington, D.C. / [Stuart Heintzelman] A[ssistant] C[hief] of S[taff, Military Intelligence Division] War Department.
- [Memorandum] 1921 Nov. 3 [Washington, D.C. to T. Worthington Hollyday] Military Observer, Riga, Latvia / [Stuart Heintzelman] A[ssistant] C[hief] of S[taff, Military Intelligence Division, War Department].
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- Credential [to International Anarchist Congress of 1921] 1921 Nov. 7 [for Emma Goldman (government transcript)] / S. Borowoy.
- [Letter] 1921 Nov. 9, Cleveland, Ohio [to] Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. [fragment] / Loyal American League.
- [Letter] 1921 Nov. 10, Washington [D.C. to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
- [Letter] 1921 Nov. 10 [Washington, D.C. to] Charles A. Bancroft [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Boston / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1921 Nov. 12, Cleveland, Ohio [to William J. Burns] Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Bliss Morton, Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.

- [Letter] 1921 Nov. 14, Philadelphia [to William J. Burns] Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Walter C. Foster, Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
- [Letter] 1921 Nov. 15, Baltimore, Md. [to] W[illiam] J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Clarence D. McKean, Acting Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
- [Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman – Anarchist, Buffalo, N.Y. [19]21 Nov. 15 / [W.L.] Bucha[nan], Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
- [Agent Report In] re: Emma Goldman – Alleged Attempt to Return to the U.S., New York [19]21 Nov. 16 / George J. Starr [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1921 Nov. 16 [New York to] E[mma] Goldman, [Moscow (excerpt, government transcript)] / [St]ella [Ballantine].
- [Letter] 1921 Nov. 17 [Washington, D.C. to] Bliss Morton [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Cleveland, Ohio / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman – Anarchist, Detroit, Mich., 1921 Nov. 21 / J.S. Apelman [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1921 Nov. 21, Boston [to William J. Burns] Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Charles A. Bancroft, Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
- Provisional [Agenda] 1921 Dec., Berlin [government transcript] / International Anarchist Congress.
- [List of Names from Berkman's Address Book, between 1919 Dec. to 1921 Dec. (government transcript)] / [Alexander Berkman].
- [Photographs of Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and Alexander Schapiro, Riga, Latvia, 1921 Dec.] / [author unknown].
- [Letter] 1921 Dec. 6, Berlin [to Emma Goldman, Moscow (government transcript)] / Krausch.
- [Letter] 1921 Dec. 8, Berlin [to Alexander] S[c]hapiro, [Riga, Latvia (excerpt, government transcript)] / [Fanny?] S[c]hapiro.
- [Telegram] 1921 Dec. 9, Riga [Latvia to Charles Evans Hughes] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / [Evan E.] Young [Commissioner of the United States, Department of State].
- [Telegram] 1921 Dec. 10, Riga [Latvia to Charles Evans Hughes] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington [D.C.] / [Evan E.] Young [Commissioner of the United States, Department of State].
- [Letter] 1921 Dec. 10, Moscow [to] Emma Goldman, [Riga, Latvia (excerpt, government transcript)] / Vera.
- [Letter, 19]21 Dec. 10, Alliance, Ohio [to William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation] Dep[artmen]t of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Ferris Lightfoot.
- Emma Goldman Seeks to Return to United States – 32 cm. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec. 10? 1921)] / [author unknown].
- [Letter, 1921 Dec. 10? to Harry M. Daugherty] Attorney General [Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / A Patriotic Woman.
- Emma Goldman Is Tired of Russia – 34 cm. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec. 10? 1921)] / [author unknown].
- Emma Goldman Reported To Have Left Russia – 26 cm. *In* [Baltimore Sun (Dec. 10, 1921)] / [author unknown].

- [Em]ma Goldman [Leav]es Russia And Is Planning Return to U.S. — 17 cm. *In* [New York Tribune (Dec. 10, 1921)] / [author unknown].
- Emma Goldman Seeks to Return to America — 35 cm. *In* [Washington Post (Dec. 10, 1921)] / [author unknown].
- [Letter] 1921 Dec. 12, Berlin [to Alexander Schapiro, Riga, Latvia (excerpt, government transcript)] / Fritz Kater.
- Weekly Intelligence Report, Seattle, Washington District, week ending Dec. 12, 1921 [excerpt] / [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- Monthly General Intelligence Report No. 8, 1921 Nov. 16 to Dec. 15 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] / Agent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Agent Report In re:] Joint Conference Russian Societies, Springfield, Mass., 1921 Dec. 15 [excerpt] / [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1921 Dec. 16, Ellis Island, N.Y. [to Charles Evans Hughes] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / Robert E. Tod, Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor.
- [Letter] 1921 Dec. 19, Washington [D.C. to] S[tuart] Heintzelman [Assistant Chief of Staff] Military Intelligence Division, War Department, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State.
- [Letter] 1921 Dec. 19 [Washington, D.C. to] W[alter] W. Husband, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / [William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State].
- [Letter] 1921 Dec. 19 [Washington, D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / [William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State].
- [Letter] 1921 Dec. 19, Washington [D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State.
- [Memorandum] 1921 Dec. 19, Riga [Latvia to Stuart Heintzelman] Ass[istan]t Chief of Staff [Military Intelligence Division] War Dep[artmen]t, Washington, D.C. / T. W[orthington] Hollyday, Military Observer.
- [Letter] 1921 Dec. 20 [Washington, D.C. to] Ferris Lightfoot, Alliance, Ohio / [William J. Burns] Director [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1921 Dec. 20, Riga [Latvia to] Vera, [Moscow (excerpt, government transcript)] / Emma Goldman.
- [Memorandum] 1921 Dec. 21, Washington [D.C. to Commissioners of Immigration, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Montreal, Boston, Philadelphia, *et al.* / F.H. Larned, Special Assistant [to the Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Dept. of Labor].
- Diary, 1921 Sept. 10 to Dec. 22. [excerpts, government transcript] / [Alexander Berkman].
- [Diary] 1921 Sept. 10 to Dec. 22 [excerpts, government transcript] / [Alexander Berkman].
- [Em]ma Goldman Going to Reval — 28 cm. *In* [Boston Traveller (Dec. 22, 1921, fragment)] / [author unknown].
- [Telegram] 1921 Dec. 22, Riga [Latvia to Charles Evans Hughes] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / [Evan E.] Young [Commissioner of the United States, Department of State].
- [Letter] 1921 Dec. 23 [Washington, D.C. to] Hugh S. Gibson, American Minister [Department of State], Warsaw [Poland] / [William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State].

- [Letter] 1921 Dec. 23 [Washington, D.C. to] Richard E. Pennoyer [Secretary]
American Embassy [Department of State], Berlin / [William L. Hurley, Office of
the Undersecretary, Department of State].
- [Letter] 1921 Dec. 23 [Washington, D.C. to] Evan E. Young, Commissioner [of the
United States, Department of State], Riga [Latvia] / [William L. Hurley, Office
of the Undersecretary, Department of State].
- [Letter] 1921 Dec. 23 [Washington, D.C. to] Sheldon Whitehouse, American
Embassy [Department of State], Paris / [William L. Hurley, Office of the
Undersecretary, Department of State].
- [Letter] 1921 Dec. 23 [Washington, D.C. to] Boylston A. Beal, American Embassy
[Department of State], London / [William L. Hurley, Office of the
Undersecretary, Department of State].
- [Letter] 1921 Dec. 23 [Washington, D.C. to] Franklin Mott Gunther, American
Embassy [Department of State], Rome / [William L. Hurley, Office of the
Undersecretary, Department of State].
- [Letter] 1921 Dec. 23 [Washington, D.C. to] William Phillips, American Minister
[Department of State], The Hague, Netherlands / [William L. Hurley, Office of
the Undersecretary, Department of State].
- [Letter] 1921 Dec. 23 [Washington, D.C. to] James G. Bailey, American Embassy
[Department of State, Oslo, Norway] / [William L. Hurley, Office of the
Undersecretary, Department of State].
- [Letter] 1921 Dec. 23 [Washington, D.C. to] Hallett Johnson [Charge d'Affaires]
American Embassy [Department of State], Stockholm / [William L. Hurley,
Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State].
- [Letter] 1921 Dec. 24, Boston [to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of
Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Charles A. Bancroft,
Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
General Intelligence Report No. 56, week ending Dec. 24, 1921 [Washington,
D.C.? (excerpt)] / Agent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1921 Dec. 29 [Washington, D.C. to] W[alter] W. Husband, Commissioner
General [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. /
[William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State].
- [Letter] 1921 Dec. 29, Washington [D.C. to] S[tuart] Heintzelman [Assistant Chief
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W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State.
- [Letter] 1921 Dec. 29, Washington [D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of
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[Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State.
- [Letter] 1921 Dec. 29, Riga [Latvia to Charles Evans Hughes] Secretary of State
[Department of State], Washington, D.C. / [Evan E. Young] Commissioner of
the United States [Department of State].
- [Letter] 1921 Dec. 31, Riga [Latvia to Charles Evans Hughes] Secretary of State
[Department of State], Washington, D.C. / Evan E. Young, Commissioner of the
United States [Department of State].
- [Letter] 1921 Dec. 31, Riga [Latvia to Stella Ballantine, New York (government
transcript?)] / Em[ma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]22 Jan. 2, Alliance, Ohio [to] W[illiam] J. Burns, Director [Bureau of
Investigation] Dep[artmen]t of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Ferris Lightfoot.
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(1922? Jan.? 2?, fragment)] / [author unknown].

- [Envelope] 1922 Jan. [2] Alliance, Ohio [to] W[illiam] J. Burns, Director [Bureau of Investigation] Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / [Ferris Lightfoot].
- [Memorandum] 1922 Jan. 2, Riga [Latvia to Stuart Heintzelman] Ass[istan]t Chief of Staff [Military Intelligence Division] War Dep[artmen]t, Washington, D.C. / T. W[orthington] Hollyday, Military Observer.
- [Memorandum] 1922 Jan. 2, Riga [Latvia to Stuart Heintzelman] Ass[istan]t Chief of Staff [Military Intelligence Division] War Dep[artmen]t, Washington, D.C. / T. W[orthington] Hollyday, Military Observer.
- [Letter] 192[2] Jan. 3, Riga [Latvia to Charles Evans Hughes] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / Evan E. Young, Commissioner of the United States [Department of State].
- [Letter] 1922 Jan. 5, Stockholm [to Charles Evans Hughes] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / Hallett Johnson, Charge d'Affaires ad interim [American Embassy, Department of State].
- [Letter] 1922 Jan. 5, Stockholm [to Charles Evans Hughes] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / Hallett Johnson, Charge d'Affaires ad interim [American Embassy, Department of State].
- [Letter] 1922 Jan. 5 [Washington, D.C. to] E[dward] J. Brennan [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], New York / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
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- [Letter] 1922 Jan. 10, Boston [to William J. Burns] Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Charles A. Bancroft, Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
- [Letter] 1922 Jan. 12, Warsaw [Poland to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / Hugh [S.] Gibson [American Minister, Department of State].
- [Letter] 1922 Jan. 12, Atlanta, Ga. [to] H[arry] M. Daugherty, Attorney General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / G.H. Kerr.
- [Letter] 1922 Jan. 13 [Washington, D.C. to] Ferris Lightfoot, Alliance, Ohio / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1922 Jan. 14, Washington, D.C. [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
- A Month's Respite — 36 cm. *In* *Washington Herald* [Jan. 14, 1922 (government transcript)] / [author unknown].
- [Letter] 1922 Jan. 17 [Washington, D.C. to] G.H. Kerr, Atlanta, Ga. / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1922 Jan. 17 [New York to] Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, [Stockholm (government transcript?)] / H[arry] W[einberger].
- [Letter] 1922 Jan. 17, Stockholm [to] Hjalmar Branting, Prime Minister, Stockholm / Carl Petterson [and] Ernst Johansson.
- [Official Minutes of Andra Kammaren] 1922 Jan. 18 [Stockholm (excerpts)] / [author unknown].
- [Letter] 1922 Jan. 18, Stockholm [to] Marquess Curzon of Kedleston [Foreign Secretary?], London / Colville Barclay [British Embassy].

- [Letter] 1922 Jan. 18 [Washington, D.C. to] C[harles] A. Bancroft [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Boston / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1922 Jan. 18 [Berlin to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / Richard E. Penhoyer [Secretary, American Embassy, Department of State].
- [Letter] 1922 Jan. 19, Stockholm [to] William L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / Hallett Johnson [Charge d'Affaires ad interim, American Embassy, Department of State].
- [Letter] 1922 Jan. 20 [Washington, D.C. to] Hallet[t] Johnson, American Minister [Department of State], Stockholm / W[illiam] L. H[urley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State].
- [Letter] 1922 Jan. 20, London [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington [D.C.] / [Boylston A.] B[eal, American Embassy, Department of State].
- [Letter, 1922? Jan.? 20? London? to William? L.? Hurley?, Office of the Undersecretary?, Department of State? Washington, D.C.? (fragment)] / [Boylston? A.? Beal? American Embassy? Department of State?].
- Sixth Corps Area Situation Survey, week ending Jan. 21, 1922 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpt, transcript)] / [Military Intelligence Division, War Department].
- The Bolshevik Scare — 36 cm. *In* Social Demokraten Leader (Jan. 23 [1922, government transcript]) / [author unknown].
- [Report on] Russians in Sweden [London, 1922 Jan. 24 (cover page)] / [British Foreign Office].
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- [Letter] 1922 Jan. 28, Washington [D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State.
- [Letter] 1922 Jan. 28 [Washington, D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] L. H[urley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State].
- [Letter] 1922 Jan. 30, Riga [Latvia to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington [D.C.] / Evan E. Young, Commissioner of the United States [Department of State].
- [Letter] 1922 Feb. 4, Washington, D.C. [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
- [Letter] 1922 Feb. 6, The Hague, Netherlands [to Charles Evans Hughes] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington [D.C.] / William Phillips [American Minister, Department of State].
- [Memorandum on Activities of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, The Hague, Netherlands, 1922 Feb. 6?] / [Chief of the Third Section of the General Staff, Dutch Army].

- [General Intelligence Report?, 19]22 Feb. 6 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] / [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1922 Feb. 9, Washington, D.C. [to] W.H. Cowles, Chief, Military Intelligence Division, 4, War Department, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
- [Letter] 1922 Feb. 9, Washington [D.C. to] S[tuart] Heintzelman [Assistant Chief of Staff] Military Intelligence Division, War Department, [Washington, D.C.] / W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State.
- [Letter] 1922 Feb. 9 [Washington, D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, [Washington, D.C.] / W[illiam] L. H[urley], Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State].
- [Letter] 1922 Feb. 9 [Washington, D.C. to] W[alter] W. Husband, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor, [Washington, D.C.] / [William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State].
- [Agent Report] In re: [Number] 2, New York [19]22 Feb. 10 / J.B. Brown [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1922 Feb. 11, Washington [D.C. to] W[illiam] L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State, Washington, D.C. / W.H. Cowles, Chief, M[ilitary] I[n]telligence Division] 4, War Department.
- [Letter] 1922 Feb. 11 [Washington, D.C. to] W[illiam] J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / W.H. Cowles, Chief, M[ilitary] I[n]telligence] 4 [War Department].
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- [Letter] 1922 Feb. 13 [New York to] John H. Edwards, Solicitor, Post Office Department, Washington, D.C. / [Harry Weinberger].
- [Letter] 1922 Feb. 15, Stockholm [to] Marquess Curzon of Kedleston [Foreign Secretary?, London] / Colville Barclay [British Embassy].
- [Letter] 1922 Feb. 15, Stockholm [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington [D.C.] / Hallett Johnson [American Minister, Department of State].
- [Agent Report In re:] Radical Press in the Detroit District, Detroit, Mich., 1922 Feb. 17 [excerpt] / [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
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- [Letter] 1922 Feb. 18 [Washington, D.C. to] E[dward] J. Brennan [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], New York / [William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
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- [Letter] 1922 Feb. 27 [Washington, D.C. to] W[alter] W. Husband, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / [William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State].
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- [Letter] 1922 March 2, Washington [D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, [Washington, D.C.] / W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State.
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- [Letter] 1922 March 3, Washington [D.C. to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / I[rving] F. Wixon, Assistant Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor.
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- [Agent Report In re:] Miss Aline Barnsdal – Anarchist Activities, Los Angeles, 1922 March 6 / A.A. Hopkins [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Agent Report In re:] Katherine Irvine, formerly Kitty Beck, Portland, Ore., 1922 March 6 / T.M. Word [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Agent Report In re:] Alice Stone Blackwell – Alleged Radical Activities, Boston, 1922 March 7 / W.J. West [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Agent Report In re:] Names and Addresses Found in Papers of Alexander Berkman, Chicago, 1922 March 7 / Jacob Spolansky [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Memorandum, 19]22 March 7 [Washington, D.C. to] Brist, Division of Passport Control, Department of State, [Washington, D.C.] / W.? B. Oswald [Division of Passport Control? Department of State?].
- [Agent Report In re:] Jacob Henshear and Frank P. O'Hare – Alleged Anarchists, St. Louis, Mo. [19]22 March 8 / Emil A. Solanka [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1922 March 8 [Washington, D.C. to] Lawrence Letherman [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Boston / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1922 March 9 [Washington, D.C. to] Lawrence Letherman [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Boston / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1922 March 9 [Washington, D.C. to] Bliss Morton [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Cleveland, Ohio / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Agent Report In re:] Rose J. (or F.), Kansas City, Mo. [19]22 March 9 / Donald E. Long [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Agent Report In] re: M.S., care [of] Mrs. Lawrence – Suspected Anarchist, Albany, N.Y. [19]22 March 9 / Thomas Guilfoyle [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1922 March 9, Washington [D.C. to] W[alter] W. Husband, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State.
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- [Letter] 1922 March 14 [Washington, D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] L. H[urley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State].
- [Letter] 1922 March 14, Washington [D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State.
- [Agent Report In re: Suspected Anarchists, Buffalo, N.Y. [19]22 March 15 / W.L. Buchanan [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- Monthly General Intelligence Report No. 10, 1922 March 15 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] / Agent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Agent Report In re:] Anarchist Black Cross of Russia, Boston, 1922 March 16 / D. DiLillo [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman — Anarchist Activities, New York, [19]22 March 17 / Albert L. Weitsman [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Agent Report In re:] "Smitty" — Radical, Cleveland, O[hio] 1922 March 17 / Bliss Morton [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1922 March 17, London [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / B[oyston] A. B[eal, American Embassy, Department of State].
- [List of Names in Goldman's Address Book, 1922 March? 17? (government transcript)] / [Emma? Goldman?].
- [Letter] 1922 March 21, Stockholm [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington [D.C.] / Hallett Johnson [American Minister, Department of State].
- Radicals Refused Goldman Articles — 36 cm. *In* [(New York) World (March 22, 1922)] / [author unknown].
- [Agent Report In] re: Emma Goldman — Anarchist Activities, New York, 1922 March 22 [excerpt?] / Geo[rge] J. Starr [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Agent Report In] re: Alexander Ber[k]man — Anarchistic Activities, New York, 1922 March 22 / Michael J. Clafter [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Agent Report In] re: United Russian Professional Unions [and] International Anarchist Aid Federation, New York, 1922 March 22 [excerpt] / [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1922 March 22 [London to Boyston A.] Beal [American Embassy, Department of State, London] / [G.] M. Liddell.
- [Letter] 1922 March 23, London [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / B[oyston] A. B[eal, American Embassy, Department of State].
- [Affidavit] 1923 March 23 [giving Emma Goldman's birth date] / T[aube] Goldman.

- [Agent Report In re:] Rose or Riva Fleshin — Radical, Cleveland, Ohio [19]22 March 23 / Bliss Morton [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Shapiro, Wolff — Anarchistic Activities, Seattle, Wash. [19]22 March 24 / R.A. Darling [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Agent Report In re:] C. Beu, General Information, Kansas City, Mo. [19]22 March 25 / Ed Portley [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- [Letter] 1922 March 25, New York [to Harry M.] Daugherty, Attorney General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / R. McGlaughlin.
- [Letter] 1922 March 27, New York [to William J. Burns] Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Edward J. Brennan; Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
- [General Intelligence Report?, 19]22 March 27 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] / [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
- In Russia She Longs For Jail — 28 cm. *In* [Los Angeles] Daily Times (March 29, 1922) / [author unknown].
- [Letter] 1922 March 29, New York [to William J. Burns] Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Edward J. Brennan, Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.
- [Letter] 1922 March 30 [Washington, D.C. to] R. McGlaughlin, New York / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].

Introduction to Reel 65 (December 23, 1919 to March 31, 1922)

The United States efforts to rid the country of alien radicals peaked in January 1920. Agents of Attorney General Palmer's Justice Department raided offices of communist organizations nationwide the night of January 2 and arrested thousands, many without warrants. The Bureau of Immigration planned a series of mass deportations modeled after the *Buford* deportation. Ellis Island was bursting with Eastern European radicals awaiting deportation.

The Red Scare hysteria provides the backdrop for Goldman's government files in the early 1920's. Correspondence regarding the voyage of the *Buford* dominates the government documents. The Bureau of Immigration sent lists of the names of those deported on the *Buford* to various government agencies. They circulated Goldman's photograph to border officials. Since the *Buford* and its cargo of 249 radicals was en route to Soviet Russia, a country with which the United States had no diplomatic relations, the State Department became involved, trying to negotiate arrangements with the Finnish government to transport the deportees to the Russian frontier at the height of winter.

Two of these documents provide personal descriptions of Goldman during her deportation. Representative William Vaile of Colorado gave a first-hand account of the *Buford*'s early morning departure in the *Congressional Record* of January 5. On February 11, 1920, F.W. Berkshire, the Bureau of Immigration's representative on board the *Buford*, submitted his detailed report of the voyage.

During Goldman's two years in Soviet Russia and for the first few months after she left Russia, the United States government monitored her activities as closely as possible. The State Department, particularly W.L. Hurley in the Office of the Undersecretary of State, solicited reports on Goldman from

returning travelers, collected newspaper clippings of her perceptions of Russia, and received and circulated letters to and from Goldman confiscated by security forces in Europe and the United States. These reports track Goldman's growing dissatisfaction with the Soviet government.

Many of the letters Goldman wrote during her voyage and her first few weeks in Russia were confiscated. She attempted to smuggle numerous copies of each letter into the United States using different couriers. Finnish authorities detained one of the couriers, John Reed, and found a letter from Goldman to Stella Ballantine. The letter, addressed only to "Darling," caused considerable excitement when J. Edgar Hoover and others assumed it was sent to Reed and reflected a hitherto unsuspected romantic relationship between the two (see Hoover letter of August 14, 1920).

Later confiscated letters include two from M.E. Fitzgerald; one to Berkman (June 30, 1920) and the other to Alexander Schapiro (July 26, 1921); as well as a letter from Goldman to Stella Ballantine contained in the September 24, 1921, report of Agent 1076, in which the agent provides accurate parenthetical explanations of Goldman's abbreviations and circumlocutions. Copies of all of Goldman's confiscated letters are included in both the Correspondence Series and the Government Documents Series.

The Government Documents Series includes five letters to and from Lenin, obtained from the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow. These include: letters between Lenin and Angelica Balabanoff, then secretary of the Third International, arranging an interview for Goldman and Berkman; their list of questions submitted to Lenin before the meeting; an outline of their proposals submitted after the meeting; and Goldman and Berkman's letter protesting the arrest of Henry Alsberg while he was traveling with them.

The departure of Goldman, Berkman, and Alexander Schapiro from Soviet Russia in early December 1921 provoked a flurry of activity in the

United States. Fearful that they would try to return, State Department officials sent warnings and photographs to consular officials all over Europe, and to immigration, military intelligence, and investigative officials in the United States. Evan Young, the United States representative in Riga, Latvia, submitted frequent reports on Goldman. His report of December 31, 1921, is particularly interesting because it describes Goldman and Berkman's detention by Latvian officials and contains transcripts of documents taken from them, including two address books, Berkman's diary, their credentials to the Anarchist Congress in Berlin, and personal letters.

When Goldman moved to Sweden on a temporary visa in January 1922, American embassy officials there picked up the surveillance. They reported on her continuing visa problems and noted the publication of her appeal on behalf of anarchists imprisoned in Soviet Russia.

In the United States, the State Department sent copies of the material confiscated from Goldman and Berkman in Riga to many government agencies. The Bureau of Investigation began to investigate the people named in the address books. In March, government documents show the reactions of officials and private citizens to Goldman's anti-Soviet series in the *New York World*.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 23 [Washington, D.C. to] J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / [Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].—
2 p. ; 32 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Caminetti sends Hoover a list of aliens deported on the Buford.

Notes: For list of deportees, enclosed with other documents, see 811023038 and 800321001.

54235/36.

December 23, 1919.

Mr. J. E. Hoover,
Special Assistant to the Attorney General,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Hoover:

For your information I inclose herewith list of names of aliens deported on the U. S. S. Transport Buford, which sailed from New York, N. Y., December 21, 1919.

The following named aliens were not of the class for whose arrest warrants were issued since November 5th:

George Cyzyk; Mikal Kudreyko; Gregory Melnikoff; Ethel Bernstein; Maun Stepanuk; Arthur Ketsus; Kasie Maskalunas; Morris Becker; Alexander Berkman; Peter Blanky; Alexander Chernoff; Leo Haskewich; Nicolas Mihaeloff; Marcus Oradovsky; Adolph Sohnabel-Belass; John Tarasyk; Emma Goldman; Ivan Kozlik; Samuel Lomberg; Sebastian Canzor; Frederick Harold Berger; Junkel Baizer; Frank Brodia; Max Braselia; Dionisy Liskov; Steipen Zebik; Grant Seeloff (criminal); Hussein Tagieff; Alexander Shkilnuk; Pete Pawlas; Alexay Nishanoff; Joseph Mucha; Pavel Moonicoff; Dimitri Iwaniuk; John Janson; Mike Shell; Kornagi Workoloff; Thomas Prosk; Sam Meshkov; Alex Antanoff; Michael Belusta; Feodor Kushnarev; Michail Gernet; David Eelak; Iwan Fedosko; Daniel Levozuk; Ketia Fedrovich

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 85

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54235/36

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 23 [Washington, D.C. to] J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / [Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].—
2 p. ; 32 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Caminetti sends Hoover a list of aliens deported on the *Buford*.

Notes: For list of deportees, enclosed with other documents, see 811023038 and 800321001.

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DOCHER 52 1213

-2-

Molnowsky, and Osipoff Kurinski.

Very truly yours,

ARW-IMH
Inc. 6766

Commissioner General.

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THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 85

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54235/36

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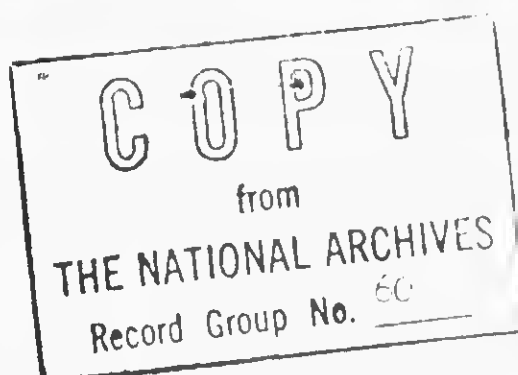
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 23 [Washington, D.C. to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [J. Edgar Hoover] Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Hoover sends Caminetti lists of Buford deportees.

Notes: Broken type. For a list of deportees, enclosed with other documents, see 811023038 and 800321001.



General Records of the Department of Justice
D. J. Central Files - Straight Numerical Files
File Number 202600-65

JMH-GPO

File: Department File.

December 23, 1919.

Honorable Anthony Caminetti,
Commissioner-General of Immigration,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I am inclosing herewith the original copy of the list containing the names of the persons deported upon the U. S.

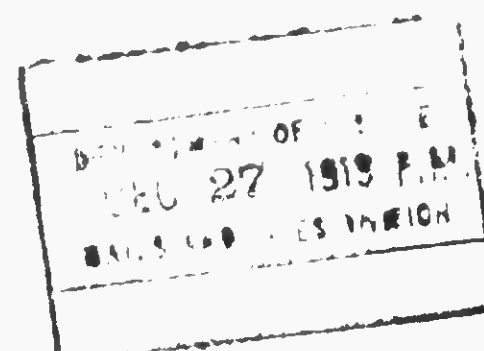
TRANSPORT "BUFORD" which sailed from New York on December 21, 1919.

I am also inclosing eight additional photostat copies of this list which I promised you yesterday.

Respectfully,

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

Incl. 4638



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

Names of Deported Reds — 22 cm. In [New York Times (Dec. 23, 1919, fragment)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The New York Times prints a list of those deported on the Buford and describes a few of the deportees.

Notes: Two shots of one page.

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF
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WAR DEPARTMENT
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NAMES OF DEPORTED REDS. N. Y. Times 12-23-19 Government Issues List of Persons Who Sailed on the Buford.

Special to The New York Times.
WASHINGTON, Dec. 23.—The names of the 240 Reds who were deported from this country on board the army transport Buford were made public this afternoon by Commissioner General Caminetti of the Bureau of Immigration. An official statement was given out saying that it was not the usual policy of the Department of Labor to publish the names of deported persons, but that a departure had been made in this particular instance. "In view of the general public interest and demand for information."

Later Mr. Caminetti said that publication of the names would do a good service, because persons who had known these radicals would realize the actual character of their former acquaintances.

It was also said at the Bureau of Immigration that other radicals might see now that the Government was determined to rid the United States of such people.

No particulars were offered concerning the complaints against the various Reds, but these are on file in the bureau. The list shows that ten of these individuals came from Baltimore, or from the district supervised from that city.

Surprise and indignation were evinced by Mr. Caminetti over some of the newspaper accounts which described as noisy and turbulent the scenes at Ellis Island on the tug Immigrant and on the transport Buford. The Commissioner General said he could not understand how the newspapers could have reported that the deported Reds cried out defiantly against the United States Government when "such was not the case."

"There was no disorder, and the radical utterances printed in the papers were not made," he declared. "It is absolutely unfair to the army officers in charge of the guard, to the officials of this department, and to the members of Congress to say that they allowed any such utterances to be made. They would not have permitted it."

"Then the Reds did not chant from the decks of the Buford, 'Long live the revolution in the United States'?" he was asked.

"They did not," he replied.

The names of the Russian radicals who sailed on the Buford follow:

BELISOFF, BASIL, alias Bousouff, Basil.
BEROV, JACOB, alias Bera, Jacob, alias Benjaminov, alias Karnechik.
CHIRGAFF, ANDY.
CHIRKALNIK, LEON, alias Chirkalik, Leo.
COLBUS, SAM, alias Kolbus, Sam, alias Colbus, Sam, alias Colbus, Sam.
DEBETKROW, MICHAEL, alias Debetkrow, John, alias Dinktarow, John, alias Dech.
DECH, MIA.

SEREBETNIK, ALEXANDER.
SUHOV, DAVID, or Suchov.
SOLONIK, FRED, alias Solonka, Fedor.
SHWEIKUS, MIKE, alias Schwejkus.
TARASHUK, WASILY IVANOVICH, alias Terashuk, Wasil.
VSIKO, MIKE, alias Wasenko, Michael.
VASRYKO, ZACHARY, alias Wasicki, Zack.
WOLKOFF, GEORGE.
WOROBEN, GNAT.
WOROHEV, MAXIM.
WASSILENKO, JOE, alias Wasilenko, Joseph.
YASINSKY, DIMITRY.
ZDANOWICH, MIKE, alias Sdanowich, Mike.
ZUBKO, NESTOR or WALTER.
BENDICK, WILLIAM.
BORISUK, BORIS or BORORES.
BACHANSKI, FRANK (FEDOR).
DOLGAY, PETER, alias Donhay, Peter.
DEDUSHKA, ANDREW, alias Giguska, Andy.
GAZEYUG, FRED, or Gazegek, Fred.
CHWOCK, YAKOW, alias Tsiwuh, Yakow, alias Gwcock, (first name correct).
HEHASEVICH, PETER.
JACKOTONSKY, JACOB or JACKNOWSKY, Andrew, alias Yarosevick, Andrew.
KALDANOFF, JOHN.
KALTEJKA, GEORGE, alias Kaittha, Gregovic.
KOMAR, JIM.
KONIK, JOHN.
KONIAKIN, VASIL, or Konlahin, Vasil Mitin, alias Mitin, Vasil.
KOWALAWICH, FRANK (Feodor).
KUSH, SIMON or Sam.
KRUPKA, PAUL, or Krupko, Paul.
LUKOW, WILLIAM, or Wasil, or Lukoe, or Lukashuk, Wasil.
MAGYAR (OR MAGER), PIOTR, or Peter.
MAJEWISKY, VASSILY.
MOMOTUK, TROFIN, alias Mormochuk, alias Maumat, Theodore.
ROZMUR, DOMIAN, alias Roslicok, Demetri.
SASKO, IVAN (or Evan), or Minko.
SERECK, ANEY, alias Sirk, alias Savick.
SHIRKA, GORDEI.
SMAL, ANDY.
STARKEVICH, EUGNI (or Evgeny), or Starkevitz.

KUDREYKO, MIKAL, or Kravchuk, Michail.
KERETCHUK, BORIS.
KOVALENKO, Efgram, or Kovaleko.
KOZLIK, IVAN, or Kozlik, Iwan, alias Cox, Ich, John.
KURINSKI, OSIPOFA, alias Kuozynski, alias Kerenisky, Osipoff.
KUHOPATO, NICKOLAI, alias Koropotko, Nichol.
KUSHNAREV, FEODOR, alias Dalney, Alexander.
LAWRINUK, MICHAEL.
LAWNA, WILLIAM, or Lsuna, alias Schmidt, August.
LAZAREWICH, ANDREW, alias Lazarrowitz.
LEMBERG, SAMUEL (or Sam), or Lemberg.
LESIGA, ARTHUR.
LIPSKY, ANTON.
LISKOV DIONISY (or Liskow).
MASKALUNA, KAZIS, alias Maskalunas, Kazimir, alias Maskilunas, Kaziz.
MELNIKOFF, GREGORY, alias Kushneroff.
MELNICOFF, PAVEL, (or Pavai or Paul), alias Melnik, Pavel.
MESHKOV, SAM, alias Mashoff, Sam (or Moshoff).
MOLKOWSKY, KETIA FEDOROVICH, alias Marten, L. C., or Martin, Leo.
MARTIN, VINCENT.
MIHAELOFF, NICHOLAS.
MUCHA, JOSEPH, alias Wasa, Joe, alias Mocha, Joe, alias Mocha, Joe.
NAZARUCK, ANDREW.
NEWAR, JOHN.
NISHANCOFF, ALEXAY.
NOVIKOFF, IVAN.
NOWICK, P. or Novick, Peter or Piotr.
OCHIRIMUK, NOKOLAI, or Ochrimuk, Nick.
ORADOVSKY, MARCUS, or Oraczsky, or Oradzsky.
PANKO, DIMITRI, or Panko, D.
PERKUS, IYMAN.
PULULECK, JOSEPH, alias Balluch, alias Bolluch.
PROSHKOVICH, THEODORE, alias Proshkovich, Theodore.
PROSK, THOMAS, alias Drisk.
PAWLAS, PETER, or Pawalas, Peter Apul.
PODLITSKY, MATHEW.
RICE, DANIEL, or Relsch.
RISTICK, LOUIS, or Luis.
SAWICKI, NICHIL, alias Sawicki, Nick.

Schatz as the most dangerous. He was born in Russia thirty years ago and came to America when he was 23 years old. So far as Government records go, Schatz never did any real work, putting in most of his time in "Intellectual agitation." He was one of the delegation from New York to the Russian Workers' Union convention held last January, when the resolution calling for the overturning of the Government was adopted unanimously. While at Ellis Island he never let an occasion pass without expressing his contempt for the "capitalistic Government."

Alexander Chernoff, another Union of Russian Workers' mainstay, is 24 years old and arrived in this country four years ago from Russia. At the time of his arrest three months ago in Waterbury, Conn., he was out on bail of \$2,000. Chernoff, said a Federal agent yesterday, "is a strong believer in violence," and during all his career went out of his way to discourage aliens from becoming citizens.

Feodore Kushnarev, 21 years old, formerly lived at 242 East Twelfth Street. He was arrested while organizing for the union. He frequently made speeches in behalf of free love.

John Vermanuk, formerly Secretary of the Maspeth, L. I., branch of the Union of Russian Workers, was credited yesterday with being responsible for most of the labor troubles in and around Maspeth among Russian workers.

Marcus Orodowski, a subject of Russia, was in this country only three and a half years, and at the time of his arrest on Nov. 7, was Treasurer of the P. I. W. When the agents caught him he had \$500 of the funds of the organization. He admitted that he advocated a revolution in the United States.

Thomas Rukhanova, known among his colleagues as "Tommy the Kid," is 17 years old, and was arrested while working

The Emma Goldman Papers

Names of Deported Reds — 22 cm. In [New York Times (Dec. 23, 1919, fragment)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The New York Times prints a list of those deported on the Buford and describes a few of the deportees.

Notes: Two shots of one page.

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fatory protests against the United
States Government when "such was not
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in charge of the guard, to the officials
of this department, and to the members
of Congress to say that they allowed
any such utterances to be made. They
would not have permitted it."

"Then the Reds did not chant from
the decks of the Buford, 'Long live the
revolution in the United States'?" he
was asked.

"They did not," he replied.

The names of the Russian radicals
who sailed on the Buford follow:

BULSOFF, BASIL, alias Bibusoff, Basil.
BEROV, JACOB, alias Byra, Jacob, alias
Demantov, alias Kamechik.
CHIRKALUIK, LEON, alias Chikalluk, Leo.
COLIUB, SAM, alias Kolbun, Sam, alias
Cobbe, Sam, alias Colbun, Sam.
DEITKTHROW, MICHAEL, alias Dietktrow,
John, alias Diaktarow, John, alias Dech-
terof, Mike.

ELKO, IVAN.
GAIOSHIKOV, GEORGE, alias Balul, Ivan.

GITHAY, ANDREW.
KOZLOV, VASIL, (or Kozlow).

KHASSNOFF, THERON, alias Ragnoff, T.
KHISHTOF, THEODORE.
LIBED, ARUP, (or Lebed).

LOHITSKY, ANDREW.
LOHIOFF, PROKOPIY.

LOVONITSKY, ANTHONY.
MAINDRELOE, JAMES.

NIKOLAIEFF, FLANK, (or Nickalaff).
NOVAK, YAKIM, alias Nolk Yakim.

NOVOKOFF, PETER, (or Pete).
OULOFF, MIKE, (or Michael).

ORLOFF, SAM.
PARLIK, ARTEM, alias Pavluk, Artemy.

SAHTABNOG, ORETEOF, alias Sahtabnog,
Ortel.

SHELLO, MIKE, alias Skinkorenko, Matwei
(Gavrilow, alias Schinkorenko, Matwei).

SKOROKOD, KONSTANTIN, (or Konstantin).
TARENKO, PAKTEM, alias Shinkko, Pority.

TSUBRICK, ORTUB.
VINIK, ALEX.

VOLESHYNYUK, MAYSEY.
VOLOH, GEORGE, (or Voloch).

YANKIN, WILLIAM, (or Yankun).
YANISH, MIKE.

ZBOROMOLSKY, JACOB, alias Vboromir-
sky, alias Vboromirsky.

ANISERIA, ANTHONY, alias Anisline, An-
tol.

ARCHUK, WLADZIMAR.
BALASH, ABEL, alias Baluz, Andrew.

BOLICK, VASILY, alias Bilick.
BARKOWSKY, SAMION, or Samual.

BOGEN, ZENOW, (Zinov), alias Bogen, F.
BORISUK, VALDIMIR, alias Borlaik,
Walter.

BUTZKEVICH, MICHAEL DEMIANOVICH,
alias Bokarich, Mike.

DRACO, KONSTANTIN DEMIANOVICH,
alias Draco Costadin.

DANILOVICH, IVAN, alias Danilovich, John.
DENCZYK, JOHN, or Denczuk, Ivan.

FESKOW, EDOR MATVEEVICH, alias
Fiesko, Harry, alias Fiesko.

FEDYK, KIRIO.
FENGOL, KIRIL, or Pithol, Kirin.

GUSHCHIA, JOHN, (or Grlachany).
KOWALEWICZ, JACOB, alias Kowslevich,
John.

KIRSON, TONY, alias Kirson.
KACHANOV, LUKA, alias Kachanow,
Luka.

KOTIAK, ANTON.
KOVALSKY, ILYA, alias Kuznets, alias Ko-
valsky, Louis, alias Kuznetz, Louis.

KULISH, MARK, or Kulish, M.
KOCHOVETZ, EFIM, alias Barisoff, M.

LEONOF, TERENTIAS, alias Leonoff,
Thomas.

LEHYZE, MIKE, alias Logea, Mike.
MICHNEWITZ, GAVRILLO, alias Michne-
wich, Hawril.

MIRNOVICH, PETER, alias Mironovich,
Peter Ivanovich.

MARTINOWSKI, JOHN.
MLAVERANSKY, NICHOLAS, (or Nickolas).

NABAGZ, IVAN, alias Nabagiz, John, alias
Nabakiz, John.

NAZAREZUK, ANANI, alias Nazarchuk,
Anni.

DEDIUSHA, ANDREW, alias Giguaka,
Andy.

GAZEYUG, FRED, or Gazeysak, Fred.
CEWOOD, YAKOW, alias Taiwuh, Yakow,

alias Giewook, (First name correct).
HRIASEVICH, PETER.

JACKOTONSKY, JACOB, or JACKNOWSKY.
JAROSEVICH, ANDREW, alias Jarosewicz,

Andrew, alias Jarosevich, Andrew.
KALEANOFF, JOHN.

KALTEJKA, GEORGE, alias Kaittha,
Gregovic.

KOMAR, JIM.
KONIK, JOHN.

KONIAKIN, VASIL, or Konishin, Vasil Mi-
shin, alias Mlin, Vasil.

KOWALAWICH, FRANK (Feodor).
KUISE, SIMON, or Sam.

KRUPKA, PAUL, or Krupko, Paul.
LUDKOW, WILLIAM, or Wasil, or Lukoe, or

Lukashuk, Wasil.
MAGYAR, (or Mager), PIOTR, or Peter.

MALIEVSKY, WASSILY.
MOMOTUK, TROPIN, alias Mormochuk,

alias Maumat, Theodore.
ROZMUK, DOMIAN, alias Rosicok, Dmetri.

SANKO, IVAN, (or Evan), or Sanko.
SERECK, ANEY, alias Sirk, alias Savick,

SIMIKA, GORDEL.
SMAL, ANDY.

STARKEVICH, EUGNI, (or Evgeny), or
Starkevitz.

STOLATCHUK, GORDIC.
SWENKO, EWSTIFE.

TILATITSKI, NIK.
TRIZPOT, ANTON.

YAROSEVICH, MIHAL, alias Yarosevich,
Michael.

DENISIAK, YAKIM, alias Demichuk, Jackem.
ESKINASHKO, NIKITA, alias Ikmasako,

Nikita.
IWANUK, DIMITRI, alias Nouvak, James,

or Noubak, alias Vonouch, alias Ivanenck
JACKIMOV, PAUL.

KOZY, JOHN.
LESTCHUK, MICHAEL, alias LITSCHUK,

MIKE.
MOSCHUK, ROMAN, alias MOSUCHOK,

alias MOSIEHOK.
URKEVITCH, PETER, alias YURKEWICZ,

alias JORKEVITZ, JOHN.
VACHUK, WASULY, (or VASCHUH).

VAROVY, FRED, alias YAROVOL.
ANDRIOSUK, ANTON.

CHIEFSKY, LEO.
JANSON, (or JOHNSON), JOHN, alias JEN-

SEN, JOHAN, alias LAUKIVORS, ER-
NEST.

KIRSON, RARNET, alias KIRSON, BERIL.
BARNETT, alias KIRSON, BORIS.

KOROVANSKY, GREGORY.
LEVOSUK, DANIEL, or LEVCHUK, or

ONISHENKO, PORFERY, alias OSISH-
CEMKO, PORFERY.

STEPANOFF, ANTON, alias PORFEN-
CHUK, ALEX.

STEPANOFF, OSSIP, or OSIP, or JOE, or
JOSEPH.

ABROSSEMOFF, MICHEL, (or MICHAEL).
AFANASIEVITCH, BENJAMIN, alias PPAS-

SHIETCHNIK.
ANDRIUK, ROMAN.

ANTONCHIK, FIEDOR, or FIED.
ANTONOFF, ALEX, (or ALEXANDER).

BECKER, MORRIS.
BELASTA, MICHAEL, or RELESKA, H.

BERGEL, FRIEDRICK HAROLD, or HER-
GER, F. H.

BERKMAN, ALEXANDER.
BIANKY, PETER, alias DIANKE, PIETER.

BAIZER, JANKEL, (or JACOB), alias BES-
SER, JANKEL.

BRAZELIA, MAX.
BRODIA, FRANK.

BROOK, ABE, or BROCK, or BRUKE.
BUHKANOV, THOMAS P.

CANZOR, SEBASTIAN, (or KANTZER).
CHERNOFF, ALEXANDER.

CHINEKO, MAXIM.
CYZYK, GEORGE, alias GIGALKO, PAUL.

DERKACH, ALEXANDER, alias DERK-
HEIL, ALEXANDER.

DUHOFF, JOHN, or DUBOFF, E., or DU-
HOFF, IVAN.

ERMOLA, JOHN, alias YARMOLA, JOHN.
FEDERICO, TONY.

FEDORSKY, IWAN, (JOHN), or FEDOSKY.
IVAN.

ERLAK, DAVID, alias ELAK, DAVID.
FURS, THOMAS.

GERNET, MICHAEL, or GERNET, MI-
CHAEL.

HADJUK, ALTON, alias HEDJUK, AL-

TON, alias Hasklunas, Kaziz.
MELNIKOFF, GREGORY, alias Kushneroff.

MELNICOFF, PAVEL, (or Pavel or Paul),
alias Melnik, Pavel.

MESHKOV, SAM, alias Mashoff, Sam, (or
Moshoff).

MOLKOWSKY, KETIA FEDROVICH, alias
Marten, L. C., or Martin, Leo.

MARTIN, VINCENT.
MICHAELOFF, NICHOLAS.

MUCHA, JOSEPH, alias Wassa, "Joe," alias
Michs, Joe, alias Mocha, Joe.

NAZAHUCK, ANDREW.
NEWAR, JOHN.

NISHANCOFF, ALEXAY.
NOVICKOFF, IVAN.

NOVICK, P., or Novick, Peter, or Piotr.
OCHIRUK, NOKOLAI, or Ochrimuk, Nick.

ORADOVSKY, MARCUS, or Oracsky, or
Orazsky.

PANKO, DIMITRI, or Panko, D.
PANKUS, HYMAN.

PULULECK, JOSEPH, alias Baltuch, alias
Bolluch.

PROSHKOVICH, THEODORE, alias Prosh-
Kowich, Theodore.

PROSK, THOMAS, alias Drisk.
PAWLAS, PETE, or Pawalas, Peter Apul.

PODLIPSKY, MATHEW.
RICE, DANIEL, or Relsch.

RISTICK, LOUIS, or Luis.
SAWICKI, MICHAEL, alias Sawitsky, Mick.

SELOH, GRANT.
SCHATZ, BORIS.

SCHATZ, HARRY, alias Schatz, Alexander.
alias Schatz, Alex.

SEKGAN, MIKE, alias Semon.
SCHNABEL-DELAAS, ADOLPH, or Schnabel,

Adolph.
SKOCHUK, HARRY, or Skochuk, Grigori.

TAGIEFF, HUSSEIN, (or Hussien), alias
Caucasian, Hussien; alias Carson, Alex-

ander; alias Tagiev, Gustein.
TARASKY, JOHN, alias Tarasjuk, Ivan;

alias Rasky, John T.; alias Dimitrius,
alias Tarasy, John; alias Dimitrius, alias

Tarasuk, John, or Tarasyk.
YURKA, TOM.

URGAL, PETER.
VEREMUK, IVAN.

WASILIEFF, NICHOLAS.
VOLOSUK, NICOLAJ.

WOLNER, HARRY.
WORKOLF, KRONAGI.

ZAFRONIA, NECITA.
GOLDMAN, EMMA.

RENNSTEIN, ETHEL.
LIPKIN, DORA.

These Russian radicals were from the Bal-
timore district:

ZEDIK, STEIFAN.
HOLOWKIN, PAUL.

ZHARKO, NIKIFOR.
HUNERT, JOHN.

ZATYN, MICHAEL.
TADZIEG, YEFIN.

SZORBA, MIKE.
SAVCHUK, SEROEL.

MORGOLENKOW, IVAN.
KOSTEVICH, LOUIS.

Acc. to Government officials in
New York, there were sixty-one New

York Reds among those who sailed on
the Buford. All but a few of them were

members of the Union of Federated
Russian Workers, an organization which

openly advocated the overthrow of the
United States Government and required

its members to be atheists, anarchists,
and communists.

Of those arrested locally the Depart-
ment of Justice agents regarded Alex

his arrest three months ago in Water-
bury, Conn., he was out on bail of \$2,000.
Chernoff, said a Federal agent yester-

day, "is a strong believer in violence,"
and during all his career went out of
his way to discourage aliens from be-
coming citizens.

Feodore Kushnarev, 21 years old, for-
merly lived at 242 East Twelfth Street.
He was arrested while organizing for
the union. He frequently made speech-

es in behalf of free love.
John Vermanuk, formerly Secretary of
the Maspeth, L. I., branch of the Union

of Russian Workers, was credited yes-
terday with being responsible for most
of the labor troubles in and around
Maspeth among Russian workers.

Marcus Orodowsky, a subject of Rus-
sia, was in this country only three and
a half years, and at the time of his
arrest on Nov. 7, was Treasurer of the

U. R. W. When the agents caught him
he had \$500 of the funds of the or-
ganization. He admitted that he advo-

cated a revolution in the United States.
Thomas Buhkanova, known among his
colleagues as "Tommy the Kid," is 17

years old, and was arrested while work-
ing as a machinist in the Greenpoint
section of Brooklyn. He was the Finan-

cial Secretary of the Greenpoint branch
of the radical organization. When the
Government operatives were question-

ing him after his arrest, he declared
that he received his radical education
in the public schools, and through read-

ing books in the public libraries. Dis-
closure, however, of the fact that Buh-
kanova was a nephew of Peter J. Blanki,

one of the founders of the U. R. W.,
and a Buford passenger, brought the
admission that Blanki had converted

him to radicalism.
Naum Stepanuk is 36 years old and
lives at 151 East Fifteenth Street. He

boasted to the Department of Justice
men of his work as an anarchist.
Hyman Perkus, the alleged common

law husband of Dora Lipkin, one of the
three women deportees, was described
by Government officials as "one of the

most powerful organizers among Rus-
sian workmen in the East." He is a
self-confessed anarchist and had been

here only a few years.
Adolph D. Schnabel was until Febru-
ary last the most active member of the

Union of Russian Workers in the United
States. He is 61 years old and a native
of the Russian province of Kovno.

Schnabel was arrested two years ago in
Pittsburgh and ordered deported. He

obtained his release on bail and re-
sumed his radical activities. He was
arrested on Nov. 7 by Department of

Justice men.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 23 [Washington, D.C. to] J.R. Pierson, Brunswick, Me. / Frank K. Nebeker, Assistant Attorney General [Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 34 × 21 cm.
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.
 Summary: Nebeker thanks Pierson for sending him a newspaper editorial.
 Notes: Reply to 891216025 and 870717000.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice
 Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

186233-13-238

EX 12-26-1919

TFB-EMI

December 23, 1919.

Mr. J. R. Pierson,
 Brunswick, Maine.

Sir:

Your letter of December 13th, in which you enclose a clipping of the LEWISTON DAILY SUN, has been received.

Your action in calling this matter to the attention of the Department is appreciated.

Very truly yours,

For the Attorney General.

(Signed) Frank K. Nebeker
 Assistant Attorney General.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870720006

Good Riddance — 36 cm. In Hudson Dispatch (Dec. 23, 1919) / [author unknown].
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.
Summary: The Hudson Dispatch praises the deportation of radicals.
Notes: Enclosed with 811027005.

General Records of the Department of Justice
D. J. Central Files — Straight Numerical Files
File Number 202600-45

COPY

from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 60

The Hudson Dispatch

Lewis Street, Town of Union,
(Weehawken Postoffice)

TUESDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 23, 1919

SIXTEEN PAGES

GOOD RIDDANCE.

One of the best pieces of Government work since April 6, 1917, was the deportation of that cargo of Russian Reds. This country is all too lenient in its treatment of those who plot against the very Government; the rights of free speech is carried to excess, and it has been as much the fault of the over-generous country as it has been the fault of the radicals themselves that chaos has got such headway.

It is too bad to inflict the Goldmans and Berk-mans on poor Russia, but a thousand more or less will make little difference in that infested country.

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7

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1919 Dec. 23, Washington [D.C. to J. Edgar] Hoover [Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / F.E. H[aynes?] Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 2 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.
 Summary: Haynes describes his interview with Berkman on Ellis Island.

15446

Department of Justice,
 Bureau of Investigation,
 Washington.

ADDRESS ONLY TO DIRECTOR
 BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
 AND REFER TO INITIALS

FEB-MFB

Dec. 23, 1919.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HOOVER

In re: ALEXANDER BERKMAN

Noted
 F.D.M.

During the course of my conversation with Berkman he informed me that he intended to return to Petrograd eventually. He also made the following statement concerning his uncle, M. Starick, which means in Russian "old man". "About thirty years ago M. Starick was sentenced to death by the Czar. He escaped from Siberia, travelling through England and finally reached France, making Paris as his headquarters. While in Paris he became the intellectual head of the Revolutionists in Paris, remaining there for about fifteen years. On the outbreak of the Revolution in Russia he returned to that country and at the present time is in charge of the railroads in Russia and is also the head of the Moscow-Soviet Government."

Berkman also informed me that it was his purpose when he reached Soviet Russia to organize a society for the purpose of carrying on his propaganda in America, stating that he intended to reach America through the many hidden channels which existed between Russia and the United States. In this statement his plan seems to be the same as Emma Goldman's in forming a society which she calls "Russian Friends of American

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The Emma Goldman Papers

880606308

[Memorandum] 1919 Dec. 23, Washington [D.C. to J. Edgar] Hoover [Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / F.E. H[aynes?] Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 2 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.
Summary: Haynes describes his interview with Berkman on Ellis Island.

In re Alexander Berkman.

-2-

FEH-KPB

12/23/19.

Freedom.

The above is submitted for your information. If you desire, I will submit you a complete memorandum of all the statements I obtained from the different persons I interviewed while on Ellis Island.

Respectfully,

J. E. Haynes

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9

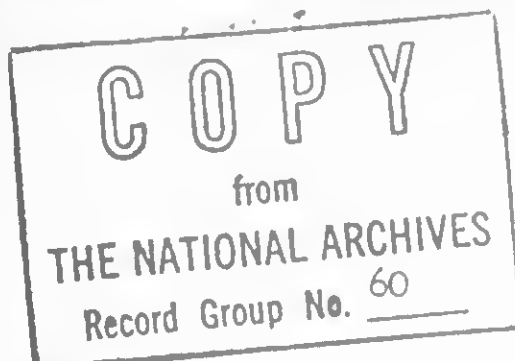
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 24 [Washington, D.C. to] Superintendent of Water Transportation, New-York / J.E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Hoover sends the superintendent of water transportation a list of aliens deported on the Buford.

Notes: For a list of deportees, enclosed with other documents, see 811023038 and 800321001.



General Records of the Department of Justice
D. J. Central Files - Straight Numerical Files
File Number 202600-65

JEL-870

December 24, 1919.

~~86233-13~~ ?
02600 H.S.

Superintendent of Water Transportation,

45 Broadway,

New York City.

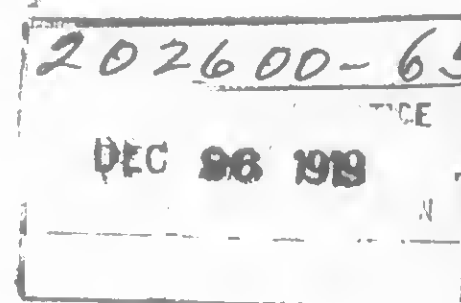
Dear Sir:

I am inclosing herewith a list containing the names of the persons deported upon the U. S. TRANSPORT "BUFORD" on Sunday, December 21, 1919.

Respectfully,

J. Edgar Hoover
Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

Incl. 4639



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10

The Emma Goldman Papers

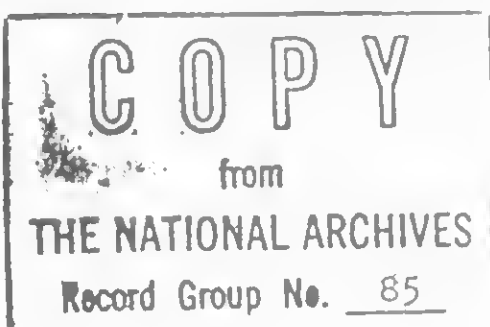
811023027

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 24, Washington, D.C. [to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / J.E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice. — 2 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Hoover makes arrangements for the transfer of the Buford deportees from the ship to the Soviet frontier.

Notes: For related document, see 811027004.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

JEH-GPO

December 24, 1919.

Honorable Anthony Caminetti,
Commissioner-General of Immigration,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

On Sunday morning, December 21, just before the Transport "BUFORD" sailed, I had a conversation with Mr. Berkshire, during which he requested if possible that the following matters be attended to at the earliest possible moment:

He suggested that the State Department representative at the port of debarkation be informed by cable that the immigration officers accompanying the anarchists will proceed to the Bolsheviki front if so desired and agreeable, but that otherwise they will not proceed further than the port of debarkation.

Mr. Berkshire also suggested that the State Department representative at the port of debarkation be designated as the official representative of the Labor Department, in case the immigration officers with the party should not proceed inland.

Mr. Berkshire felt that it would be more desirable for the immigration officers with the party to leave the anarchists at the point of debarkation, in order that the local authorities

The Emma Goldman Papers

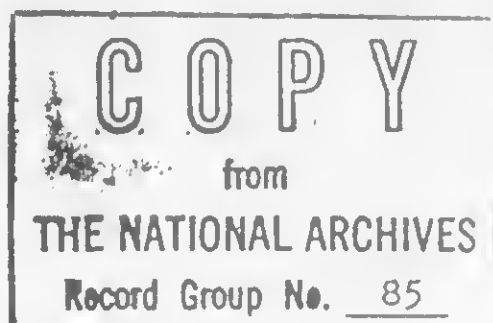
811023027

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 24, Washington, D.C. [to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / J.E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice. — 2 p.; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Hoover makes arrangements for the transfer of the Buford deportees from the ship to the Soviet frontier.

Notes: For related document, see 811027004.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809

Honorable Anthony Caminetti, -2- JEH-GP. 12/24/19
re requests of Mr. Berkshire

might assume the full responsibilities. It was, however, thought if such an arrangement was actually effected that the transport would not sail until word had been definitely received from the local authorities that the anarchists had actually been turned over to the Soviet forces. This latter arrangement would eliminate any accusation of bad faith upon the part of the United States.

Respectfully,

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

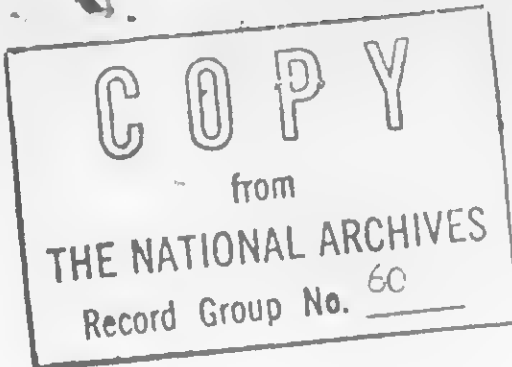
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 24 [Washington, D.C. to D.C.] Poole, Division of Russian Affairs, Department of State, [Washington, D.C.] / J.E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Hoover makes arrangements for the transfer of the Buford deportees from the ship to the Soviet frontier.

Notes: For related document, see 811023027.



General Records of the Department of Justice
D. J. Central Files — Straight Numerical Files
File Number 202600-65

JEH-GPO

December 24, 1919.

E. J. Poole, Esq.,

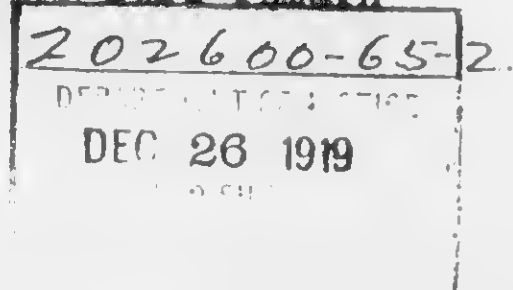
Division of Russian Affairs,

Department of State.

Dear Mr. Poole:

On Sunday morning, December 21, just before the "BUFORD" sailed, I had a conversation with Mr. A. J. Berkshire, the immigration officer in charge of the celebrities aboard the "BUFORD", in which he made the following suggestions which I believe will merit your consideration:

It occurred to Mr. Berkshire that instructions might be sent to the State Department representative at the port of debarkation advising him of the fact that the immigration authorities would proceed with the anarchists inland if so desired and agreeable, otherwise they would turn the deportees over to the local authorities at the port of debarkation. If it was not necessary for the immigration authorities to proceed inland, then the State Department officer could be designated as the official representative of the Department of Labor. It was, of course, understood that if the immigration authorities were not required to proceed inland that the transport would remain



The Emma Goldman Papers

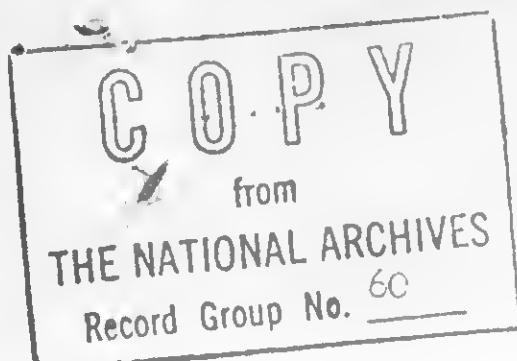
811027004

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 24 [Washington, D.C. to D.C.] Poole, Division of Russian Affairs, Department of State, [Washington, D.C.] / J.E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Hoover makes arrangements for the transfer of the *Buford* deportees from the ship to the Soviet frontier.

Notes: For related document, see 811023027.



General Records of the Department of Justice
D. J. Central Files — Straight Numerical Files
File Number 202600-65

E. J. Poole, Esq., -2- JEH-GPO 12/24/19
re request of Mr. Berkshire.

at the port until assurances had been received from the local authorities that the deportees had actually been turned over to the Soviet forces. This latter arrangement, of course, would eliminate any accusation of bad faith upon the part of the United States.

I am transmitting these suggestions to you at the request of Mr. Berkshire.

Very truly yours,

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

The Emma Goldman Papers

810113085

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 26 [Washington, D.C. to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Hoover asks the Bureau of Immigration to return Berkman's *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist*.

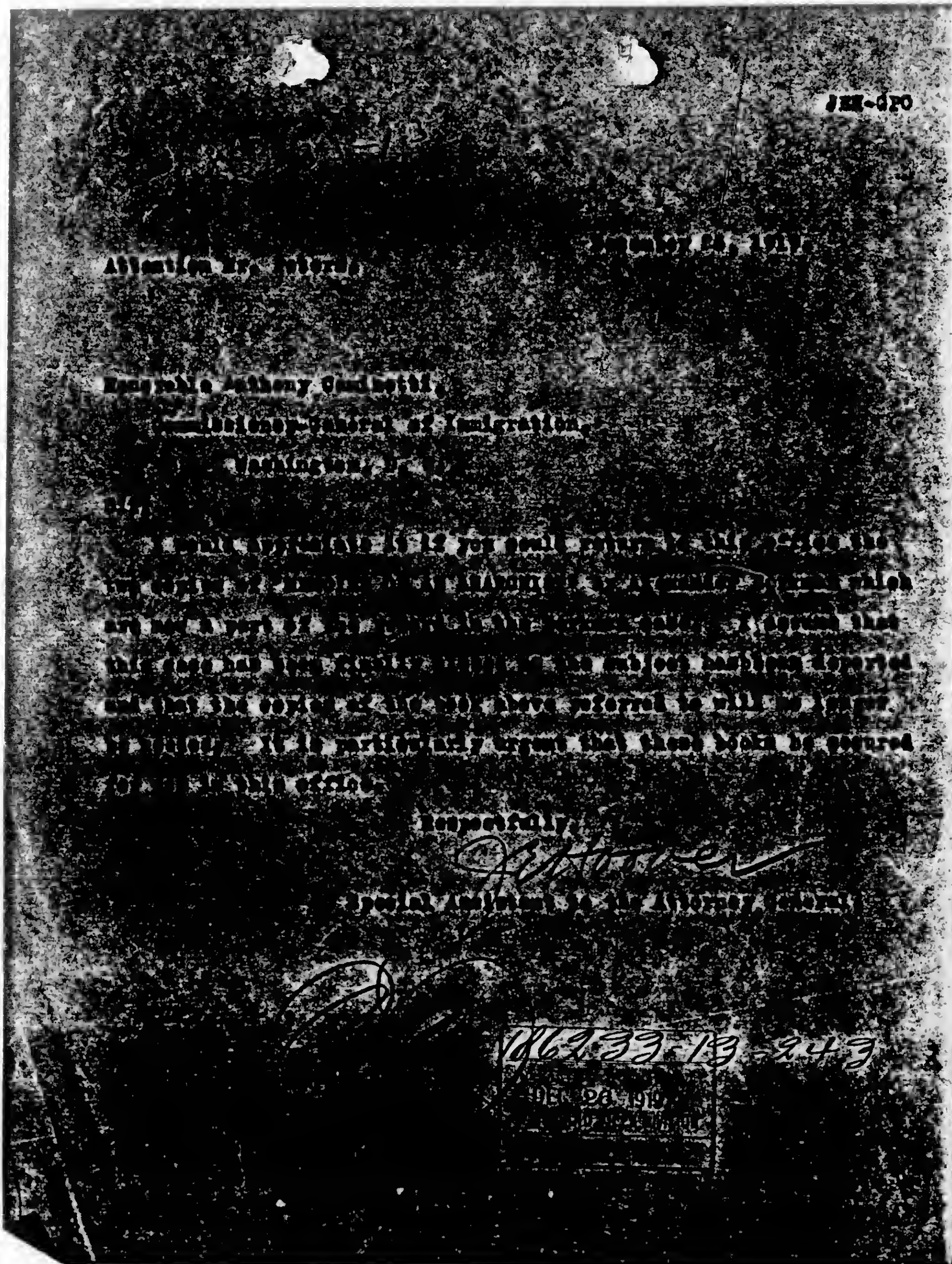
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Records of the Department of Justice
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)



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The Emma Goldman Papers

870720007

Community Centre Plan Being Backed by Leading Hebrews — 36 cm. In Hudson Dispatch (Dec. 27, 1919) / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: The Hudson Dispatch describes efforts to promote patriotism among the Jewish population.

Notes: Two shots of one page. Enclosed with 811027005.

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Record Group No. 60

General Records of the Department of Justice
D. J. Central Files — Straight Numerical Files
File Number 202600-65

TWO

HUDSON DISPA

COMMUNITY CENTRE PLAN BEING BACKED BY LEADING HEBREWS

**Seeds of Healthy Americanism
and Judaism to Be Fostered
by the Movement, Which
Promises to Be One of Most
Influential and Far-Reaching
in North Hudson Towns in
Near Future.**

CAMPAIGN TO BE A VIGOROUS EFFORT

A movement to co-ordinate the Jewish people of North Hudson into a unit, with the view of assimilating among them the seeds of healthy, normal Americanism and Judaism, has been launched in North Hudson.

This movement will crystallize at a meeting of the foremost men among the Jews of North Hudson, to take place on Tuesday evening, December 30, at the Hebrew Institute, Franklin street, Union Hill. To this meeting are invited all who are actuated by the spirit of clean, strong Americanism and who are interested in the growth of that spirit among the Jewish people of North Hudson.

Although the plans of this movement are still indefinite, it has been announced that they call for the formation of a body of the leading Jewish men of North Hudson to launch and carry on a vigorous campaign toward this end. This group of men will be entrusted with the task of laying out definite, concrete campaign to bring Jewish people of North Hudson

together, to develop the community spirit among them.

A Universal Home.

The most tangible phase of these plans is the construction of a community center in North Hudson, a house which will be the home of the various elements of the Jewish people. This is to be the forum of the community, where the young as well as the old may come to their own home, to be welcomed there by kindred spirits, and kindred ideals and to grow and develop a sense of their importance as citizens of the United States and as men, women and children of the Jewish race.

This community center is to be built along the most modern lines. It is to be equipped with every means of instructing and maintaining the interest of the people, old and young. There are to be facilities for athletics and other forms of amusement and recreation for the younger people and rooms for the gathering of the older folks, both for their amusement as well as for more serious purposes.

For Betterment.

The underlying motive of this center will be to mould the people into better Americans and better Jews. Its aim will be to bring them together in a common meeting place, a community home which they may call their own, their second home, and to inspire them with their duties and responsibilities as American citizens and as Jews.

With the formation of the group of active men necessary to carry on the preliminary work, it is expected that the actual drive will start. Present

plans seem to indicate that this campaign will be the greatest ever carried on in North Hudson and the undertaking will be mapped out along lines that will stamp it as vaster than any other civic movement ever experienced in North Hudson.

Peter Gouled, who was in charge of several war drives, will be the chairman of the meeting next Tuesday evening. He has sent out over three hundred invitations, asking for the presence of the leading men at the Hebrew Institute to assist in the materialization of the plans. The cooperation of all the Jews in North Hudson or other parts of the county is requested and they are invited to attend this meeting.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Community Centre Plan Being Backed by Leading Hebrews — 36 cm. In Hudson

Dispatch (Dec. 27, 1919) / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: The Hudson Dispatch describes efforts to promote patriotism among the Jewish population.

Notes: Two shots of one page. Enclosed with 811027005.

COLE
from
THE NATIONAL
Record Group

TWO

HUDSON DISPATCH, SATURDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 27, 1919.

COMMUNITY CENTRE PLAN BEING BACKED BY LEADING HEBREWS

Seeds of Healthy Americanism and Judaism to Be Fostered by the Movement, Which Promises to Be One of Most Influential and Far-Reaching in North Hudson Towns in Near Future.

CAMPAIGN TO BE A VIGOROUS EFFORT

A movement to co-ordinate the Jewish people of North Hudson into a unit, with the view of disseminating among them the seeds of healthy, normal Americanism and Judaism, has been launched in North Hudson.

This movement will crystallize at a meeting of the foremost men among the Jews of North Hudson, to take place on Tuesday evening, December 30, at the Hebrew Institute, Franklin street, Union Hill. To this meeting are invited all who are actuated by the spirit of clean, strong Americanism and who are interested in the growth of that spirit among the Jewish people of North Hudson.

together, to develop the community spirit among them.

A Universal Home.

The most tangible phase of these plans is the construction of a community center in North Hudson, a house which will be the home of the various elements of the Jewish people. This is to be the forum of the community, where the young as well as the old may come as to their own home, to be welcomed there by kindred spirits, and kindred ideals and to grow and develop a sense of their importance as citizens of the United States and as men, women and children of the Jewish race.

This community center is to be built along the most modern lines. It is to be equipped with every means of attracting and maintaining the interest of the people, old and young. There are to be facilities for athletics and other forms of amusement and recreation for the younger people and rooms for the gathering of the older folks, both for their amusement as well as for more serious purposes.

For Betterment.

The underlying motive of this center will be to mould the people into better Americans and better Jews. Its

plans seem to indicate that this campaign will be the greatest ever carried on in North Hudson and the undertaking will be mapped out along lines that will stamp it as vaster than any other civic movement ever experienced in North Hudson.

Peter Goulded, who was in charge of several war drives, will be the chairman of the meeting next Tuesday evening. He has sent out over three hundred invitations, asking for the presence of the leading men at the Hebrew Institute to assist in the materialization of the plans. The cooperation of all the Jews in North Hudson or other parts of the county is requested and they are invited to attend this meeting.

General Records of the Department of Justice
J. Central Files - Straight Numerical Files
File Number 202600-65

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 29, Weehawken, N.J. [to] A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Peter Gouled. — 1 p. ; 21 x 31 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Gouled describes his efforts to organize Jewish support for the Justice Department's anti-radical campaign.

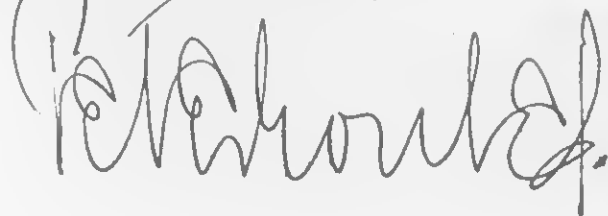
Notes: One shot of two pages. For enclosures, see 870720006 and 870720007. For reply, see 811027006.

make it clear that the vast majority of Jews stand ready to fight tooth and nail any internal enemy of our Country.

Furthermore, I have called together a meeting of leading Jews for tomorrow night and shall ask to pass a resolution upholding the action of the Government against all Anarchists, Bolsheviks and other internal enemies and shall besides move to establish a Centre for the Americanization of both Jews and Gentiles of North Hudson.

I assure you once more of my fullest cooperation in your noble campaign and remain, Sir,

respectfully yours,



PETER GOULED
 (THIRTY-ONE ELMORADO PLACE
 WEEHAWKEN, NEW JERSEY

Dec. 29th, 1919

202600-65-3

Honorable A. Mitchell Palmer,
 Attorney General,
 Washington, D. C.

JAN 3 1920

MAILS AT

ATTORNEY GENERAL

Sir,

Permit me to thank you for your kind lines of December 26th, acknowledging the receipt of my telegram of the 22nd re your success in deportation of the first lot of Bolsheviks and other Radicals. I wish also to assure you that I am doing my very best to crystalize public opinion in favor of the Government's action.

Simultaneously with my sending off the telegram to Washington, I have taken up the matter with the Editor of the Hudson Dispatch, our local newspaper published by Mr. Thomas Martin, Secretary of State of New Jersey, and enclosed clipping from the paper of the 23rd will illustrate to you the editorial comment I caused to have printed.

I have also written to the American Hebrew weekly, asking the Editor to give the Government the fullest moral support in eradicating all the undesirable elements, and to

General Records of the Department of Justice
 D. J. Central Files - Straight Numerical Files
 File Number 202600-65

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 Record Group No. 60

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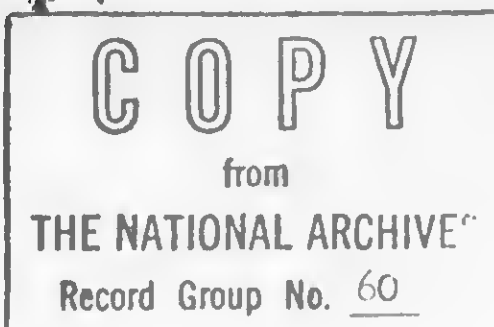
810113062

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 29, New York [to J. Edgar] Hoover [Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger.—
1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Weinberger asks Hoover for a copy of Jacob Kersner's death certificate.

Notes: For reply, see 850712183.



Records of the Department of Justice
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

HARRY WEINBERGER
COUNSELOR AT LAW
261 BROADWAY, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE CONNECTION

December 29, 1919.

United States Attorney General,
Washington,
D.C.

Attention of Mr. Hoover.

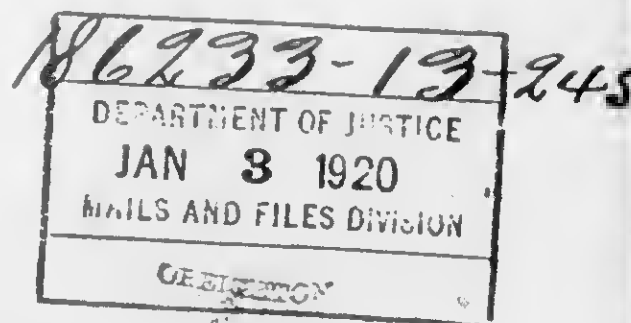
Dear Sir:-

Will you kindly send me an exact
copy of the death certificate of Jacob A. Kersner,
in re case of Emma Goldman, and oblige

Respectfully yours,

Harry Weinberger

HW/ICW



Notes: Light copy; portions illegible. Follow-up to 880606309 and 880606310.

[illegible]

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Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Notes: Light copy; portions illegible. Follow-up to 880606309 and 880606310.

The confirming Harker's story over the telephone with Agent Smith at New York office who detailed Agents Holloman and Francisco to go to the railroad station and cover MIV. Holloman and I therefore went to Hoboken and boarded the P.M. train at Broad Street Station arriving in New York at 6 P.M. and everything was done as planned. Holloman and Francisco were on the job and MIV, before we proceeded to a Hungarian restaurant on 5th street where he lived. Here MIV told us that it was absolutely impossible to get further names of the bulletins for the reason that they were the oldest whose current name is hypothetical. He said that very heavily and was positively unrelenting that nothing could be done with him and that it was dangerous for us to deal with him because he talked too much while under the influence of liquor. Of course our main object was to meet HARKER and naturally we fought MIV off until she finally agreed to take up to HAVELI hang-out in the evening where we could see ourselves the frightful condition of HARKER in the hospital due to drunkenness. Arrangements were made to meet MIV at 8 o'clock in the morning at her apartment at 187 McDougal Street in the room of the manager and the following day after a long wait we met her and saw such people as HAVELI, HARKER, BERNMAN, BERKMAN and others. We understood from HARKER that HARKER was now in the McDougal district in the neighborhood of the old building where he was living four days ago looking for HARKER. FISHBURN a manager, HARKER, JEFFORDS. It will be recalled, in the eventheart of BERNMAN now departed and is, according to

21

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In] re: Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Mina Lowensohn (Anarchist-Soviet Bulletin), Philadelphia [19]19 Dec. 29 / J.[F.] McDevitt [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 17 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: McDevitt investigates radical activities in New York and Philadelphia with undercover agent Hajek. McDevitt describes his meeting with Mina Lowensohn and Hyppolite Havel. He includes a list of names and addresses taken from Havel's address book.

Notes: Light copy; portions illegible. Follow-up to 880606309 and 880606310.

HAYEK the successor of EMMA GOLDMAN in this country. Hajek and I rode to the place in a taxicab. We went to the 2nd floor which is CHRISTINA'S PLACE but we were refused admittance. To go about to turn about to go downstairs when MINA and another girl came up. They saluted us and were received with open arms by the woman who runs the place and after we were introduced we were directed to a table and asked whether or not we wanted something to eat or if we just wanted to sit. We ordered some coffee and pie and I observed the surroundings. It is quite a large room with many tables and chairs scattered throughout; the tops of the tables are painted red; the curtains upon the windows were red paper. A Christmas tree stood in the corner trimmed with red lights. Everything in the room is red. Seated at a table in front of us were five young foreigners; there was one very good looking well dressed woman; all were deeply absorbed in some typewritten pages before them. We were then introduced to the proprietor of CHRISTINA'S PLACE a man named LOUIS HELL but whose correct name I understand is LOUIS GOLDMAN. I asked MINA who these people were and she said they were the Prominence Actors studying in their places. We were then introduced to the proprietor MINA who proved to be her sister FRANK. We remained in the place about a half hour watching for HAVEL but he failed to put in his appearance. LOUIS said he had been there and we could probably find him at the WHOLE HOLE around the corner. We left across them and paid for what we had which cost us 1.00 dollar and proceeded to the WHOLE HOLE which is around the corner. On our way there we met HAVEL and a young girl. After being introduced etc. HAYEK proposed to HAVEL that we return to the WHOLE HOLE from which HAVEL said he had just left.

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HAYEK is the worst looking type of a man I have ever seen in my life - repulsive to look upon and ridiculously dressed. He is about 5'8" tall, weighs about 170 lbs., has a stubby mustache and thick long mixed gray hair combed back over a bald spot on the top of his head upon which there is quite a large tumor. It was plain to be seen that he had been drinking very very hard. He wears a soft gray English hat and large black horn eye glasses, a light colored checkered suit with spots and green shoes and attracts the attention of everyone walking along the street people turn and look after him.

We all entered the back room of the Shell Hotel - no one else being there. The bartender whom HAYEK called "Popper" came and asked what we would have. We all took Sherry wine which was very very strong almost as strong as whiskey. Hajek and I and the LOWENSOHN girls drank about half the glass while HAYEK and his girl drank three or four glasses. HAYEK then informed us that he had no money which I understand he never has and which he cares very little about. Hajek gave him five dollars which seemed to please him very much and he began talking. He made speeches to us declaring he was an anarchist - damned the United States Government - made all sorts of belittling remarks about the United States and he would sooner be a beggar in England than a millionaire in the United States. He talked quite a while of his acquaintance with NORMAN HARGOOD - ambassador to Denmark. He told us that he knew that NORMAN had been recalled and told us that he had named HARGOOD to be careful of his work for him if he went to Denmark as ambassador. He spoke of the kind treatment given him at different times by HUGH HINSON HARGOOD - Norman's brother and of

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"Hutchey" (as they all call him) how much better off he was because he did not get liquor. Every once in a while he would hug and kiss the girl who was with him. She was a very pretty little Polish girl, very well dressed and apparently very intelligent. She carried a book with her and sport gloves. Was about 22 years old. She has short clipped black hair & wore a little black velvet hat & a tailor-made gray walking suit & gray spats over her shoes. She smoked one cigarette after the other through a lane cigarette holder and seemed to be able to stand an enormous quantity of liquor.

HAYEK then proposed that we leave the "Hell Hole" and go down to the Italian place, where he said kept a private house where we could get something to drink. We then proceeded to a house on McDougall Street in the block below Christina's place about a half a block below the elevated railroad. It was a big 3 or 4 story house and we were admitted by HAYEK knocking upon a door which was locked. Upon entering we could see that it was an Italian restaurant or meeting place. HAYEK informed us that the woman who kept the place was a comrade and an Italian — in fact he said she was an anarchist and pointed to her.

A party of Italians sat around drinking and smoking. The manager of the place seems to me did not look very kindly upon HAYEK's entrance at first which I found later was because HAYEK owed her money. It appears HAYEK is in the habit of going around drinking and smoking without paying for anything and then when he gets a stake returns and pays them. He showed us a bill for \$3.00 which the manager held against him and which he promised to pay later. This was only done by a verbal display of money by HAYEK. He ordered a large bottle of wine which was carried in.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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in coffee cups. HAVEL and the girl drank most all of it and HAVEL went on in his accustomed manner of talk, naming ROCKEFELLER - MORGAN and the United States. MINA again whispered to me that she would not trust HAVEL and gave me as her reason that during the time of the MONMARA EXPLOSIONS she knew of the inside movement and that HAVEL was also inside and that she knew before the job was pulled off that something was being prepared on the inside and at that time HAVEL lived at 17 understood her in to say the office of Mother Bertha and that a desk came out through HAVEL having not been careful in talking before a little office boy whose mother was a trusted radical and ever since that the (MINA) has been afraid to trust him. During one of Havel's talks he pounded upon the table and said Mr Goldman and Berkman were not taken to forget-quinta. something will happen and still pounding the table he repeated it saying "something will happen." One of the LOWENSOHN girls in a sarcastic manner said yes, something will happen like it always happened before.

The little Polish girl with HAVEL was apparently very much in love with him. He calls her "Pussie". HAVEL boasted of being a delegate to the Anarchistic Convention with MINA GOLDMAN which was held in Paris in 1900 and of his association with MARXERENHO, the great Belgian worker who is now playing the Blues-Rhythm in New York and who was at the dinner last night by Mr. WUNDERLICH. When asked HAVEL ridiculed saying "the idea of MARXERENHO being at the dinner."

HAVEL said there were only two good anarchist papers now and that were the SYNDICATE and the ANARCHIST-SOVIET BULLETIN.

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Here Mrs. put up to HAVEL the object of her connection with HAVEL and I telling him that HAVEL who was introduced to HAVEL as HAVEL ROTAR wanted some special work done for me (for my MACKIN) and asked HAVEL if he was willing to do it. HAVEL replied that he was providing the job was the right kind of a job and it was for the right people. HAVEL assured him that it was and he agreed to take the job (which will be given to him later after further acquaintanceship).

As it was growing close to midnight and the two LOWENSOHN girls were becoming restless as they have very little faith in HAVEL anyway, they proposed going home and I agreed to accompany them. Upon arriving on the outside of the hall, MINA informed me that the Count had told her not to think of going home unless she went in a taxi-cab. They said that they lived at 168th St. & Franklin Avenue and of course wanting to make good for the Count, I was forced to take them home. The taxi-cab fare was seven dollars. I had not been feeling well all night anyhow on account of an old stomach trouble of mine, so dropped the girls at a drug store and took a dose of medicine. I then went to the Endicott Hotel where I registered under the name of JOSEPH F. MACKIN and retired for the night.

SUNDAY - DECEMBER 28th

From this morning at 9:00 I had breakfast and went to HAVEL's apartments, which he has rented at 107 E. 98th St. for the purpose of having these radicals come there. The apartment is at 107 E. 98th St. - Apartment 10. Telephone number 1-271 for which he is paying \$15.00 per month. The apartment is furnished and was formerly the apartment of a woman named Mrs. BLOOM. From Hajek said he was going to speak to meet her.

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husband. MINA, who is very much in love with Hajek understands that she is to share his apartments with her and is very anxious of course to begin. Hajek is stalling her off and I fear will not be able to do it much longer as she is very persistent, calls him on the telephone, etc., every little while.

Upon arriving at the apartment, I was admitted by Hajek's girl 'Jewel' who signaled to me to be quiet and not speak and whispered to me that HAVEL and his girl were in an adjoining room. Hajek then arose and said he had succeeded in getting both to the house and after looking them in separate rooms and gone through their clothes and found in HAVEL'S pockets a red note book which he showed me. This note book contained a number of names and addresses and it will be noticed that several of these names have a star opposite them and they are as follows:

M. E. Fitzgerald	28 Grove St.,
Freedom	R.F.D. 10, 1 New Brunswick, N.J. 07130
H. Edwards	46 Wash. Square
Max Eastman	"
Karl Dannenberg	203 E. 17th Street
Andrew Dasberg	64 W. 19th St.
M. A. Cohen	1503 President St.,
Glenn Coleman	6 Patchin Pl.
Galossi	1253 Bleecker St.,
The Communist	45 E. 29th Street
Max Eginaki	755 E. 188
J. Brunner	1851 Easton Avenue
Mary Berger-o/o Miss O'Leary-852 W. Holstead St., Chicago	
Alice Becker	10 E. 15th St.
Apollonia Mtyl	10 E. 15th St. (came from Frisco & no longer in N.Y.)
Frank Booth	11 Bank St.
Harry Kelly	21 Manhattan Ave., o/o Epstein-F.Y. Corner
	101 St. 22 W. 17th St. Waterproo
	Garment Workers Union.
Albert Bernice	40 Jane St.
Leonard Abbott	2985 Briggs Avenue
Edith Adams	56 Commerce St. (Hajek says I am a liberator)
Jack Isaacson	121 W. 11th St.
Mary Weston Vorse	Monongahela Hotel-Pittsburg (supposed Govt. connection-tipped Havel off-man he was living with Volpin was S.S. turned out wrong)
M. Walkowitz	12 Union Sq.,
Robert Lee Warwick	156 Commerce St.
	156 Commerce St.

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Nathan Fish	412 Madison Sq.
Carlo Tresca	112 E. 19th St.
Margaret Sanger	104-5th Ave., (in charge Boston arrangement)
Rosa Strumsky	246 W. 14th St.
Mary O'Brien	Provincetown, Mass
Lillie Strumsky	27 W. 120th St.
Paul Munder	68 William St.
Rodgers Merritt	18 John St.
Paul Luftig	89 E. 173rd St.
Lola Ridge	21 E. 15th St., (Postess for Berkman)
Wm. Parker	191 Greenwich Ave
Current Opinion	66 W. 36th St., Radical paper
William Sanger	58 Christopher St
M. Katz	404 E. 5th St
H. Kelly	337 W. 23rd St.
H. Kemp	149 W. 11th St.
Manuel Komroff	
Jack Isaacson	3213 W. 111th St., (this is wrong-300)
Ingersoll Company	30 Irving Place
Paul Luftig	489 E. 173rd St.
Robo College	202 Bowery
Antoine Hapgood	Dobbs Ferry-2-1-7 Harvard Club-
	87 W. 44th St.
Gruber	347 Broadway Chicago

The following name and address was in Havel's girl's book:

Berkman 9188 Roscoe

Among the above names will be noted the name of KARL DANNENBERG of No. 202 E. 17th Street. This may later prove to be corroborative evidence of Havel's connection with the circular which I spoke about in my last report entitled "Yellow-Workers" which is identical with the "Anarchist-Soviet-Bulletin". Karl Dannenberg I understand is a German sympathizer and if previous reports are looked up they will show that he boasts of his German sympathies. The New York office is very well acquainted with the activities of Dannenberg.

We also learned that the name of Havel's little Polish girl is POLONIA MYL and that she lives with an ALICE HAVEL at No. 10 E. 15th St. and claims to have come recently from San Francisco. Havel told Hajek that he had only more or less seen her three weeks and not to be first met her in the 15th Street

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House and laughed at the queer manner in which they became acquainted. She was lying on a bed drunk and in her delirium she was saying "I want to go to Soviet-Russia" and how she was not able to pronounce the word "Soviet" correctly, all of which made us suspicious because she spoke perfect English. Hajek's girl took the bottle to the dining room where Hajek said the girl contradicted herself several times. I advised Hajek to be careful what he said in my presence as it may be that she is not somebody and coupled with the repulsive appearance she makes us doubly suspicious. I would recommend that the New York office get a line on her. Hajek claims to have found in the girl's purse a telephone number - Beaman 91-5. It seems being ROSSON (?) This will also be looked up. The clothing the girl wore was made by a very fashionable tailor in New York. This will also be looked up.

About 9:30 in the morning HAVEL and the girl ARON appeared greatly refreshed by his few hours rest. The change the man's attitude was very noticeable. He remembers everything distinctly which had come on the night before and was not nearly so radical in his talk. Then he asked for something to drink. Immediately after getting the first drink he again went on his ranting about the Government. He said that the Government was full of native-born anarchists and inferred that he knew many native-born anarchists in writing and intimated that he was the promoter of signing their stuff. This immediately recalled to my attention a circular sent through the mail in January of 1919 in which was signed "THE AMERICAN ANARCHIST" and which was signed by "H. J. HAVEL".

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see red!

Smelling their destruction, they have decided to check the storm by passing the Deportation law affecting all foreign radicals.

We, the American Anarchists, do not protest, for it is futile to waste any energy on feeble-minded creatures led by His Majesty Phonograph Wilson.

Do not think that only foreigners are anarchists, we are a great number right here at home.

Deportation will not stop the storm from reaching these shores. The storm is within and very soon will leap and crash and annihilate you in blood and fire.

You have shown no pity to us. We will do likewise.

And deport us. We will dynamite you. Either deport us or free all.

THE AMERICAN ANARCHISTS

The particular circular we have was sent to the National Bank at 425 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia and at the same time one of our assistant U.S. Attorneys and the Lawyers Club and a number of prominent people in Philadelphia received them. The tone of this circular sounds exactly like the talk that HAVEL gets out of him, particularly about the American Anarchists. I have no doubt but that the ANARCHIST-REVOLUTION-BULLETIN and the FELLOW-WORKERS circular and the other anarchist circulars were written by the same person and printed by the same press and that this 1906-1907 circular was also written by the same person but of course I am not able to quite understand the real reason for it having been written in New York and mailed to the National Bank in Philadelphia. This National Bank is the Philadelphia National Bank which of course is a very large bank here in Philadelphia and in view of FRANCIS RALSTON WELSH's agents being so closely associated with the HAVEL effort and in view of FRANCIS RALSTON WELSH's efforts to discredit the different administration heads, I am frank to say that in my mind this

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In] re: Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Mina Lowensohn (Anarchist-Soviet Bulletin), Philadelphia [19]19 Dec. 29 / J.[F.] McDevitt [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 17 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: McDevitt investigates radical activities in New York and Philadelphia with undercover agent Hajek. McDevitt describes his meeting with Mina Lowensohn and Hyppolite Havel. He includes a list of names and addresses taken from Havel's address book.

Notes: Light copy; portions illegible. Follow-up to 880606309 and 880606310.

causes a complication of which nothing but a slow study of the situation will develop anything.

Hajek insists that this is the same crowd who printed the "Plain Talk" circular found around the homes of the different national men on June 2nd, 1919, among which national men was the U. S. Attorney General.

Both Hajek and Havel state that on early Sunday morning while HAVEL and his girl were in their apartment, that HAVEL said at least fifteen times, "I am the editor of the 'Anarchist-Soviet-Bulletin' and they are looking for the editor of the 'Anarchist-Soviet-Bulletin', but they will never succeed me."

Hajek told me that HAVEL said that a man named BARRY HARRIS is the manager of the "Anarchist-Soviet-Bulletin" in the man who founded the "Anarchist-Soviet-Bulletin" with HAVEL. That man was the one who HAVEL told him that they were all the way to New York through spies that are in the County Court of Attorney General and the "Gang" know how everything is going on.

Hajek said that HAVEL said he is of Bohemian birth but he is a citizen of the United States and he is very anxious to go to England for which HAVEL said he was willing to give him enough money to go some twenty-five or eighty dollars. HAVEL told me that he will not have any trouble to get his passports and the WARDENS or INSPECTORS or some of his Washington connections will look after that for him and that was all right so far as he will not be looked upon with suspicion for the reason that he is an American.

Hajek, of course, is saying the worst of everything and

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in fact, it is not possible to have a revolution in this country. Upon the bed he lay upon so, that should not be. Hajek said that in this country, the people are too stupid to realize that all of their business is in the hands of foreigners and there is no American — at least he said there were no Americans in the Eastern part of the United States — what few Americans there are, they are in the West. Hajek presented him with a cane. I also understand that Hajek presented Berkman with a gold watch prior to his being deported and he gave of course, a donation.

I also understand, was the editor of the "Anarchist" and the "Soviet" and he was very active in the movement as well as the "Soviet" and the "Anarchist".

Another familiar saying of Hajek's is, "on see everybody in New York now, they are all going to be crazy. No one suspects me of being behind these things — Oh, no, not me, I am drunk with the rag pickers, the future of the United States — Harry Kelly is my friend — I am afraid I am friend — poor old man has just been diagnosed of being crazy. Think of it, the old man is a world down man. Emma Goldman is my friend — Harry Kelly is my friend — poor old Sarah — I am afraid I am friend. The Soviet idea of Government is bound to come to this cabbage country, but the Americans are too dumb to see it. Look at all of the poor people in this cabbage country, they are either Europeans or the sons of Europeans who have the right of citizenship."

I had occasion to speak to Hajek about the high price of sugar and complained of paying 10 cents per pound in N.Y.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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Further to me he said - "Don't be a complainer - never blame the individual - smash the damned system - that's the way to do it."

Hajek states that HAVEL said to him in the French of "Havel" that "I am a destructive anarchist - not like you - I am a constructive anarchist."

Hajek then asked HAVEL if COMRADE and HAVEL might be any other than a Soviet type. HAVEL laughed, saying - "No indeed - This administration has too many of our kind in it to do so."

HAVEL was once a very prominent writer, writer of the anarchist, politician in the world and speaks of his one time classmate for them as of the association with JOHN GALTIER, the well known Italian anarchist recently deported from Boston, and is now editor of an anarchist paper in England. He made a reference to the fact of his connection to ZUNIGA saying that he can see that the matter is not the same as HAVEL or HAVEL (corrected). He refers to Pauline Parker who is the private secretary to HAVEL and who handles all of the mail.

In this connection I wish to state that a woman's very distinctly having mentioned in my report dated February 4th, 1918 entitled JOHN GALTIER, a CORRUPT and HAVEL, apparently dangerous attitude of radicals in the General Labor Council in Philadelphia. The information mentioned in this report was obtained from the for Island Shipyard of the (Lakewood) West Virginia Agency. It will be noted in that report that the (Lakewood) woman was working in the office of the (Lakewood) firm of information and was obtained by (Lakewood) (Lakewood) (Lakewood) and the (Lakewood) woman had access to all mail received by (Lakewood) (Lakewood) (Lakewood).

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Notes: Light copy; portions illegible. Follow-up to 880606309 and 880606310.

The Bureau was advised by the Chicago Office, dated 10/1/30,
 Report, 10th & 11th Street, Chicago, Ill., dated 10/1/30,
 at 11:40 A.M. received by the Bureau 10/1/30, that the
 the 11th District Attorney, George J. Meyer, had been

34

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: McDevitt investigates radical activities in New York and Philadelphia with undercover agent Hajek. McDevitt describes his meeting with Mina Lowensohn and Hyppolite Havel. He includes a list of names and addresses taken from Havel's address book.

Notes: Light copy; portions illegible. Follow-up to 880606309 and 880606310.

It will be noted that I mentioned above that we had spoken of for the Government's fears of the born control list and that I speak of the circular signed "JAMES O. HANCOCK" on the other side of the TRANSIT stamp on the application on the second column at the bottom. It will be noted above the TRANSIT stamp to note the born anarchists.

There has also been sent through the mails to two different Philadelphia people of no prominence whatever, an incoherent note written in last month, in which about the only thing is tellable in the word "over the hills".

Things along the line have been rather quiet in Philadelphia recently and the tempo surrounding it this particular time looks as if a new season is about to be started.

He has also received the 1000 East 80th St. of
that company and the 1000 East 80th St. of the
in England and today about 10 o'clock there he
received the 1000 East 80th St. and the 1000 East 80th St.

7) We were anxious to establish the connection between
[redacted] and [redacted] as we until this writing have had no information
that [redacted] was the employer of [redacted]. This has been established
that [redacted] established and is the [redacted] [redacted]
[redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

DATE: 10-29-65

Don't let them go home. Let them stay today.
Don't let them go home. Let them stay today.

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J. F. McDEVITT

Dec. 27-28-19

describes as follows: 5'8" tall, 160 lbs., light brown hair, neatly trimmed mustache, small light brown eyes, light colored spots. He assumes that this man is connected with the British Secret Service and are not sure.

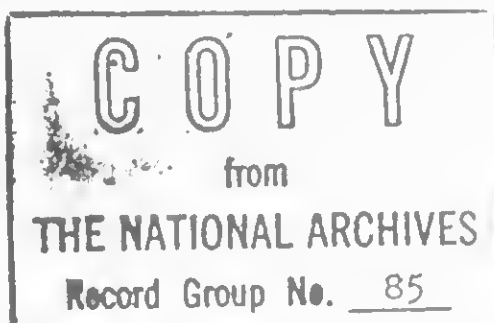
Agent Havel states that he met Colonel Swaiter on two different occasions, but at the time he met him he was in the uniform of a British Officer and was seen as a sentry, and he is, therefore, unable to state definitely if the man whom he saw leaving Broad Street Station was the same man. However, he is sure of agent Havel's case. The three men then took a train for Devon, Pa., which is the home of HASE.

Our object in doing this was of course to further strengthen our case that Havel is in the employ of HASE.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1919 Dec. 31, New York [to] D.C. Poole [Division of Russian Affairs]
 Department of State, Washington, D.C. / E. Sherman. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.
Summary: Sherman explains the terms under which the American Relief Administration can supply flour to pay Latvia for transporting the Buford deportees to the Russian frontier.
Notes: Enclosed with 811023017.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
 Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
 File Number 54809/*General*

AMERICAN RELIEF ADMINISTRATION

EUROPEAN CHILDREN'S FUND

Herbert Hoover, Chairman
 115 Broadway,
 New York.

Mr. D. C. Poole,
 Chief of Russian Division,
 State Department,
 Washington, D. C.

December 31, 1919.

My dear Mr. Poole:

Supplementing our conversation of yesterday over the phone, we now have a cable from London stating that they are in a position to supply the quantities of flour which you require for payment to the Latvian Government for their service in transporting 249 Russians on Transport BUFORD across Latvia to the Bolshevik line. London quotes a price of \$165. per ton ex Warehouse Libau, which as we understand it, represents cost.

Our representative at Libau can make delivery to representative of the Latvian Government on our receiving here proper instructions from your Department.

It is understood that the quantities required on this transaction will not exceed 30 tons, that we are to receive a properly executed order from the Purchasing Department of the U. S. Government; and it is our understanding that the State Department will establish a rate of exchange with the Latvian Government on dollar basis and payment to us for quantities supplied will be in dollars at our office in New York.

Yours very truly,
 ARA EUROPEAN CHILDREN'S FUND
 By E. SHERMAN

ES:MG

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on Pinkerton's investigation of Goldman, Chicago? between 1920 and 1940] / [Agent? Bureau of Investigation? Department of Justice?]. — 1 p. ; 22 x 28 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.

Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

Summary: An unknown agent summarizes the Pinkerton Detective Agency's attempt to determine who was financing Goldman's group in late 1916. Alexander St. John, as operative 24-E, handled the investigation.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible. One shot of two pages.

XXXX During November 1916 Pinkerton's were retained to ascertain who financed the group of anarchists headed by Emma Goldman. Ira L. Beck, Capt. was placed in charge of the operation and after the matter received due consideration, an operative, known as "24-E" was detailed on this matter. Beck is now Secretary of the Western Farmers' Association with an office in Chicago. He is somewhat friendly to Pinkerton's. The Farmers' Association had some difficulty with the government during the recent war. 24-E is Alexander T. St. John at present employed as an investigator out of the Chicago office of The T. J. Donohoe Detective Agency.

At the time the operation was undertaken it was commonly understood about the Pinkerton office at the client was the Illinois Manufacturers Association; reports probably went to an official of the association named Webster. Emma Goldman was then delivering a series of lectures at the Fine Arts Building in Chicago.

St. John introduced himself to Emma Goldman at a dinner at Madison from Canada who was interested in making trouble for the Catholics. She expected trouble and she believed that St. John could make her more positive trip through Canada a great deal easier. In Chicago he sat on the platform while the lectures were delivered and as a guest he met the anarchists and overheard a great deal of their conversation.

Margaret Anderson, Editor of the Little Review of New York was then in Chicago and had an apartment on Hollywood Avenue near the lake. A meeting was finally called to be held at her home and discuss the financial side of their enterprise and also for ways and means to carry out to carry on the work.

Four people attended this meeting which was on the order of a banquet - here could be the secret be guessed. At this time, the following persons were present: Bill Lloyd, Emma Goldman, Margaret Anderson, Ben Seitzman, The Editor of the New York Call, At St. John,

a woman friend of Margaret Anderson who lived in Indianapolis, a married couple from France and two men from England. During the dinner Seitzman approached Emma Goldman and in front of the company told her he was passionate he was and wanted her to leave the table and enter a nearby bedroom to satisfy his desires and she had some difficulty in letting him know that she would do nothing for him at the time, etc. All matters were discussed openly and during these talks it came out that a man named Lasker was the real power who was taking care of the financial troubles confronting the organized anarchists in America. Seitzman said about Lasker and it was brought out that Lasker was the advertising man connected with the firm of Lord & Thomas in Chicago. Later, Capt. Beck of Pinkerton's called St. John to the office of Lord & Thomas to identify Lasker as the man who was discussed and the verification was made in some manner.

St. John is in the process of without mentioning the name of Lasker, the local Department of Justice officials could secure from the Illinois Manufacturers Association the data as to who financed the anarchists in America during the war. Some data might also be secured by sending three or four men, ostensibly to interview Beck and after getting the data, have some of these men and have him engaged in conversation while some member of the party took to interview Secretary Webster of the Illinois Manufacturers or any official who might be asked.

There may be nothing to the story but is worthy of at least a preliminary investigation to verify or disprove the connection of Lasker with the organized anarchists.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on] Alexander Berkman [Washington, D.C., between 1920 and 1936] / [author unknown]. — 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: An unknown government official prepares a general report on Berkman.

Notes: For memorandum brief mentioned, see 800321004.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

This man is the type of anarchist propagandist on the border between individualist or terrorist, and philosophic. By birth he is a Russian Jew and a close associate of Emma Goldman. Possessed of an exceptionally keen mentality, he easily secured influence as a speaker and writer. His activities in many instances were open and intended to impress by his boldness. His first important accomplishment was the attempt upon the life of Charles Frick, in connection with the Homestead, Pennsylvania strike of the steel workers, so vividly described in Berkman's "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist", published by the Mother Earth Publishing Association in 1912. In this work Berkman has left a striking record of the details of the affair. It makes no attempt at apology, nor can there be found anything other than self-glorification. His ravings on such subject as martyrdom permeate his entire career. Another work of interest is the "Trials and Speeches of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman in the United States District Court in the City of New York in July 1917".

An interesting and indicative article by Berkman is entitled "To Hell with the Government", appearing in "The Blast",

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-2-

for May 1, 1916, vol. 1, No. 12. There is attached hereto a carbon copy of a memorandum brief, filed in the immigration case against Berkman, containing many interesting quotations from his written works.

Berkman edited "The Blast" in conjunction with Emma Goldman. He actively opposed conscription, is a self admitted anarchist, one of the most ardent advocates of abolishing prisons, etc.

He was deported from the United States on the "Buford", Christmas 1919.

The Emma Goldman Papers

890520013

[Letter, between 1920 and 1940] Detroit, Mich. [to] Lawrence Richey, Secretary to the President, Washington, D.C. / Alexander LeDoulx. — 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: LeDoulx reports that an anarchist, Lazar Kostich, formerly Goldman's right-hand man, is working in Detroit.

512 Monroe Avenue

THE STATE JEWELRY STORE

C O P Y

Detroit, Michigan.

Mr. Lawrence Richey,
Secretary to the President,
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE OCT 12 1983 BY 36702/1011

My dear Sir:-

I have at hand a very important matter, which I deem to be confidential, and therefore I feel that I can trust the information to only you.

The information I wish to disclose was given to me by a certain Greek Macedonian, who is well known among the Russian and Serbian peoples, of this country, as well as the Bulgarian and Roumanian peoples, and speaks the languages of them all and has the information at hand from his associations with these peoples.

I understand that it is my duty to divulge this information, as I have close connections with Mr. John L. Zurbrick, District Inspector of Immigration, who is now out of town on vacation, and I wish to inform as follows:

One, Lazar Kostich, an anarchist, educated in France by the Serbian Government, the right hand man, formerly of Emma Goldman, who speaks French, Serbian, Italian, German, Russian, Bulgarian, and other Slavonic languages, and is about six feet tall, prominent nose, large ears, black, curly and bushy hair, and frequents the locality of a restaurant at the six mile road and Woodward Avenue in Detroit, as a night waiter.

He lives in the locality of John R. Street and The Eight Mile Road, in Detroit, and has a complete library of foreign documents and literature, the address of which I expect to obtain immediately. He frequents the public library in Detroit, nearly every day with his assistant, and my informant observed that he always studies and notes from the works of "Tolstoy" and other works on the Bolshevic Government of Russia.

It is understood that he is in the employ of the Russian Government, and travels about the United States in the interest of the Russian Government, and its advocated principles, in this country.

61-6698-1

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Summary: LeDoulx reports that an anarchist, Lazar Kostich, formerly Goldman's right-hand man, is working in Detroit.

- 2 -

Trusting that this information may be of some use to the Government at Washington, with other information I may supply, in limiting the activities of the nature of the above man, I remain

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) A. LeDoulx.

Alexander LeDoulx

AL/HBN

The Emma Goldman Papers

890414040

[List of Radical Literature, 1920-1930? (excerpt)] / [author unknown].—
1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: A list of radical literature, probably prepared by the Bureau of Investigation, includes Goldman and Berkman's pamphlet on their 1917 trial.

-6-

118. India's Royalty to England. By The India Natl. Party	3
119. Labor Scrap Book. By Chas. Kerr Publisher	1
120. Young India. By India Home Rule League of America	3
121. Wage Labor and Capital. By Karl Marks	1
122. The Coal Question. By Scott Nearing	1
123. American Deportation and Exclusion Laws. Report of Attorney Chas. Recht	1
124. The Thieves Book. By Appeal to Reason	1
125. The Red Dawn. By Harrison George	1
126. Why Catholic Workers Should be Socialists, By Mary E. Marcy	1
127. Socialism, What It Is, And How To Get It., By Oscar Ameringer	1
128. Manifesto and Program Constitution Report to the Communist International	2
129. Militant Socialism. By James O'Neal	1
130. Report of Special Commission on the Mooney Case	1
131. Trials and Speeches of A. Berkman and E. Goldman	1
132. Military Training in the Making of Men. By Fredk. J. Libby	1
133. The Development of Socialism from Science to Action. By Karl Radek	1
134. The Fetishism of Liberty. By Harry Waton	1
135. Evidence. Cross Examination of J. T. (Red) Doran. in the Case of U. S. A. vs. W. D. Haywood	1
136. The Proletarian Revolution. By N. Lenin	1
137. Program and Constitution of the Communist Party of America	1
138. Story of the Sacco and Vanzetti Case	1
139. Modern Science and Anarchism. By P. Kropotkin	1
140. Soviet Russia. By Albert Rhys Williams	1
141. Industrial Unionism, and Revolution, by P. Kurinsky	1

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on V.A. Hajek, 1920?] / [Agent, Military Intelligence Division? War Department?]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: An unnamed agent describes his meeting with Mr. Hajek, who offered to sell him information to use against Ludwig Martens. Hajek claimed to be the lover of Mina Lowenson, a close associate of Berkman and Goldman, and had a letter from Berkman to Lowenson.

Notes: For related documents, see 810402120 and 810402121.

During the last two weeks of August, a middle-aged, well-dressed man, a Bohemian or Hungarian, I do not remember exactly which, who called himself Mr. Hajek, and carried a card labeling himself as a criminal investigator, called on me to sell me information which he said would cause the immediate deportation of Martens, the Bolshevik Enissary in the United States.

He was referred to me by Polish Government officials whom he had approached with this information. He offered to sell it for two reasons, the first because he was an American citizen and believed that their activities were highly inimical to this country, and the second because he believed that an expose of Bolshevik activities here would gain sympathy for the Polish Government. Hajek's story was a highly involved one and he carried documentary matter which more or less bore out his statements. He said that he had in some manner obtained the passport issued by the British, to a titled British subject with very radical leanings. The passport included, besides this titled British subject, this man's supposed wife. This supposed wife, ^{Mina Lowenson} according to Hajek, is a famous Russian woman radical, an intimate of Martens of Berkman and Emma Goldman. Hajek said that this woman, who believed him to be a radical, was in love with him and confided in him full details of all the Bolshevik activities here and throughout the world. He told me that there was on foot various plans for inciting riots in the United States and other parts of the World and for doing violence to various prominent persons.

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Notes: For related documents, see 810402120 and 810402121.

Hajek had in his possession the passport containing his picture and the photograph of the woman whose name I do not recall. He had also in his possession a letter purporting to have been written to this woman by Alexander Berkman from the Federal Prison, in which Berkman in guarded tones spoke of some certain undertakings of the Bolsheviks. It was with respect to these undertakings that this woman and Hajek, ^{Mina Lowenson and Count Potucki} posing as the titled Britisher started abroad. They were stopped at Halifax by the British authorities. According to Hajek, they were stopped because of government information to the British.

Hajek claims to have done work for Norman Thwaites and for the United States Department of Justice in Philadelphia. He bore out these claims by showing me clippings from various Philadelphia papers which showed that he had been very active in bringing to trial certain German agitators during the war.

Hajek gave his address as the Endicott Hotel, and called me on the telephone several times seeking some action in this matter of buying information in his possession.

He is known, I believe, to the Department of Justice as I sent a man to the office of the Department of Justice along about between August 10th and 15th, to ask about him. This man was told that Hajek was known as a highly paid private detective.

I do not know how responsible Hajek is or what basis of truth there is in the story he told me, but this information is given for what it may be worth.

The Emma Goldman Papers

810402121

My Year and a Half Among the Bomb Throwers, 1920 / V.A. Hajek.—
16 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Hajek outlines the plot of a possible novel or screenplay melodrama based on his undercover work among the anarchists.

Notes: Enclosed with 810402120.

MY YEAR AND A HALF AMONG THE BOMB THROWERS

Copyright 1920 by V. A. Hajek for
U. S. A., Great Britain and
France.

1921

10110-1453

16

WAS DEPT. 1

328X

FEB 15

A brief record of amazing adventures of V. A. Hajek, criminologist formerly of the Supreme Criminal Court of Bohemia, U. S. Department of Justice, U. S., Naval Secret Service etc., baring true facts of his experience while he was compiling evidence against the worst enemies of civilization - the international group of anarchists terrorists, responsible for the bomb outrages in this and other countries.

Recently the newspapers were full of startling news of exposures made with regard to the anarchist propaganda in America regarding arrests of agents prepared to sail for Europe to start revolutions in European countries. One of the very amazing stories was the news from Canada about the arrest of Count.....in company with "his wife", X, on whom a letter from a man standing presently in the foreground of persons being investigated by the Government was found containing a list of anarchist leaders in Europe and America together with details of plans for a world wide revolution.

The Count was jailed apart from her and the anarchist
spouse

The Emma Goldman Papers

My Year and a Half Among the Bomb Throwers, 1920 / V.A. Hajek. — 16 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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Notes: Enclosed with 810402120.

-2-

spouse of Mr. Hajek did not suspect in the least that the count was a criminologist - his real identity being known only to the heads of Secret Service of several Governments who were co-operating with him.

The anarchist spouse of Mr. Hajek who was a messenger and secret agent of the heads of anarchist movement of the world, up to this date, does not suspect in the least that her companion - the Count - who was selected by her superiors to assist her in bringing about revolution in various countries in Europe and to protect her, was a shrewd, genial criminologist on the job, fighting for higher ideals of Americanism and humanity, who through the Hell of Anarchy, demoralization and a labyrinth of slick and weird personages, carried safely the American flag to show at the amazing conclusion of his career that, like after the critical period of the Revolutionary War, "A Proof as Given Through the Night" that OUR FLAG WAS STILL THERE, that time and Americanism has conjured the darkness of Hell, Anarchy and International demagoguery.

Mr. Hajek has succeeded in working up into the innermost circles of the Anarchist leaders in this country, and was, as a matter of fact, regarded as one of their most prominent leaders, - the Count.....from an old Hungarian aristocracy. He had the most valuable opportunity to study their doctrines, the ultimate object of which, if put

up

The Emma Goldman Papers

810402121

My Year and a Half Among the Bomb Throwers, 1920 / V.A. Hajek. — 16 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Hajek outlines the plot of a possible novel or screenplay melodrama based on his undercover work among the anarchists.

Notes: Enclosed with 810402120.

-3-

up before the public in its full, astounding, shameless and horrible meaning, would do away with the doctrines of Anarchism as such.

The men and women among whom he spent many months by now, use very sweet words to mock their followers into trusting them. They act as apostles of a new happiness and rejuvenation of mankind. But if their true aims are analyzed, as he had opportunity in the light of truth, they make a sinister picture of an attempt to demoralize the whole world; break up happiness of home and family life, to kill anything that is beautiful in men, women, art and life and make the whole world nothing but one big house of prostitution.

World-wide revolution was attempted by this gang and if it were not for his vigilance, for he being posted on all their plans, these could hardly have been frustrated, as none of the concerned Governments Secret Services have a man of Slav birth of so long experience, who could have gone so far into the midst of the criminals, such as was the case with his special work.

The world revolution was to be brought about simultaneously in all European countries. Their doctrines and tendencies, if brought out as they intended to apply them, and as they are really employing them in their own homes,

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Notes: Enclosed with 810402120.

-4-

homes, would fill with terror and horror, every intelligent man and woman. If these adventures were brought on the screen, they would have a tremendous influence, not only upon the foreign born population of America, but they also could be used widely in a propaganda in Europe, as from both these camps the soldiers of the Anarchist cause are being recruited. Not ninety nine per cent of them realize what Anarchism really is, but being attracted by seductive ideas, mad agents and propagandists, easily fall victims of the Anarchy. A play that would give an inlook into the real life and selfish intentions of the preachers of such doctrines, most of their followers would, with abhorrence, turn from the dreams of "Paradise" that in fact, exists only for the few immoral crooks and leaders, and they would seek salvation only in productive constructive work, which is the only way out of the disordered and chaotic conditions threatening now also America.

Mr. Hajek's part in this astonishing case required an extremely daring display of self-control - once he was cornered among some eighteen of his group, suspecting him as a spy and threatening him with revolvers, - a great amount of intelligence and detective skill, and the

things

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-5-

things we have witnessed sounds almost incredible. Frequently the American newspapers have dealt with them. The newspapers themselves never suspected that the arrested Count.....in Canada was a shrewd, daring criminologist on the job in which he received the assistance of the various Governments. And the Anarchist leaders themselves never had the slightest idea that the noble man that they used to call "The God of Manhood" and whose adoring amounted nearly to a cult, was a man fighting for high ideals of organized civilization, directly opposing their very religion through which they tried to get themselves into power. Mr. Hajek was assisted by Miss Jewell, whose role was defacto not less deserving and remarkable than that played by himself. She was attractive and youthful and very nearly succumbed - being of Russian decent - to the Anarchist doctrines and was on the verge of becoming one of the ardent followers when Mr. Hajek made her acquaintance and winning her love, rescued her from the perils of her environment. It is highly remarkable that this all is a vivid story from life and not fiction.

SYNOPSIS

(History of Action)

(Mr. Hajek's work during the War was in the Service
of

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-6-

of the United States Government. He was well known to the political organizations and influential men, who, inspired by Americanism, put up fifty thousand dollars to enable Mr. Hajek to make an independent investigation, as the authorities could accomplish very little, lacking funds and men of Mr. Hajek's experience. The only clue Mr. Hajek had to work on was an Anarchist threatening circular defying the authorities and threatening them. Mr. Hajek was engaged immediately after the bomb explosion in Philadelphia on the New York 1919, to bring perpetrators of the bomb outrage to justice.)

It was almost impossible to gain access among the leaders. Hajek, who, from his experience as a former agent of the Supreme Criminal Court of Bohemia, was thoroughly familiar with the organization of Secret Radical groups in various European states, assumed the role of fugitive anarchist from Austria, gradually overcoming all suspicions and finally assuming position of trusted comrad with the privilege to attend all the secret meetings which were held in private houses above suspicion and was brought head over in contact with the most dangerous anarchist elements which have as hitherto escaped the sharp lynx eye of Secret Service and police. When he is brought into intimate contact with this element, he finds that they are the real

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-7-

real opposite of the apostles of the new freedom and eternal happiness, as they represent to the unsuspecting masses. Hajek finds them to be indeed a horrible perverse, demoralized criminal gang of the worst type, which is working day and night, secretly and openly, to throw the whole world into chaos, despair, helplessness, prostitution and demoralization with the only view that their private selfish ends can be attained.

Instead of finding them idealists and martyrs, as they daily represented themselves to the public, he found them a group of unscrupulous, demoralized addicts to prostitution, who were viciously bent upon destroying anything that is decent or sacred in man or woman. Hajek sees with clenched fists how innocent girls are being dragged into the mud by these apostles of prostitution and crime, he witnesses how the innocent victims shrink back at the boldness of the villains and how finally they are pulled down by the persuasive beautiful words and the diabolical shrewdness and cunning means which finally make them give in, and the unhappy girl believes that she herself will become one of the chosen apostles who will bring about the rejuvenation of mankind. Once she is broken down and made loose, her self respect, her soul and heart being infected and infected with poison and often her veins in-

feeted

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-8-

feeted with a worse curse yet. Thus such a victim becomes gradually one of the advocates of the new ideals, little, if any, realizing that she really is a pitiful thing, which devotes its entire energy to destroy other innocent girls.

In this environment, Mr. Hajek makes the acquaintance of a beautiful Russian girl, Miss Jewell, who is brought in by unfortunates who themselves fell into the clutches of the monster, and although realizing that their own happiness is doomed, out of bitterness of their own loss, they try to drag every one they meet in their way, into the same mud. Mr. Hajek meets Miss Jewell in a romantic way, shields and protects her, and finally when she realizes that he has saved her and wonders why he did so, he opens her eyes as to what she is about to fall into. She cannot help feeling for him with a great and growing sympathy and so she becomes one of the most bitter enemies of the gang when she realizes who they really are and what their business is. She becomes a trusted friend and helpmate of Mr. Hajek, his faithful companion and proves to be of wonderful help to him, beginning to realize the great and noble spirit that animates her friend to uphold the American flag amidst this vice, lawlessness and ruin.

At all these affairs, public and secret, which have been arranged by these anarchists collections among the

sympathizers

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-9-

sympathizers had been arranged to raise funds for the furtherance of the infamous ideas, still this is only used as a cloak to hide mysterious channels through which great sums of money would come at certain periods, which to discover, Mr. Hajek set all his talent on. He always manages to be one of the committee and always holds a position of standing, authority and prominence. Finally, by and by, he is brought into contact with the real secret heads of the gang all over the country. He learns all their secrets, participates in most of their important transactions, and little do these anarchists realize that the apparently sincere, wonderful comrade of theirs is the morning after dictating confidential reports which go then to the different parts of America and the world giving priceless advice to the authorities, so that the dragnet can be closed in at the right moment without giving any of them a chance to escape. They do not even dream that the game Russian comrade, selling flowers and red flags at their balls, trusted by everybody is their worst enemy, that the little hands of this beautiful secretary, while pinning a red rose or a carnation on their coats, are really invisible clutches strangling their throats, which, when putting the flower in a certain way, gives a sign to some passing watchful eye, that the men are recognized and since that

time

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-102

time every step he takes must be closely watched night and day.

In this perverse society, women regard all men as common property and vice versa. It is very interesting to watch, when it comes to mutual jealousy. Rich, vile women frequently associate with this company, ^{not} so much, perhaps as ardent followers of the social doctrines, but much more to look out for young chaps to associate with to satisfy their sinful desires and get variety every day. The same applies to men in every walk of life who very often come here merely on account of the women. So all this beautiful "Paradise" in its final end is nothing but a free prostitution. Miss Jewell is freely mingling with this crowd, Mr. Hajek always right in back of her seeing that she is not exposed to any danger. She always manages to get out important secrets; to squeeze some news out of the newly arrived messengers and always escapes unhurt morally or physically, just leading them to give away their secrets. She is one of the indispensable wills in the whole structure of a great machine of protection organized by Mr. Hajek, slowly getting ready to pass rough shod over decaying carcass, poisoning the very blood of American people.

The messengers from European countries, and one after

another.

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-11-

another, all are cleverly handled by Miss Jewell of Mr. Hajek. Little by little he finally learns that there is being prepared, to take place in due time, world wide revolution, both in Europe and America. Once Europe is finished, America comes next. Preparations are on foot in America to have everything ready here when the call comes. Miss Jewell and Mr. Hajek watch closely over the developments, working night and day. A messenger by the name of M is selected, and in the secret session, plans are perfected. In these preparations, Alex Berkman and others take part. The directions of Alex Berkman are cleverly smuggled out of a prison at Atlanta, Ga., where he is serving his sentence and at a given signal M is to steal out of the country. Here again Hajek cleverly manages to accompany M and assumes an important part in carrying out his plans by giving him information about the Radical organizations in Europe. While in a foreign country..... Mr. Hajek arranges with the Government of which was tipped off beforehand by Miss Jewell, so that the messenger, Hajek himself and a lady figuring as his wife, are arrested in.... and imprisoned. Not to the moment the important documents revealing the vile and nefarious scheme in which even assassination of highly placed personages in Europe was planned, are found, the officers

who

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-12-

who made the arrest cannot get over their surprise in learning that one of the men is an ingenious criminal-ogist who is fighting in his own superb way the genial crooks.

Per Hajek's orders nobody, - neither the Secret Service men who made the arrest nor the reporters who write lengthy stories about the arrest of Count..... and his wife, dangerous foreign terrorists, - do not know up to this time about the real identity of Hajek.

In the meantime in New York the secret gang is alarmed upon learning of their exalted comrade's arrest, and they immediately start organizing a desperate expedition to free Mr. Hajek by force, or by digging a tunnel to the prison where he is supposed to be kept. In the same way as years ago they attempted and nearly succeeded in freeing Berkman from the Western Penitentiary in Pennsylvania. They never learned that Hajek is already back in New York on the job disguised and that the authorities, through their men posted on their movements by Hajek or Miss Jewell, watch every step they take. Finally when the gang is ready to carry out the plans to free their comrade Count, they receive a message in court that Hajek has escaped and shall meet one of the comrades in a

city

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-13-

city near the Mexican frontier. The escape was really brought about by Hajek, who outwitted the soldiers when they were taking him to prison; and up to this day innocent arms of Justice do not know or even imagine that the man whom they cursed after he so cleverly disappeared was really acting so in the confidence of their own Government. One of the old comrades, foxy and sly, upon receipt of Hajek's code is sent to meet him at the place where Hajek found refuge, to give him some money and assistance.

Miss Jewell fearing for her sweetheart's safety manages to go to him, and take full part in the game. She takes a room in the same hotel where Hajek is waiting for the delegate to meet him and while both conspirators are discussing the prospects of the situation, Miss Jewell and two detectives listen in on a dictograph which was planted in the neighboring room, taking down every word of the important secrets of the conversation. "Max dear!" is the pathetic salutation whereby the old fox greets Mr. Hajek, embracing him heartily. A very funny situation arises from conflict between the old fox and another of Hajek's friends who is also on the spot at the time of the meeting.

Mr. Hajek earnestly argues that he immediately must
leave

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-14-

leave for Mexico, but finally allows himself to be persuaded by the old fox to return to New York, taking, of course, all necessary precautions. Then he becomes immediately the leader of the gang who then lost their head in the person of Berkman, who is just about to be deported. This gives Hajek excellent opportunity to learn the world wide organization of the Anarchists. One by one the messengers are watched by the eyes of authorities, their plans thwarted and arresting is postponed until everything is found out. Since his arrest, his supposed maltreatment has won him great sympathy and he gains in prestige more than ever before. In the meantime, Chief Flynn and his trusted agents get busy, Berkman and Emma Goldman are deported from America where they came several years before to take refuge. Before passing the frontier they used, as a truce flag, a piece of table cloth which Hajek bought on 42d Street and Sixth Avenue as a token for Emma Goldman.

In this way the adventures continue to the final denouement. It is of importance to say that among the letters written in secret ink which were found on Hajek's companion, together with letters addressed to the various European leaders, were contained plans for a simultaneous action to carry into effect Revolution, whereby Europe

would

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-15-

would be thrown into Revolutionary chaos. The plans were very perfect and serious disturbances would have occurred had the messages reached Europe during the next following fourteen days. The scheme was timed to work at one given date, both in Europe and America. Hajek, who knew the secrets of the invisible ink, worked two days and two nights to bring the writing out and succeeded indeed. Immediately after that the cablegrams started to work and one important band of anarchists after another was rounded up in all centers before any harm could be done.

Mr. Hajek learns of plans of the Italian Anarchists to assassinate the heads of the Italian Government by a gang of Italian Terrorists imported from America. As a recognized leader of the group, he manages to have the selected Terrorists meet in his apartment; and little do they know that in the same apartment Secret Service men are listening on a dictaphone and recording every word of their plans. Mr. Hajek learns that the Terrorists responsible for the bomb outrages in this country were all safely smuggled out of the country. He learns their names and gives the information to various Governments concerned. Upon completing their plans, the Italian Anarchists start secretly on their mission of terror. Hajek, who

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-16-

who is to go with them to Italy and assist them is aware of the secret route they are to take, has the ship they were smuggled on, held up at the last moment and has them all rounded up, including himself. His work being completed, he takes a well earned rest.

The Emma Goldman Papers

Photographs of Prominent Radicals [1920? (cover page)] / [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The Bureau of Investigation keeps a book of photographs of prominent radicals.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. For enclosure, see 890414106.



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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Photographs of Emma Goldman] / [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].
— 28 cm. In [Photographs of Prominent Radicals, 1920?].

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The Bureau of Investigation compiles a book of photographs of prominent radicals, including Goldman and Berkman.

Notes: Enclosed with 890414105.

54



ALEXANDER BERKMAN AND EMMA GOLDMAN.

two of the most dangerous radicals in the United States, whose activities for many years past have kept the agents of the Department of Justice busy in the attempt to thwart them. They were to have been deported two weeks earlier, but were granted a stay, which, however, proved ineffectual.

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EMMA GOLDMAN



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EMMA GOLDMAN
Federal Prisoner
Jefferson City, Mo.

6



ALEXANDER BERKMAN
Federal Penitentiary,
ATLANTA, Ga.

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65

The Emma Goldman Papers

Introduction and Historical Review of Conditions and Agencies Tending to Create the Present Tendency Toward Radicalism [1920? Jan.?] / [author unknown].— 21 p.; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: A government official prepares an analysis of the development of radicalism during and after World War I in the United States, naming many of Goldman's associates. Part II analyzes the ability of government agencies to respond to the crisis.

Notes: Dark copy; portions illegible. Parts I and II only. Possibly written by J. Edgar Hoover.

B. TREVOR

OFFICE OF THE
INVESTIGATOR
MIL. INT. BRANCH

1920
1011-1668

PART ONE

WAR DEPARTMENT

Introduction and Historical Review of Conditions and Agencies tending to create the present tendency toward Radicalism.

That there is widespread unrest throughout the United States is no longer a matter for an argument. Strikes and threats of strikes in basic industries, Congressional investigations, and individual experience establish this condition as a fact. It is a condition which if permitted to persist must of necessity like disease neglected in the human body produce complications more serious for the continued existence of our body politic than perhaps local manifestations may indicate to the casual observer. Experience has ever demonstrated that repression without a removal of the causes of popular discontent merely aggravates the difficulty. It is equally well established that feebleness accompanied by jealousy and gifts tends to precipitate an acute situation. It is therefore obvious that before the tension now existing can be relieved we must consider the causes underlying the condition of unrest, the means at hand for the correction of our difficulties and what may be done by individual effort of loyal citizens to fill the deficiencies in existing agencies now dealing with radicalism in the United States.

The Attorney General, Mr. Palmer, it has been stated in the press attributes the present restlessness among large masses of our population to social and economic conditions rather than to the activities of the 60,000 individuals whose actions have brought their names upon his files. It can easily be said that whatever truth there may be in this opinion it is not based upon a fair test of a rigorous enforcement of the law during the emergency.

In order to grasp the difficulties of our present situation it is necessary to briefly review the development of radicalism since the outbreak of war. It is of course a matter of common knowledge that socialism, anarchism, and kindred "isms" shading one into the other were in existence

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-2-

John F.

this country before the war. It is now equally well known that before the war the German Government had commenced its campaign of propaganda from which in the first instance it is now clear they expected in the event of war in Europe there would be at least a sympathetic atmosphere in the United States. The war was expected to be short and this propaganda was essentially conducted on a high plane. That is to say exchange professorships and similar devices of which on the other side may be balanced the Rhodes scholarships. When it became clear as it did after a bare month's struggle that the powers engaged were in for a prolonged war the political and economic situation in the United States even though neutral became a very serious factor for the combatants to consider. Ever increasing contracts and purchases of supplies put a tremendous strain on production; prices of commodities rose higher and higher and the first step was taken in the vicious cycle which has continued ever since. Labor naturally wanted to avail itself of prosperity and in fact was compelled to protect itself by demands for higher pay to meet higher cost of food. Neither the employer nor the labor leader erred through conservatism in asking and taking what could be gotten and each one reacted then as they do today on the other. This situation difficult as it was and is became complicated very shortly by artificial stimulation through the activity of German agents. It is well known that, for reasons not generally apparent, the Federal Government did virtually nothing whatever to deal with the insidious internal war which was carried on here during the period before we entered the conflict. Such work of a preventive nature as was done was largely due to the energy of some local agency or official. The methods adapted by the German agents were not confined to many explained and many more unelucidated bomb outrages but tended to the stimulation of strikes to curtail

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67

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-5-

production and to the spread of nationalistic propaganda among races and peoples subject to Great Britain as well as socialism for its pacifistic influence. The fact that wages mounted very rapidly to meet an irresistible demand for production at any cost made the strike in an ordinary sense a rather fragile weapon which broke under concession after concession. Therefore as is clearly shown by a study of the agencies developed for purposes of propaganda the strike begins to take on more and more a political character. Other devices of the German agent and sympathizer were the defeatist and pacifist organizations frequently coordinating with revolutionary nationalists without the inconsistency apparently proving any inconvenience to the promoters. The phenomenal multiplication of agencies of this character many of which, possibly all, supported and encouraged to some degree by absolutely loyal but misguided people has developed a misunderstanding of American ideals among the very element which now causes our greatest anxiety, the unassimilated immigrant. That the agencies and individuals so exercised in behalf of humanity before the war that they proclaimed pacifistic socialism to be the salvation of society should have flung their support to the conscientious objector when our nation was once engaged in what might well have been its death struggle is not surprising but now what do we find?

The majority of the pacifists and defeatists of war and pre-war times are now in the forefront of the revolutionary nationalist, socialist, etc., even communist movements. It must be borne in mind that these disturbers of our peace are in the vast majority of cases acting within the limits of the law. Certainly, at any rate, as it is interpreted by the present administration. It is true they magnify every grievance, real or imaginary, which can be conceived of in an industrial community but what is infinitely more grave

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68

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-4-

they distort the truth with such persistency that the most charitably inclined must waver in crediting all of them with sincerity. Doubtless a number are sufficiently obsessed with their own conception of social idealism as to be genuinely sincere and unaware that they have been and are the unconscious tools of the personally ambitious or even of the enemies' agents in our midst.

Before turning to an examination of a few concrete examples illustrating the general principles outlined above it is necessary to refer briefly to two important factors tending to support these agencies which have been and are from the point of view of those believing in the rights of private property and individual initiative as distinct from the socialistic concept pernicious to the public welfare. The first of these factors is that of RACE.

It will suffice by way of illustration to present the local situation which is typical of conditions in the greatest cities of our country and in varying degree elsewhere in the United States. We have passed through a period where even without the interference of foreign propagandists the feelings of unassimilated or partly assimilated groups have been subjected to intense strain through the wavering fortunes of war. The situation on broad lines, be it understood, may be estimated by an examination of the census returns: The last available being that of 1910, but as immigration virtually ceased in 1914 it probably substantially represents the importance of various groups relatively speaking. Dealing only with the large groups, the population of Greater New York breaks up along the following lines of natural sentiment through origin or by association:-

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69

The Emma Goldman Papers

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-5-

See ethnic map attached to end of this article

ENTENTE		CENTRAL POWERS	
Russia & Finland	754,059	Germany	748,194
England		Austria-Hungary	433,938
(England	180,120	Turkey	11,767
(Scotland	53,250		
(Canada	53,724		
(Wales	4,890		
(Newfoundland	1,521		
(Ireland	706,749		
France	1,000,054		
Italy	34,688		
	545,178		
TOTAL	2,384,129		1,193,899

These figures for the two groups by nationality, appearing still in a broad sense do not as a matter of fact represent the division of sentiment accurately. It is necessary for example to deduct the Irish from the Entente column owing to their antipathy for England and place them prior to our entry into the war under the group of Central Powers. It is also necessary to deduct the Russian Jews from the Entente column owing to the almost universal abhorrence of the Tsar's government and their being permeated with Marxian socialism of German provenance. These two elements therefore were the food of drives by every conceivable agency of the Central Powers. Although international socialism, indeed socialism of any kind was throttled by the nationalistic tendency of the native Germans in Germany during the war its value as a disintegrating force was well appreciated by the German General Staff and was pushed in the same manner as Irish Nationalism, Indian Nationalism and Egyptian nationalism throughout the world for the annoyance of Great Britain.

A little later the significance of these movements will be more particularly described.

The second factor which is dependent on the first is that of MONEY. It will readily be appreciated after considering the sentimental leanings of various races how it would be possible to carry a considerable part of the burden

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70

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-6-

of agitation by local subscription. As a matter of fact this is well borne out by the subscription lists - pacifist, defeatist, various nationalist movements, primarily anti-British, are crowded with German, German Jewish and Russian Jewish names. Naturally the Irish Nationalist cause was liberally supported by their nationals in close affiliation with Germans until the United States entered the war. In addition to these influences whose support is readily comprehensible it is quite clear that a portion of the 921,381 native whites of native parentage were induced to support agencies, conscious or unconscious as you will, of propaganda by the apparent good faith and presumable independence of the movement. At this point it is well to turn from the general to the concrete.

It may safely be said that the National Civil Liberties Bureau which was an outgrowth of the Civil Liberties Bureau of the American Union against Militarism was the center of an interlocking directorate of pacifist and defeatist organizations during the whole period of the war. It has been stated that a memorandum found in the files of this organization indicated that organizations actively in the field working nationally in cooperation were as follows:

American Union Against Militarism
Emergency Peace Federation
Woman's Peace Party
Socialist Party

and occasionally others such as

Church Peace Union
American Peace Society

It will be seen from this memorandum the variety of groups into which the directors of the National Civil Liberties Bureau stretched their tentacles. Let us follow it, however, a little further. On November 18th, 1918 the

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71

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-7-

Bureau circulated a letter to its friends and subscribers on which was depicted a clipping from a newspaper. The article quoted was headed "Disloyalists Are United" "Government Warns that Various Anti-War Organizations are Federated." The letter protests against this assumption and alleges that the only other Bureau to which funds were contributed was the New York Bureau of Legal Advice. By a curious contradiction it alludes further on to the fact that the Bureau was taking over the work of the Liberty Defense Union. Before going further we may profitably examine the affiliations of some of the more important members of the Directing Committee

JOHN S. GOODMAN, treasurer of the League for Democratic Control (a branch of the National Civil Liberties Bureau in Boston.)

CRYSTAL EASTMAN, managing editor of the "Liberator". Recently reported to have been in close association with Bela Kun, proletarian dictator of Hungary.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, copies of one of this man's sermons were dropped from airplanes over the British trenches in France by the Germans and the same sermon appeared in the "Finished Mystery" a book which formed part of the evidence upon which the officers of the International Bible Students Association were convicted in the lower Federal court and sentenced to twenty years in jail. These individuals, it should be added, have since been released.

JUDAH L. MAGNES, name said to appear in airograms transmitted between Bernstorff and Berlin as a source of information. Socialist agitator in behalf of Russia and Irish freedom. Regarded as pro-German and an obstructionist during the war.

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72

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-3-

Now turn to the New York Bureau of Legal Advice to which the National Civil Liberties Bureau contributed and we find officiating with JOHN LOVEJOY ELLIOTT, CHARLES RECHT who now is one of the counsel for E.C.A.K. MARTENS, the so-called ambassador of Soviet Russia to the United States.

ELLA REEVES BLOOR, agitator, revolutionary bolshevik and socialist who made an address advocating general strike and one big union (I.W.W.) in Brooklyn, October 17th, 1919.

BERTHA H. MAILLEY, secretary of the Rand School of Social Science.

The ramifications of this group are shown in an interesting way by a circular letter sent to one thousand Pennsylvania Labor Unions by the Friends of Freedom for India. We find the first name on the list of members of the Executive Board is ROGER H. BALDWIN, one of the most active leaders in the National Civil Liberties Bureau, who served a year in jail for refusing to submit to physical examination for military service. It may be added that the reason why the Department of Justice did not proceed against this man on the evidence of another crime is one of the interesting mysteries of the war. JOHN FITZPATRICK, whose name also appears on this letter head, is not identified and it cannot be said whether it is the FITZPATRICK of the steel strike or not, although the probabilities are that he is one and the same.

JAMES H. MAURER, who signed the letter, head of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, recent advocate of a general strike, is too well known to need much comment. It may be well to add, however, his name carries over into the field of negro agitation.

NORMAN M. THOMAS again brings us back to the group connected with the National Civil Liberties Bureau. Socialist speaker, member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; addressed meetings under Auspices of Irish Progressive League

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73

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-9-

to demand recognition of the Irish Republic, ect., etc, while DUDLEY FIELD MALONE, who recently appeared as counsel for L.C.A.K. MARTENS was a leading speaker at a recent meeting held in behalf of Soviet Russia. LOUIS LOCHNER, treasurer of this organization was a manager of the Ford Peace party and friend of MME. SCHWIMMER, who was generally supposed to have been a German agent and believed to have been the instigator of the project. LOCHNER is one of the best known American Socialist propagandists. The text of this letter urges the adoption of resolutions to prevent the deportation of Hindus who "have served prison terms for technical violations of neutrality laws in this country, purely political offenses, and the technicalities on which they are held are exceedingly flimsy. Yet, if they are deported the penalty will be death, imprisonment for life, or torture in any case." These allegations are a good illustration of a statement made in a previous paragraph in regard to misrepresentation of facts. The men involved in the "Technical offenses" were concerned in a conspiracy with German agents prior to our entry into the war to supply arms, munitions, and in general further a project to start a revolution in India against a nation with which we were at peace and with which we subsequently engaged in war against a common foe - the employers of these men and their associates. The statement that these convicts face a death penalty is an absolute falsehood and I am under the impression that far from wanting these people back the British would be glad to have them remain here, although it is possible they are assisting our authorities in their effort to rid the country of these objectionable aliens at the request of the U.S. Government.

Before leaving the subject of India we can examine with profit selected names from the list upon an invitation to a dinner given in honor of LALA LAJPAT RAI, one of the

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74

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-10-

ablest and probably the most cautious of the leaders of the Hindu Revolutionary movement. DUDLEY FIELD MALONE, already commented upon; ARTHUR U. POPE, attached to the General Staff at the War Department, and custodian of funds sent from Mexico to him to be applied in prosecuting appeals from the decisions of the U. S. Court in San Francisco in the Hindu cases. It cannot be proved but it is a moral certainty this money was given to the Hindus in Mexico by agents of VON BOKHARDT, ALBERT DeSILVER, director, National Civil Liberties Bureau, W.E.B. duBOIS, negro, director of the activities of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People which publishes the "Crisis". JOHN LOVEJOY ELLIOTT, mentioned above; JOHN FITZPATRICK, mentioned above; CHARLES ERWIN, New York Call; JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, mentioned above; FREDERIC C. HOWE, too well known now to need comment; S. MA, one of the leaders of the southern revolutionary party in China; JAMES H. MAURER, mentioned above; AMOS PINCHOT, DR. GILBERT REID expelled from China and believed to have been in German pay during the war; ROSE SCHNIEDERMAN, Woman's Trade Union League; NORMAN THOMAS, MRS. HENRY VILLARD; FRANK P. WALSH, American spokesman for the Irish cause at the Peace conference in Paris.

Before leaving the sphere of revolutionary nationalism in which the connecting links between anti-militarists, defeatists, bolshheviks, socialists and groups with leanings toward the I.W.W. to a greater or less degree are developed, let us go back from this affair practically of yesterday to the mass meeting of the Friends of Peace held at Madison Square Garden January 24th, 1915. At this meeting held under the auspices of the German American Alliance of Greater New York, United Irish Societies, American Truth Society, American Independence Union, American Humanity League, German American Peace Society, Star Spangled Banner Association, American Continental League, Clan-na-Gael, German Catholic

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75

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-11-

Federation of New York, United Austrian and Hungarian American Societies can be found the names of JOHN DUNN of the Gaelic American, County Judge JOHN F. HYLAN, now Mayor of New York, associated in various committees with men like VON SKAL, FRANCIS J. L. DORL (interned) VIERBOK and of course O'LEARY, later indicted for treason and also for violation of the Espionage Act. Today, Saturday, December 13th, 1919, the New York Times contains the following quotation from remarks made by JUSTICE DANIEL F. COHALEN before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, December 12th:

REPRESENTATIVE CONNALLY put this question to the witness:

"If this action (recognition of the Irish Republic) should mean the United States going to war with Great Britain would you favor it?"

"I say yes", replied Justice Cohalen.

Now consider for a moment that JUSTICE COHALEN and FRANK P. WALSH were at this hearing as spokesmen again for a delegation representing virtually every Irish Society in our country today. The same societies, the same groups of individuals who before our entry into the war were openly espousing the German cause. It is to be feared, but for reasons not necessary now to discuss, some individuals so far forgot their allegiance, that even when we were engaged in war their antipathy for England carried them into questionable fields of endeavor. As a matter of fact technically we are still at war with Germany and the statement speaks for itself.

It would be possible to continue this analysis indefinitely, it would be possible to follow the trail of radical and socialistic organizations into the homes of the well to do. Doubtless the motives which impelled MRS. J. SARGENT ORAN to contribute, if a memo in radical files are to be believed, to the I.W.W. were of the best, or the purpose of MRS. SORCHEM and MRS. STRAIGHT in giving moral and perhaps substantial

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76

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-22-

material support to movements in which men like FREDERIC C. HOWE, the friend of the GOLDMANS AND BERKMANS, WALTER LIFEMAN and HAPGOOD are moving spirits, are above suspicion but when we find names equally well known figuring on the stock lists of papers like the "Liberator", A Journal of Revolutionary Progress, or as supporters of New Schools of Social Science, which teach doctrines subversive of our institutions, the fact becomes a menace upon which it is not necessary to enlarge. It is perhaps not astonishing to find credited in the books of an organization created to carry on the propaganda of the late German Ambassador, the name of SAMUEL UNTERMYER but one is shocked to find that of MR. CLEVELAND E. DODGE. No one for a moment will suppose or has the faintest ground for questioning the loyalty and high purpose of MR. DODGE in making that contribution, if he did make it, but this conspicuous instance is cited to show how organizations conceived in apparent honesty draw the support not only of the frivolous or emotional but of men of the highest standing in the community because as a matter of fact they do not in reality know to what cause often they lend their moral and material support.

In the preceding discussion of our situation it will be observed that no detailed mention has been made of organizations like the Communist Labor Party, The Communist Party, The American Socialist Party, better known through its agency the Rand School of Social Science. The reason for this lies in the fact that their activities are too apparent to be disguised. An examination, however, of two more letter heads will bring the connection of the various groups more clearly to mind. For example from a letter head of the Peoples Council of America for Democracy and Peace, dated in March 1919 the following names are selected:— SCOTT HEARING, connected with the Rand School, indicted for activities during the war, acquitted, but the School convicted for the publica-

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-18-

tion of his book - a curious inconsistency! Very radical speaker on behalf of international socialism, Soviet Russia, Ireland, etc., etc. LOUIS LOCHNER, has already been discussed. MORRIS HILDQUIST's connections have previously been made apparent. JAMES H. MAURER likewise has been mentioned. REBECCA SHELLY at one time associated with ISSAC HOURWITZ who is head of L.C.A.K. MARTEN'S legal department in the Russian Soviet Mission. Other names are JAMES J. BAGLEY, ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS, MAX EASTMAN, JUDAH L. MAGNER, SYMOUR STEDMAN, MRS. J. SERGEANT CROM, FANNIE WIEBERSPOON of the New York Bureau of Legal Advice, ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, well known socialist and Bolshevik under sentence of five years for violation of the espionage act and many others. Compare this with a selection of names from a list on a letter head of the League for the Amnesty of Political Prisoners:- LEONARD D. ABBOTT, of the Editorial Board of "The Modern School" published by the Ferrer group of anarchists, ROBERT KINOR, well known for his anarchist leanings recently charged with attempting to corrupt the troops on the Rhine but ordered released under peculiar circumstances. DR. FREDERICK A. BIOSSON, made an address June 11th, 1919 on the One Big Union (I.W.W.), debated March 31st, 1919, for the affirmative on a resolution "That Political Action hinders more than it helps the Industrial Revolution" ROGER H. BALDWIN, whose activities in connection with the National Civil Liberties Bureau have been discussed; LINCOLN STEFFENS; ISSAC HOURWITZ whose connections have just been indicated in connection with the Peoples Council for Democracy and Peace, and HARRY WEINBERGER, the attorney, well known for his defense of anarchists and other individuals in difficulties with the U.S. Government and apparently on friendly terms with FREDERIC C. HOWE, the U. S. Commissioner of Immigration, recently removed or "resigned." It would be fruitless to discuss in detail the activities of men like PAIVIO and ALONER re-

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78

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-14-

cently convicted under the criminal anarchy statute of this state, or the substance of the paper entitled "Kleb y Volya" for which BIANHI, STEPANUK and KRAWCHUK of the Union of Russian Workers have been indicted for violation of the same law.

In closing, however, this brief statement of ultra-radical activity it may not be amiss to refer once again to ISAAC HOURWICH. ISAAC HOURWICH as stated previously is a member of the staff employed by MARTENS the so-called ambassador of Soviet Russia. He lectured at the Rand School and possibly continues his connection in that capacity at the present time. A short time ago his son NICHOLAS HOURWICH being arrested in Scranton, Pa. for seditious utterances, MARTENS, the so-called ambassador retained CHAS. RECHT to protect his interests. Following the trail a little further we find NICHOLAS HOURWICH to be an editor of the "Novy Mir" which in turn is the official organ of the Russian Federation. This Russian Federation is a branch of the American Communist Party. A few days ago the treasurer of the Russian Federation admitted advancing funds to MARTENS.

In the review of some of the agencies working to obstruct our present social and political system which has been brought to a close in the previous paragraph an effort has been made to show the general interdependency of their activity. It is not contended that it is proved in a legal sense, but is there not ample ground in the matter presented from which a reasonable person can draw the conclusion that all agencies be they Socialist, revolutionary nationalist, communist and anarchist have dropped their differences of opinion on detail for the common purpose of securing a change of Government in the United States. From this change if it takes place and the inevitable chaos which must issue, each group then holds the hope of at last securing a realization of their aspirations.

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79

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-15-

PART TWO

The present situation and corrective agencies.

With the facts outlined in Part One clearly in mind the present situation may be briefly summed up:—

1. The crisis in the relations between employers and employed in the steel and coal industries has been too acute and of such national importance to need exposition. In their essential features these occurrences represent a practical application on a large scale in the United States of the principles enunciated at the International Socialist Congress held at Zurich, Switzerland in 1893, with one but most significant exception to which it will be well for us not to blind our eyes by a temporary cessation of overt aggression. In the background of the present conflict of forces agents of the I.W.W. and Communist parties have been addressing meetings of Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor advocating the general strike. It is well known furthermore that the Railroad Brotherhoods and Farmers associations were approached with a view to co-operation but at the present moment there is a lull pending the action of Congress in regard to Railroad legislation. Finally we have the subsidiary trades such as the clothing industry, which as a local proposition is of great moment, permeated with the Bolshevik ideas.

2. Of the agencies enumerated in Part One the pacifist anti-militarist organizations such as the National Civil Liberties Bureau and its affiliated or kindred associations have now made common cause with the Socialist and Revolutionary nationalist who usually has leanings toward Bolshevism. Through community of interest along these lines they have become a factor in the labor situation. They supply or inspire masses of propaganda for the less intellectual labor leaders to feed upon and disseminate. An example of this has been cited in the circular recently

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80

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-17-

all in spite of passive obstruction, to say the least, on the part of the Immigration Service was due solely to the patriotic determination of a few officials to accomplish results at all costs of labor, patience and forbearance. Throughout the war no central bureau for the coordination of information was ever established in spite of repeated representations by subordinates in touch with the practical handling the situation. The Department of Justice never during the war issued a compilation of Emergency Legislation and Regulations for the use of operatives in the more or less official semi-official or private agencies conducting investigation work for Government Departments. The only pamphlet at all aiming to fill this deficiency was one issued by the American Protective League, a semi-official publication edited, and not too well, by an officer of the army from material collected by a civilian dollar a year man, who never got his dollar, working after hours and whose connection with the matter is buried in the Government's files. It is a lamentable contrast to that splendidly prepared and constantly kept up to date document the Defense of the Realm Act, affectionately known in England as "Dora". Leaving these technical matters to one side it is the popular impression that at no time did the Department of Justice during the war, ~~and since the armistice,~~ function with promptness or efficiency and when all is said and done the situation was and is directly up to the Department of Justice with considerable responsibility to be shared by the Department of Commerce and Labor through its Bureau of Immigration. It is fair to say the popular estimate is not far from correct. Possibly it would be fruitless and unwise to rake up the past, we are concerned now with the present and future.

The Attorney General in his letter addressed to the Senate of the United States, dated November 14th, states

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81

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-18-

that he felt the Espionage Act to be limited to acts and utterances which tended to weaken the waging of actual hostilities. It is further stated that certain test cases were brought which tended to support that view. Possibly, but it is my impression that before any opportunity arose to really test the issue orders issued from the office of the Attorney General directing no prosecution under § 8 of the Espionage Act as amended be initiated without referring all of the facts to Washington. Those in close touch with the situation/deplored trifling with internalism during the war were well aware that a flood of agitation on behalf of a peace without victory and Bolshevism, which is but another weapon let loose deliberately by Germany outside her boundaries, was awaiting a relaxation by Government agencies.

The record of the Bureau of Immigration parallels as is to be expected that of the Department of Justice. Congressman Siegel of the Congressional Committee investigating conditions on Ellis Island is quoted in the New York Times of December 14th, as saying that in two years and seven months only sixty alien anarchists out of six hundred and ninety seven have been disposed of, while within three weeks of the Committee's beginning work four hundred additional warrants have been issued.

Let us turn now to the only other Federal Agency now remaining which touches the radical situation, the Army. The Army functions primarily through the Military Intelligence Division. In the event that the civil authorities are unable to cope with overt acts initiated by the radical elements we have been discussing, arrangements have been made whereby a call for assistance addressed to the Departmental Commander will be promptly met. By the time the civil agencies have felt the necessity of calling for military aid the local agencies dealing with situations of this character must of necessity be thoroughly demoralized.

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82

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-19-

In some cases be it well understood these agencies are incompetent, inefficient and in a word virtually demoralized before action takes place. For this reason it is vital that the Military Intelligence Division be at all times sufficiently in touch with the local situation to be able to handle the matter independently at least to a great degree. It is particularly essential since the demobilization of the Army has so reduced the number of effectives that the very best use be made of such forces. As a matter of fact the Military Intelligence Division of the Army has not only suffered severely through demobilization and curtailment of funds but under orders from the Secretary of War it is forbidden to investigate civilians engaged in the various movements organized to subvert the Government of the United States. It is an extraordinary limitation and a handicap to the efficiency of service which can only be overcome by the loyal cooperation of the individual citizen. Whether this attitude of the Secretary of War is due to innate sympathy with the radical intelligencia or to a misconception of the activities of the Division it is not my purpose to discuss here, further than to say in conclusion as to the Federal agencies that it is undeniable that every Department of our Government has become permeated with persons of, to say the least, questionable affiliations.

The State

The State agencies available for the suppression of radical activity are 1st the Police and 2nd the National Guard.

1st - The New York Police

It is impossible to deal with the broad subject of Police administration in the United States for reasons too obvious to need discussions. The Police Force of the City of New York is a Tammany organization anti-socialistic, subject to certain special nationalistic influences which impair its efficiency along certain lines, etc. etc. This body can

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-20-

take care of unorganized disorder but must call on the guard for help against concerted riot.

2nd The condition of the National Guard is a matter of debate. It is a question to what depths dis-organisation has progressed and how far remedial measures have been effective. Under the most favorable circumstances, however, the period required for mobilisation varies in different units from 12 to 48 hours. Possibly the greatest cause for anxiety in connection with the Guard lies in the fact that between drills the State relies solely on a janitor force of from five to seven men to protect the arms and ammunition stored through^{out} the City in the armories.

The last State agency to be considered is the Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities - commonly known as the Lusk Committee, from the name of its chairman. The results accomplished by this committee may be compared with those of the House Committee investigating the Immigration. It has proved a tremendous stimulus to the regularly constituted authorities and has without question been a strong influence in arousing public sentiment throughout the United States to the possibilities for trouble should similar evidences of agitation which inspired the appointment of the Committee in this State be neglected elsewhere. As the functions of this committee are by its very nature transitory it is not necessary to discuss the merits and defects of its organization.

Unofficial Organizations

It would prolong this paper to greater lengths than is desirable to study in detail the activities of various self constituted bodies throughout the United States engaged in the Investigation of Radicalism and Sedition. These bodies organized by high minded and patriotic citizens have accomplished some good and some harm. It is a matter of opinion but I believe the facts warrant the statement that

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84

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-21-

that the defects demonstrated in the conduct of these organizations are largely traceable to the circumstances that they are carried on as avocations rather than vocations. It may be urged that it is a defect which is incurable. Possibly it is but on the side of the seditionist, the communist and the anarchist the purposes of their organization are their very life. In a contest of the two forces it is not difficult to judge on which side will be found the greater consistency and energy.

Part III
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85

The Emma Goldman Papers

Summary of Evidence and Charges Against Robert J. Minor [Washington, D.C., 1920? Jan.? (excerpt)] / M[arlborough] Churchill, Director, Military Intelligence [Division, War Department].— 3 p. ; 33 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Churchill summarizes the evidence that Robert Minor worked with the Spartacists in Germany to spread Bolshevik propaganda to American Army troops after World War I. The report notes that Minor was an associate of Goldman and Berkman who advocated their deportation to Russia.

Notes: For related document, see 810225014.

10110-546

Summary of Evidence and Charges against 10110-546

ROBERT J. MINOR.

INTRODUCTION:

This report is a summary of information in regard to Minor's connection with the Spartacists in Düsseldorf in their effort to undermine the morale of troops in the Armies of Occupation of the Rhine in February, 1919, his arrest in Paris in April, his release in July, and also refers to his associations with extreme radicals in Berlin between December, 1918, and April, 1919, his acquaintance with the Russian leaders, his activities among socialists in Paris, and his previous work in spreading Bolshevik propaganda among the Allied Expeditionary Forces in Northern Russia. Reference is also made to his own account of former activities in the United States.

SOURCES:

The sources of this report are found in the account of an investigation of conditions in Düsseldorf by a member of the American Intelligence Service, hereinafter described, copies of testimony given at the trial of Spartacists arrested by the British, the Procès verbal made at the time of Minor's arrest in Paris, report of his arrest made to the Commanding General of the Third Army, A.E.F., by the French authorities, and copies of a letter from the British suggesting trial by an American court, orders for the detail of a military commission, telegram from G.H.Q., A.E.F., suspending action in the case, charges preferred, report of his return to Paris and release, report of later investigation in Düsseldorf for further evidence. Contributing sources are contained in the report of a trip to Brest to secure information from officers of the 339th Infantry in regard to Minor's activities in spreading propaganda in Russia, and a considerable number of propaganda pamphlets distributed by aeroplane and otherwise among the American and Allied troops which were obtained at Brest.

SPARTACISTS IN DUSSELDORF:

Early in February, 1919, an American lieutenant, member of the Corps of Intelligence Police, known by the name of Siegfried in this case, was sent from Treves to make an investigation of the activities of a German Spartacist group in Düsseldorf which was reported to be planning a campaign to spread Bolshevik propaganda among the troops of the Army of Occupation. At the time that this man was sent to Düsseldorf, he knew nothing whatever of the personnel of this Spartacist group, of its activities, nor of the doctrine on which Bolshevism, Spartacism and Communism are founded. He found the entire city under the control of the Spartacist group whose headquarters was at #39 Isenmannstrasse. Representing himself as an American deserter who wished to do all he could for Communism, he called at the office and after a long conversation with the Secretary, was accepted as a Comrade ("Genosse"), though kept under observation for forty-eight hours. It was explained to him that the main ideal of the Spartacists, like that of their Russian comrades, the Bolsheviks, was to bring about the "World Revolution" and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and he was advised to return to the Army and do propaganda work among the Americans after becoming acquainted with the aims and methods of this work.

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Notes: For related document, see 810225014.

Summary of Evidence and Charges against ROBERT J. MINOR.

- 2 -

He attended several meetings or conferences at which topics under discussion were the general strike, means of getting money, resistance to Government troops should they enter Düsseldorf, and the municipal elections. The question of propaganda was discussed and it was decided that the American should go back and carry on the work of distributing among the American soldiers pamphlets which the Spartacists would send over from Düsseldorf.

At one of these meetings he was told of two members, an Englishman and an American, who had recently come from Russia provided with large sums of money and were engaged in propaganda work. At the next appointment these two were present. The Englishman introduced himself after a long conversation as Phillip Price, a journalist and Bolshevik propaganda leader. The American introduced himself as Minor, a cartoonist by profession, formerly on the staff of the "New York Call". He stated further that in 1915 and 1916 he had made himself conspicuous by his writings about Russia and other European countries, and in 1917 he participated in the Publicity Campaign in favor of Thomas Mooney. He also said that he was in San Francisco at the time of the adoption of the Conscription Act and that he had participated prominently in organizing anti-draft demonstrations.

Minor then inquired about the I. W. W. movement in the United States. Lieut. Siegfried replied that the Americans received only the little news that came through from Paris in the American newspapers, but that he had read in some American paper that Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman had been interned at Ellis Island and were to be returned to Russia. Minor became much excited, said that Berkman and Goldman were his best friends and that the Americans could not do a greater favor to Lenin and the Russian chiefs than to deport these two to Russia where they were needed.

At a later meeting of Minor, Price and the American "deserter" in the room of the latter, Minor and Price stated that they had been working together in Siberia printing an English newspaper for the Bolshevik cause which they had distributed among the British and American troops by aviators. They said they themselves might come over and take active charge of the propaganda work among the Allied troops, as they had been so directed by Lenin, but that for the present they had their hands full where they were. They further stated that the agent must manage himself at present but that later, as the work grew, they could supply all the money necessary as they had a sufficiency at their disposal.

Referring to Russian policies Minor stated that he was opposed to accepting any proposals of agreement by the Allies on the part of the Russians but that Lenin had told him that he could not do otherwise, that if Russia did not accept, the Allies would maintain their blockade which would result in the ultimate starvation of the people and the consequent downfall of Bolshevism.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Note: For related document, see 810225014.

Summary of Evidence and Charges against ROBERT J. MINOR.

- 7 -

E. Young, Hotel Adlon, Berlin, re Minor and "his laudible desire to propagate the truth"; letter concerning proposed call of Mrs. Harrison; correspondence by letter and telegram between the American Embassy, Paris, and Major Scully; press reports of Minor's disappearance, arrest and release; two letters of transmittal from the Director of the Sureté Générale forwarding letters to Minor in the care of the Third American Army; memorandum from Colonel R. H. Williams, G-2, 3rd Army, A. E. F., to Colonel R. H. Van Deman, G. S., re former secretary of Minor, a woman by the name of Eastman; letter to Minor from Jas. P. Howe of the Associated Press with comment by Minor, "nothing to say until I know what it's all about"; telegram re funds for Minor from his father; copy of safe conduct for Meta Filip; telegrams and report re detail of officers from 339th Infantry to report to Coblenz; memorandum re investigation in Düsseldorf July 7, 1919; letter of transmittal from French Mission to Acting Chief of Staff, A. E. F., in Germany with enclosures concerning letter to Minor from Max Eastman and extract from The Liberator; report from the Military Attaché, The Hague, subject Price, who was Minor's colleague; and copy of the Paris edition of the Chicago Tribune, July 13, 1919, containing on page four an article suggesting connection of Minor with Dunne who has been in Ireland.

M. Churchill

M. Churchill.
Brigadier-General, General Staff,
Director of Military Intelligence.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Resume of Deportation Proceedings instituted against Emma Goldman [Washington, D.C.? 1920 Jan.?] / [Department of Justice]. — 4 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: The Justice Department summarizes Goldman's deportation proceedings.

Notes: Light copy; portions illegible. For copy, see 900507001.

RESUME OF DEPORTATION PROCEEDINGS

Instituted against

EMMA GOLDMAN

On September 8, 1919, a warrant of arrest was issued by the Assistant Secretary of Labor, Mr. J. W. Abernethy, charging Emma Goldman with being in the United States in violation of the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917 and the Act approved October 16, 1918, wherein it is provided that persons found advocating or teaching anarchy shall be deported from the United States. At the issuance of this warrant Emma Goldman was confined in the Missouri State Penitentiary for Women, Jefferson City, Missouri, completing a sentence of two years imposed upon her by Judge Mayer of the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York for her activities in obstructing the Selective Service Act.

Immediately upon the discharge of Emma Goldman from the Jefferson City Penitentiary in the latter part of September, 1919, the subject was immediately taken into custody by the federal officers upon the warrant issued by the Assistant Secretary of Labor and upon furnishing liberty bonds in the amount of \$25,000 was released to later appear before the immigration authorities at Ellis Island for hearing upon the charges set forth against her in the warrant of arrest.

The Department of Justice had made a very thorough and searching investigation into the activities of Emma Goldman, tracing the same from the beginning of her career in anarchy down to the present time. Every speech delivered by the subject had been taken down and placed in the files of the Department.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Resume of Deportation Proceedings instituted against Emma Goldman [Washington, D.C.? 1920 Jan.?] / [Department of Justice]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: The Justice Department summarizes Goldman's deportation proceedings.

Notes: Light copy; portions illegible. For copy, see 900507001.

Resume of Deportation Proceedings of Emma Goldman, -P-

had also in its possession exhibits of all the writings of Emma Goldman which had appeared from time to time not only in the form of pamphlets but also in various anarchistic periodicals.

On October 27, 1919, Emma Goldman was ordered to appear at Ellis Island for hearing. The government was represented by A. F. Schell, Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island, New York, Mr. W. J. Peters, Law officer of the Bureau of Immigration, Washington, and Mr. John Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General. The alien was represented by counsel. At the outset of the hearing Emma Goldman refused to answer any questions posed to her by the government officers and it was therefore incumbent upon the government to proceed with the case, proving not only the fact that the subject was an alien, but also proving her various activities and writings along anarchistic lines.

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit "A" is a copy of the brief prepared by the Department of Justice upon the activities of Emma Goldman, together with the various exhibits introduced by the Department of Justice at the hearing upon the deportation charges.

Two weeks later upon request of counsel for Emma Goldman a supplemental hearing was held at Ellis Island, for the purpose of enabling Emma Goldman to produce any evidence in her possession concerning the claim that she made to American citizenship. At this hearing the alien had failed to obtain any evidence and counsel requested that the alien be granted one month in which to gather additional evidence. This request was objected to by the representative of the Department of Justice and the immigration inspector refused to allow the said request. In connection with the fictitious claim

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The Emma Goldman Papers

900507000

Resume of Deportation Proceedings instituted against Emma Goldman [Washington, D.C.? 1920 Jan.?] / [Department of Justice]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: The Justice Department summarizes Goldman's deportation proceedings.

Notes: Light copy; portions illegible. For copy, see 900507001.

Resume of Deportation Proceedings of Emma Goldman. -5-

American citizenship made by the subject. It is to be noted that she endeavored to prove that her husband, JACOB KERANER, was dead in 1909 when he was de-naturalized, for having obtained his citizenship papers through fraud and for that reason the de-naturalization proceedings could not operate against Keraner or against herself; thus perfecting the fraudulent citizenship which she had procured through her husband. The Department of Justice had, however, obtained information to the effect and affidavits to support the same that Jacob Keraner, instead of being dead in 1909, did not die until January 1919; thus showing that Emma Goldman either knew little or nothing about the whereabouts of her husband through whom she endeavored to claim protection, or, also she intentionally made the false statement that the husband was dead in 1909.

Upon the conclusion of the second hearing at Ellis Island the record in the case was forwarded to the Commissioner-General of Immigration, Anthony Guinetti, for review and final action and on Friday, December 5, 1919, Emma Goldman was ordered to report at Ellis Island and surrender herself to the immigration authorities for deportation, the Department of Labor, having acted upon the case and concluded that she was an alien advocating and teaching the doctrines of "anarchy".

Emma Goldman hastily returned to New York from a speaking tour on December 5, 1919, and presented herself at Ellis Island at which time she was taken into custody and her release was being refused. Her counsel immediately sued out a writ of habeas corpus before Judge Mayer and on Monday, December 8, 1919, a hearing upon the writ of habeas corpus was set to be heard before Judge Mayer. At this hearing the government was

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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Resume of Deportation Proceedings instituted against Emma Goldman [Washington, D.C.? 1920 Jan.?] / [Department of Justice]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: The Justice Department summarizes Goldman's deportation proceedings.

Notes: Light copy; portions illegible. For copy, see 900507001.

Resume of Deportation Proceedings of Emma Goldman, -4-

represented by United States Attorney Francis G. Caffery, Special Assistant to the Attorney General John Edgar Hoover, and Mr. H. J. Peters, law officer of the Bureau of Immigration. At this proceeding, the Judge found that there was no grounds for granting habeas corpus, and, therefore, remanded Emma Goldman to the custody of the Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island. Immediately counsel for Emma Goldman sued out a writ of error and on Wednesday, December 10, 1919, counsel for Emma Goldman appeared before Justice Brandeis for the purpose of arguing the writ of error. At this proceeding, the Department of Justice was represented by E. P. Stewart, Assistant Attorney General, and John Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General. Justice Brandeis considered this matter of such a nature that he referred it to the entire Supreme Court.

Briefs in the proceedings were filed with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court on Wednesday afternoon, December 10, 1919, at 4 o'clock P. M., and on Thursday afternoon, December 11th the Chief Justice stayed the deportation proceedings ^{for one week} in order that counsel for Emma Goldman might, if he so desired, present the record to the Supreme Court on December 12, 1919, and ~~thereafter~~ ^{on} ~~the next day~~ ^{the following day}. The Chief Justice, however, refused to allow the subject to be released on bail, pending this stay.

Counsel for Emma Goldman refused to avail himself of opportunity to present the record to the Supreme Court, the result that on December 15th the stay in the deportation was vacated.

Immediate steps were then taken to secure the release of Emma Goldman and she is included among those sent on the transport BUFORD for Russia.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Resume of Deportation Proceedings instituted against Emma Goldman [Washington, D.C.? 1920 Jan.?] / [Department of Justice]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Notes: Light copy; barely legible. Copy of 900507000.

RESUME OF DEPORTATION PROCEEDINGS

instituted against

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Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Notes: Light copy; barely legible. Copy of 900507000.

Resume of Deportation Proceedings of Emma Goldman, -2-

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Two weeks later upon request of counsel for Emma Goldman a supplemental hearing was held at Ellis Island, for the purpose of enabling Emma Goldman to produce any evidence in her possession concerning the claim that she made to American citizenship. At this hearing the alien had failed to obtain any evidence and counsel requested that the alien be permitted one month in which to gather additional evidence. This request was objected to by the representatives of the Department of Justice and the immigration officers.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Resume of Deportation Proceedings instituted against Emma Goldman [Washington, D.C.? 1920 Jan.?] / [Department of Justice]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Notes: Light copy; barely legible. Copy of 900507000.

Resume of Deportation Proceedings of Emma Goldman, -3-

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Notes: Light copy; barely legible. Copy of 900507000.

Resume of Deportation Proceedings of Hana Goldmen, -4-

Immediate steps were then taken to secure the deportation of Anna Feldman and she is included among those sailing on the transport ELMOLO for Angola.

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Resume of Deportation Proceedings instituted against Alexander Berkman
[Washington, D.C.? 1920 Jan.?] / [Department of Justice]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 19 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.
Summary: The Department of Justice summarizes Berkman's deportation proceedings.
Notes: Light copy; portions illegible.

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ALAN HENRY BROWN.

On September 8, 1919, a warrant of arrest was issued by the Secretary of Labor for the arrest of ALEXANDER BERKMAN, upon the grounds that he is an alien and was violating the Act of Congress approved October 16, 1918, commonly referred to as the "anarchist act".

[illegible]

97

The Emma Goldman Papers

Resume of Deportation Proceedings instituted against Alexander Berkman
 [Washington, D.C.? 1920 Jan.?] / [Department of Justice]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 19 cm.
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.
 Summary: The Department of Justice summarizes Berkman's deportation proceedings.
 Notes: Light copy; portions illegible.

Resume of Deportation Proceedings of Alexander Berkman, -1-

and the Department of Justice at that time was represented by John Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

Attached hereto and marked Exhibit "A" is a copy of the brief prepared by the Department of Justice upon the activities of Alexander Berkman.

Berkman was again requested to answer certain questions, but at the outset refused to do so. The evidence then in the possession of the Department of Justice showing that the subject had been engaged in anarchistic activities for many years and that he had made a murderous assault upon the life of Henry C. Frick and had taught and advocated the doctrines of anarchy was introduced. Mr. Berkman, upon the conclusion of the government's case, became a most willing witness and for five hours endeavored to explain away the over-whelming evidence introduced by the government with no success whatever. Upon completion of the hearing, the records in the case were forwarded to the General Government of Immigration and Naturalization, for review and disposition.

During the hearing of the Government's case, it was shown that Alexander Berkman was engaged with \$10,000 loan by the Secretary of Labor, which loan was distributed as follows:

On December 5, 1919, Alexander Berkman was arrested at Ellis Island, New York, on the basis of the evidence introduced at the hearing. The subject was an alien and actively advocating and teaching the doctrines of anarchy. Upon being arrested, he was held in custody, and was committed to the custody of the United States Marshal for the District of Columbia. A writ of habeas corpus was granted by the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, and the subject was released.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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Resume of Deportation Proceedings instituted against Alexander Berkman
[Washington, D.C.? 1920 Jan.?] / [Department of Justice]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 19 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.
Summary: The Department of Justice summarizes Berkman's deportation proceedings.
Notes: Light copy; portions illegible.

Resume of Deportation Proceedings of Alexander Berkman, -5-

At the hearing before Judge Mayer on December 8th, the government was represented by United States Attorney Francis S. Coffey, Special Assistant to the Attorney General John Edgar Hoover, and Mr. W. J. Peters, law officer of the Bureau of Immigration. After argument upon the case, Judge Mayer decided that there were no grounds upon which the writ of habeas corpus could be sustained and, therefore, remanded Alexander Berkman to the custody of the Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island. Immediately counsel for Berkman and counsel for Alexander Berkman appeared before Justice Brundage for the purpose of arguing the writ of error. At the proceeding the Department of Justice was represented by R. P. Stewart, Assistant Attorney General, and John Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General. Justice Brundage considered this matter as such a matter was he referred it to the entire Supreme Court.

In the afternoon of December 10th the Supreme Court met and after the reading of the minutes the Court in the case of Alexander Berkman, et al., on Thursday December 11, 1920, the Court decided upon the petition of the writ of error. The Court held that there was no ground upon which the writ of error could be sustained and that reason being that the writ of error was not timely filed. The Court also held that the writ of error was not timely filed.

The Supreme Court decided that the writ of error was not timely filed and that the writ of error was not timely filed.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan., Moscow [to] Comrade Workers [government transcript] / Executive Committee of the Soviets of Workmen's, Peasants'.... — 1 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The Executive Committee of the Russian Socialistic Federated Republic exhorts the workers to strike down the capitalist class. In a postscript, the Bureau of Investigation's translator explains why the document probably is not authentic.

Notes: Light copy. Enclosed with 810331006. Translation of 810331023.

L.S.P.
OFFICE OF RADICAL PUBLICATIONS
(Typewritten Russian Letter.)

10037-515
7/11

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SOVIETS OF WORKMEN'S, PEASANTS' AND RED ARMY DELEGATES OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALISTIC FEDERATED REPUBLIC.

Moscow, January, 1920.

Comrade Workers!

There is only one means with which you can help the Russian revolution, and that is to help yourselves! Dare to be free! Stop being the slaves of capitalists, landlords, lawyers and generals! Destroy at once all that accursed race! Do as we did! Take the entire governmental machinery into your hands. Do it immediately! Use this happiest opportunity that ever was presented to the poor and the oppressed! Your exploiters, relying completely upon your unadvised condition, themselves armed you in order that you might aid them in their criminal activities. Show them that you can use these weapons in a way they never expected—namely, in your own interests.

Down with capitalists! Down with oppressors! All power to the proletariat! Long live the universal revolution!

Emma.

(The above is of doubtful authenticity. Mr. Willman, translator in this Office, calls attention to the following significant facts: 1. Genuine Russian documents are not usually dated merely by the month, but nearly always more precisely, as January 1. 2. The use of the Russian spelling in vogue under the Czar's regime, and especially of the "tvardy znak" or "hard sign," which was abolished by the Bolshevik regime about two years ago, stamps this letter as of very doubtful origin. 3. It is not likely that the signature "Emma" would be appended to such a document emanating from a Russian Soviet.—L.S.P., Tr.)

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100

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan., Moscow [to] Comrade Workers / Executive Committee of the Soviets of Workmen's, Peasants' — 1 p. ; 29 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Notes: In Russian. Enclosed with 810331010, 810331006, and 810331007. For translation, see 810331023 and 810331010.

1000-8-37578

Исполнительный Комитет Совѣтовъ Рабочихъ, Крестьянскихъ и Красноармейскихъ депутатовъ Россійской Соціалистической Федеративной Республики.

Москва, январь, 1920 г.

Товарищи рабочие! Есть только одинъ способъ, которымъ вы можете помочь русской революціи: а это помочь самимъ себѣ. Держайте быть свободными! Не переставайте быть рабами капиталистовъ, землевладѣльцевъ, законниковъ и генераловъ! Уничтожьте сразу весь этотъ проклятый родъ! Поступайте такъ, какъ мы поступили! Захватите въ свои руки всю государственную машину. Сдѣлайте это немедленно! Пользуйтесь счастливыми случаями какой когда либо представлялся притѣсненнымъ и обѣдненнымъ! Ваши эксплуататоры въ полной увѣренности, что вы безразсудны, сами вручили вамъ оружіе для того, чтобы вы помогли имъ въ ихъ преступной дѣятельности. Покажите имъ, что вы можете использовать это оружіе въ томъ направленіи, въ какомъ они никогда не ожидали, именно--въ вашихъ собственныхъ интересахъ.

Долой капиталистовъ! Долой угнетателей! Вся власть пролетариату! Да здравствуетъ пролетариатъ! Да здравствуетъ всемірная революція!

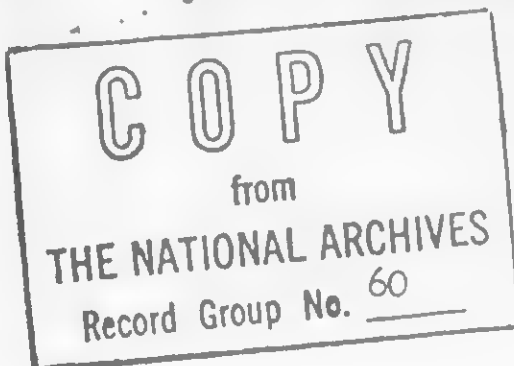
Исполкомъ.

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101

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 2 [Washington, D.C. to] Peter Gouled, Weehawken, N.J. / [A. Mitchell Palmer] Attorney General [Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.
 Summary: Palmer thanks Gouled for his support of the Justice Department's deportation policy.
 Notes: Reply to 811027005.



General Records of the Department of Justice
 D. J. Central Files - Straight Numerical Files
 File Number 202600-65

2600-65-3

JAN 8 1921

January 2, 1920.

Peter Gouled, Esq.,
 31 Eldorado Place,
 Weehawken, New Jersey.

My dear Mr. Gouled:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of and thank you for your letter of December 29th, in which you enclose clipping from the "Hudson Dispatch" in regard to the recent deportation of radicals.

I am in most hearty accord with your views on this question and can assure you that this Department will at all times endeavor to strictly enforce the federal statutes dealing with the activities of these obnoxious elements. It is indeed with a great deal of satisfaction that I note the hearty support and co-operation expressed by American citizens and organizations throughout the country in this matter.

Yours very truly,

Attorney General.

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102

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1920 Jan. 2 [Washington, D.C. to] Francis G. Caffey, U[nited] S[tates] Attorney [Department of Justice], New York / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Hoover asks Caffey to return some of the evidence used in Goldman and Berkman's deportation case.

Notes: Dark copy. Enclosed with 810113079. For reply, see 810113057.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

186233-13

JEH:MH

January 2, 1920

Honorable Francis G. Caffey,
U. S. Attorney
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Caffey:

The Labor Department is particularly anxious to obtain its records in the case of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, which I understand now form a part of the court record.

I am also particularly anxious to obtain certain exhibits introduced in these records and which necessarily were made a part of the court record in the habeas corpus proceeding. There are two copies of "Memoirs of an Anarchist" by Alexander Berkman, and it is particularly desirable that these two copies be returned to this department if possible.

I would therefore appreciate it if an arrangement could be made whereby the Exhibits and the Labor Department records in these cases could be taken from the court archives and returned to this department.

Very truly yours,

Signed J. E. Hoover.

Special Assistant to the Attorney General

186233-13-244
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
JAN 8 1920

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103

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1920 Jan. 2, Washington, D.C. [to] A[lexander] B. Cox[e, Chief] Military Intelligence Division, War Department, Washington, D.C. / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from J.Y. Joyner Library, East Carolina University, Greenville, N.C. Institutional Location: Alexander B. Coxe, Sr., Papers, East Carolina Manuscript Collection.

Summary: Hoover explains that he has been too busy with Goldman and Berkman's deportations to write the legal memorandum for Colonel Coxe.

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

JEH:MH

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

January 2, 1920.

Colonel A. B. Cox,
Military Intelligence Division,
War Department, Washington, D.C.

Dear Colonel:

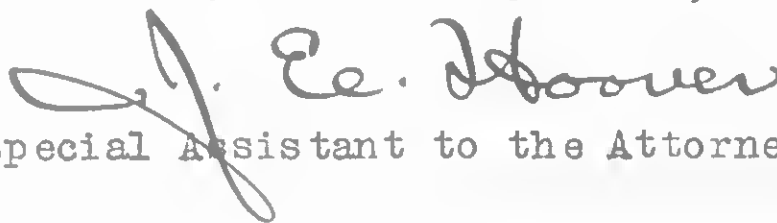
I have not forgotten the request made by you for a memorandum upon the scope of the authority of the agents of the Bureau of Investigation. I, however, have been entirely engaged upon the case of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman and upon arranging for the transport for the purpose of carrying these two notorious characters back to the colder climate of Russia where their "red" activities may add an element of heat to that somewhat unsettled country.

Immediately following the conclusion of these matters, I embarked upon the arrangements for the arrests of communists and I am now engaged in the details of straightening out these cases, as well as preparing for the prosecution of Ludwig C.A. K. Martens.

Mr. Creighton has been in Chicago for several weeks past else he would have given his time in the preparation of memorandums desired.

I will, however endeavor to squeeze in a few extra hours into my day so as to prepare the memorandum desired by you.

Yours very truly,



Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 2, Washington, D.C. [to] Harry Weinberger, New York / T[homas] J. Spellacy, Assistant Attorney General, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Spellacy explains why the Justice Department will not send Weinberger a copy of Jacob Kersner's death certificate.

Notes: Reply to 810113062.

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

JEH

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

JEH:MH

January 2, 1920

Mr. Harry D. Weinberger,
Counselor at Law, 261 Broadway
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

This Department is in receipt of your communication of December 29, 1919 requesting to be supplied with the death certificate of Jacob A. Kersner in re the case of Emma Goldman. As this case has been closed and as the death certificate referred to in the habeas corpus proceedings was not made a part of the court record, it is not the policy of this Department to permit its documents to be released for public examination, except in cases where such documents have been made a part of the court records.

Very truly yours,

For the Attorney General.

T. J. Spellacy

Assistant Attorney General.

The Emma Goldman Papers

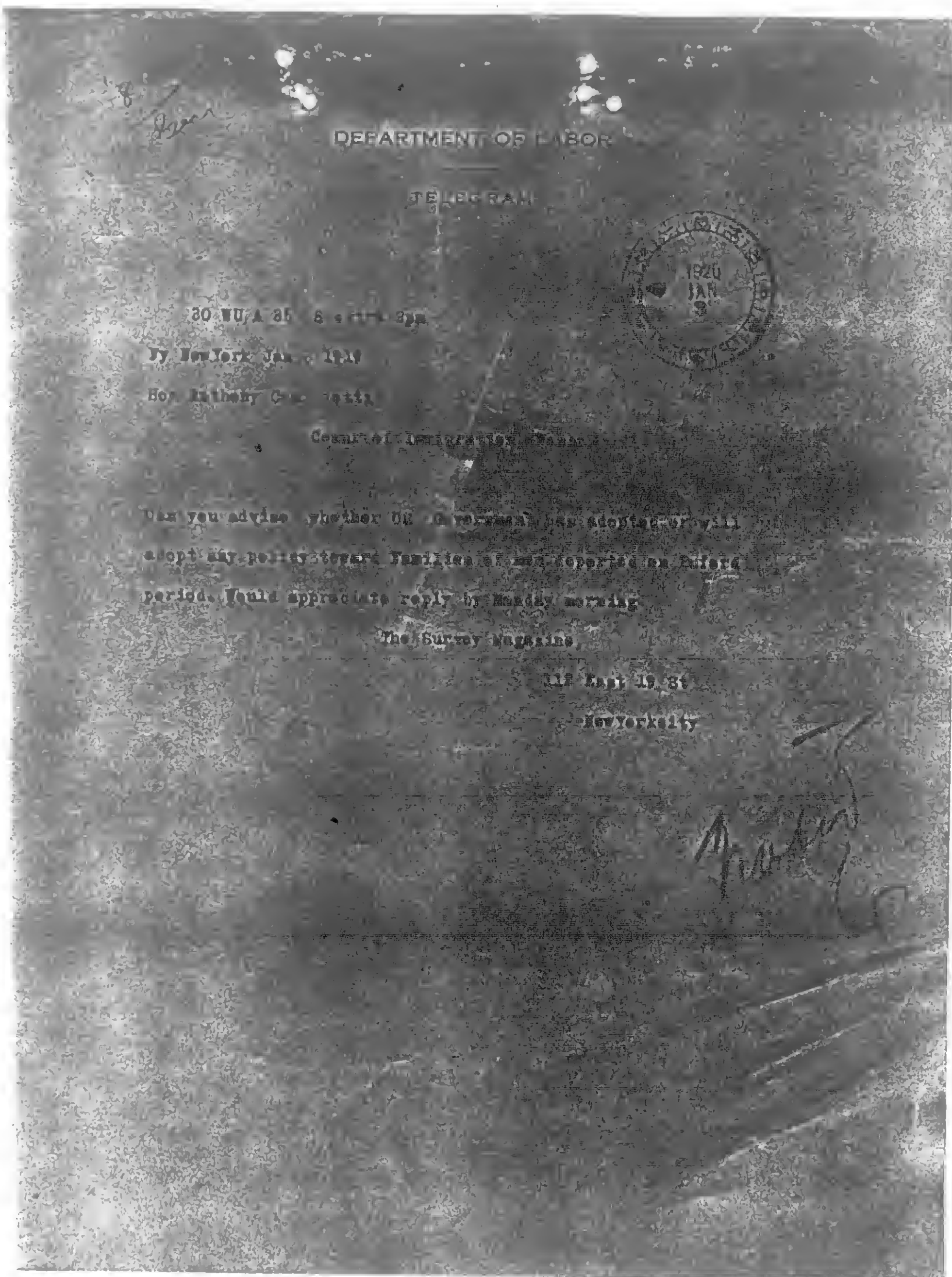
[Telegram, 1920] Jan. 3, New York [to] Anthony Caminetti, Com[missio]n[er]
[General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Wash[ingto]n [D.C.] / The Sur-
vey Magazine. — 1 p. ; 34 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: The Survey Magazine asks what the Department of Labor plans to do about the families of the Buford deportees.

COPY
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 85

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*



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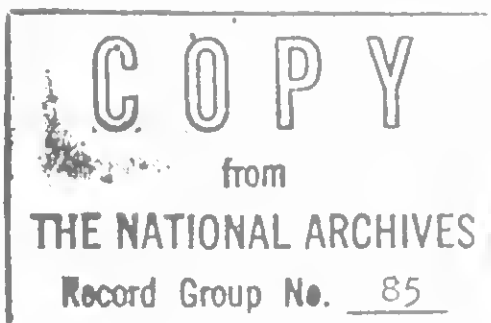
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 3, Washington [D.C. to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner [General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Frank L. Polk, Undersecretary [of State] Department of State. — 1 p. ; 34 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Polk makes arrangements to pay the Latvian government for transporting the Buford deportees across Latvia to Soviet Russia.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870723004.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

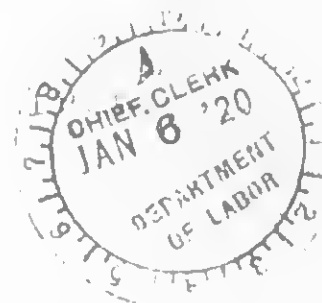


DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON



In reply refer to
R.

January 3,



The Honorable

The Secretary of Labor.

Attention of Mr. Anthony Caminetti,
Commissioner of Immigration.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith a copy of a letter received today from the American Relief Administration, European Children's Fund, giving the terms under which it can furnish the flour that is desired by the Latvian Government as reimbursement for its expenses in transporting 249 Russians from the transport BUFORD across Latvia to the Bolshevik lines.

I will immediately inform you as soon as the exact cost in dollars for the transportation of each person is established by the American Commissioner for the Baltic Provinces of Russia.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

For the Secretary of State:

Frank L. Polk

Enclosure:

Under Secretary.

Copy of letter from
American Relief Admin-
istration dated December
31.

The Emma Goldman Papers

Deportation of Anarchist Aliens: Extension of Remarks of Hon. William N. Vaile / William N. Vaile [Representative]. — 28 cm. *In Congressional Record* (Jan. 5, 1920).

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Congressman Vaile provides an eyewitness account of the Buford's departure, including his conversation with Goldman and J. Edgar Hoover, for insertion in the *Congressional Record*.

Notes: From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

Congressional Record,
January 5, 1920

Deportation of Anarchist Aliens
EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM N. VAILE,
OF COLORADO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, December 20, 1919.
Mr. VAILE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend the remarks spoken by me December 20, when the House was considering H. R. 11224, I have thought it might be of interest to the House if I should publish the story of the actual deportation of the first large group of anarchists, including Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman.
As there were no newspaper men present, this story of the deportation of these people for their beloved soviet Russia may

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108

The Emma Goldman Papers

Deportation of Anarchist Aliens: Extension of Remarks of Hon. William N. Vaile / William N. Vaile [Representative]. — 28 cm. In Congressional Record (Jan. 5, 1920).

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possess some historical interest as the version of an eyewitness of that departure.

The night was clear and starry and rather cold, though the air did not have a real cutting edge and there was no wind to sharpen it.

At midnight at the barge office there were a good many people, mostly men. Mr. Hoover, that slender bundle of high-charged electric wire, the prosecutor of the Department of Justice, told us that these were mostly agents of his department, brought here for this particular job. There were perhaps 30 of them at the barge office waiting for the boat that was to take them on the first stage, the 18-minute stage, of their 18-day journey across the Atlantic and through the Baltic. The others were "people who worked and lived at Ellis Island, who had been waiting the evening in town and were availing themselves of unusual opportunity of a late boat back.

That boat shortly drew up at the pier and was seen to be transformed by the snow and frost from the dingy, grimy, little tug of a month ago into a beautiful dream boat. Viewed thus, she might have represented, according to the mood or the age of the observer, a fairy ship from a child's picture book or the frosted cake of a bride's confection. To me she seemed more emblematic of the cold, sharp cleanliness of the undertaking on which we were engaged and suggested the spotless apron of the surgeon.

A keen-eyed special agent of the Department of Justice and an immigration inspector looked sharply at each of us as we boarded. There were to be "none but Americans on guard" this night.

Just as the boat had suggested the surgeon's apron, so Ellis Island, white in the moonlight with her light covering of fresh snow, suggested the operating table. A little later we suspected the cancerous growth about to be cut out of the American body politic.

Two hundred and forty-six anarchists were gathered in the great wardroom. Alexander Berkman, the obvious leader, dressed as for a sporting trip, in soldier's puttees, a soldier's khaki flannel shirt, a flowing cravat, and a pair of gray breeches of military cut, was writing letters and conferring with his three principal associates—Peter Blanky, president of the Russian Workers' Union, who had attempted to blow up Ohio factories, and Oredowsky and Schnebel, lately officers of the Seattle I. W. W. These were organizers and promoters of the general strike, described by I. W. W. literature as "a social revolution of the world; an entire new organization; a demolition of the entire old system of all governments."

We call this general strike—

Says their textbook—

to distinguish it from general strikes for higher wages or for political privileges. "The social general strike." * * * It is to completely interrupt production in the whole country and stop communication and consumption for the ruling classes, and that for a time long enough to totally disorganize the capitalist society, so that after the complete annihilation of the old system, the working people can take possession, through its labor unions, of all the means of production, mines, houses, the land; in short, of all the economic factors. * * * With a free society, without class rule and exploitation, a society of free cooperation, we have that which corresponds with the absence of government—"anarchism."

Most of the 246 seemed to me to have rather stupid faces. I tried to make allowance for the fact that the hour was long after midnight, that the men were tired and naturally anxious and worried, that they were seen under such circumstances as to create the least favorable impression in the beholder. And yet, with the exception of the leaders mentioned and a very few others, the faces did not look to me like those of intellectual men, but like those of degraded and brutalized men.

One exception was a lean-faced, rather crafty-faced, young Jew, who told me he had not had a chance to get cashed his last pay check from the silk mills, and that consequently he had been "ble to buy tobacco. I gave him a package of cigarettes, for which he very courteously thanked me. This man said that he had a mother and sisters here and that as he had lived in this country for nearly 20 years and had come here in his teens,

he had never been in Russia, nor had he, as far as he knew, any relatives there. He did not contend that his mother and sister needed his support. I asked him if he had not considered deportation as among the probable consequences of his conduct before he was arrested. He contended very bitterly that he had done nothing which would justify deportation from a "free country." He believed in "free speech" and "free press," and capitalism had suppressed them. The Government was merely run in the interests of capitalism and should be abolished, by force if necessary.

I might refer here to a popular misunderstanding of the deportation law. Deportation is not a punishment for crime, though certain kinds of criminal aliens may be deported follow-

ing conviction. Deportation is merely the act of ridding ourselves of foreigners who are not eligible for residence here under our laws and who would be excluded if they were subject to, and were known to be subject to, the disqualification of the law when they first sought admission. It must, I think, be conceded that a nation has the right to refuse its privileges and protection to any class of aliens whom it may consider undesirable residents. For this reason we refuse admission to certain classes who are not criminals but who are deemed detrimental to us for economic or social reasons, as, for instance, illiterates, persons suffering from certain diseases, persons likely to become a public charge, and Chinese. Now, if you are an American citizen, you can not be deprived of the right of residence in the United States, even though you may be illiterate or a public charge. We have many—too many—of both classes, but deportation is not the way in which the country deals with Americans who fall in these categories. And so, if you are an American, you may still advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence, and so long as you do not yourself commit an overt act you may do this without yourself being thrown in jail—for a short time only, because there will soon be a law to fit your case. But for reasons which have appeared sufficient to us we have exercised our national prerogative to declare that just as we will not admit aliens who are illiterate or likely to become a public charge or who are suffering from a contagious disease, so we will not admit or keep "aliens who are anarchists, aliens who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States; * * * aliens who are opposed to all organized government; aliens who advocate or teach the assassination of public officials; aliens who advocate or teach the unlawful destruction of property," and so forth.

And the House of Representatives in the last few days has amended this by passing a bill prepared by our committee so as to catch aliens who "advise" or who belong to or are affiliated with or contribute money to any organization which advises, advocates, or teaches these things or which publishes or circulates literature which does so.

In other words, the alien who comes here or who stays here must do so on our terms, and it is not a question of whether he actually commits a crime. It is a question of whether he is qualified to be here under our rules. Personally, I think those rules are about the minimum that we can suppose for our own protection and safety and that they furnish no ground of complaint whatsoever to a person who comes here because he did not like the conditions in the land which produced him.

One remarkable youth—Bukhanov, I believe his name is—was looking forward to the trip as a great lark. This lad is only 17 years old, but has been a teacher for two years in an anarchist school in New York. He said that he had started in at 10 as a socialist, but had become an anarchist through reading anarchist literature at the New York public libraries. Investigation by reporters disclosed that there was plenty of such to be found there, "Kropotkin's Memories of a Revolutionist," for example, being kept there in nine different languages. It was difficult to get a copy of this work because all copies were generally "out." However, the young man told us that he was a nephew of Peter Blanky, so we can hardly lay all blame for his perverted education to the free public fountain of knowledge. He told us he was going to write two books, and when we asked him what he was going to say in the second one he replied, "All that I didn't say in the first."

And there were quite a number of others who were not stupid—one a young giant with flaming red hair. He got another package of cigarettes from me. I had a dozen packs in my pocket. I feel a smoker's sympathy for another smoker who may be without tobacco and had intended to distribute these small offerings of good will to individuals. I had come to the island with a firm determination to be charitable and to distinguish between the individual and his views. I found it impossible to do so. As I listened to the conversation of these men and noticed their bitter sneers I became filled with loathing for them and decided that the rest of my tobacco should go to Americans.

Altogether, try as I might in the interest of fairness, to avoid first-hand impressions, these men seemed, on the average, though with the exceptions noted, to be a very poor lot, both as to physique and mentally. They certainly would compare unfavorably with any equal number of American workmen.

Berkman went out of the room once, by permission of the guards, to get a package which he had overlooked and on his return the others all arose and remained standing until he had taken his seat, a curious demonstration of the fact that even in an anarchist society there is some authority or leadership which is respected.

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Of course, no such personal respect would be paid to individual representatives of the hated "capitalistic" Government of America, though some confidence seemed to be imposed in its stability, notwithstanding the necessity of its immediate overthrow. This was shown by the fact that a great many thousands of dollars of their money was in postal-savings certificates. Altogether they had about \$200,000. The major part of it was in cash. Some of it was in uncashed checks of former employers. Of course, to have had Liberty bonds would have been unspeakable and none were discovered. In respect to this large sum of money, they enjoyed a privilege not granted to the rest of us, for no effort was made by the Internal-revenue office to collect the tax paid by other people on money taken out of the country.

The complaint as to inability to cash their checks was not well founded, as the Immigration authorities had offered to cash such checks for them during the banking hours of the day, and also to procure foreign exchange in drafts on any foreign country having exchange rules with us, but they were unwilling to trust the Government with their checks. Possibly the real reason was that they had intended to place the money in the hands of their associates here for the spread of anarchist propaganda. There may have been a few instances where they had intended to have it for the assistance of relatives left behind; but, so far as I know, no cases of dependent relatives were reported to the Immigration officials. The Secretary of Labor a day or two before the sailing had canceled the deportation orders of most of those who had wives here. Blanky and perhaps one or two others were exceptions.

Nobody seemed to know what the value of American money was in the rubles of the much-vanquished soviet republic, but all agreed that the purchasing power of the American dollar was not less than nine times as high in Russia as it is here, even in these days of the reign of old King H. C. L. We are told, though I have not yet seen the actual proof of it, that some of these men have recently been selling in New York \$1 bonds of "the American soviet republic," payable one day after the "revolution."

Some 70 of the 218 had been detained for some time at Ellis Island and had participated in a hunger strike as a protest against being allowed to see their relatives only through a screen. The screen had been erected on account of one or two attempts to pass weapons. We had seen the men during this hunger strike, and they didn't seem to be suffering much, though they were accumulating plenty of venom. Blanky had told Chairman J. J. Foxworth, of the Immigration Committee, in my presence, that they were going to stop destroying buildings. Hereafter they were going to break heads and use the buildings. "Meaning my head, I suppose," said Chairman J. J. Foxworth. "Yes," replied Blanky, "your head and other heads like it." Possibly some of them may yet reach the conclusion that even heads are worth preserving. I hope so.

As a matter of fact, however, the hunger strike was not real. It only lasted until they had consumed the supply of food which they had cached in preparation for it.

On the night of the departure there were certainly no faces lined with hunger and privation, and during that day and the preceding day they had been rather defiant and had entertained themselves and the Ellis Island force by singing their Internationale and the Red Flag song of the I. W. W.'s.

This night, with some exceptions, they were gloomy and morose.

At 3:30 a. m., of the 21st of December, they were marched out of the building in single file, between two rows of guards, to the gangplank of the tug. A coast guard at the shore end of the gangplank counted them off by tens, making a little pause between each 10. A frank-faced American youth, Lieut. Cunningham, of the Thirtieth Infantry, with an automatic pistol on his hip, stood at one side of the ship end of the gangplank. Opposite him was a soldier of his company with a rifle lugged in his elbow. Two other soldiers stood, rifles in hand, on the upper deck of the tug, immediately over the gangplank deck. Nothing was said during the boarding except Lieut. Cunningham's occasional warning to "mind your head" on account of the low hanging upper deck.

The women came separately — Emma Goldman in a gray and black fur coat reaching below her knees, the two young women, Dora Lipkin and Ethel Bernstein, in heavy woolen coats. They were sent immediately into the kitchen of the tug, which served as their cabin for the two hours' journey out to the transport lying beyond the "Narrows" at Gravesend. A soldier stood at the door of the kitchen, but paid no particular attention to the women, who conversed freely but not eagerly with us. Miss Goldman took off her fur coat and sat with her gray sweater unbuttoned, morose and silent, occasionally heaving a silent sigh. Dora Lipkin was so very quiet. I confess that

her pale intellectual face, with her black hair falling in great tufts over her ears, inspired me with sympathy for her sorrow, for her common-law husband had just been sent to Atlanta to commence a 20-year sentence, and he was doubtless occupying her thoughts. The separation of criminals from their families is one of the sad necessities of civilization, perhaps less sad here than in Russia, where we understand that shortly preceding this deportation some 300 persons, criminal in the sight of the Bolsheviks because they had been stirring up a revolution against the Soviets, were permanently parted from their friends by execution.

Ethel Bernstein had a single rose, which she held to her lips occasionally. It was sent to her, she said, by one of her "good friends." Miss Goldman had a few sprigs of holly, which lay beside her Corona typewriter case on the tug's kitchen table. That typewriter case was rather worn from hard usage, but I am sure that the keys are in perfect working order.

All of the deportees were allowed to have their baggage taken on board by the Ellis Island employees, and at least a hundred trunks and large bags were so loaded, including two trunks belonging to Miss Goldman. Many, however, preferred to carry their own baggage, and some carried a trunk on the shoulder and a satchel in the free hand. All wore overcoats, for the Immigration Bureau had provided those who lacked warm clothing with Army mackinaws and with underwear, shoes, and caps. Two large paper cartons of caps were loaded. I noticed these particularly, because one of the packages got broken in the process of transfer from the tug to the transport, and the contents became exposed and had to be handled with some care by the tug crew. These were not the Army caps, but were of the kind worn by farmers and woodsmen, woolen caps with a flap to be turned down over the ears. They were the personal property of one of the deportees, and were possibly intended for free distribution or for sale in Russia.

A dozen or more carried mandolins, guitars, or other musical instruments, and two or three bore large boxes of books.

The little tug was pretty crowded, though the officers told us she had often carried as many as a hundred more than were then aboard. This necessitated some of the passengers remaining on deck for the two hours' trip down the bay and resulted in a curious incident. Just after passing the Liberty Statue the tug met an incoming immigrant vessel. Some of the newly arriving ones were crowding to the rail of the inbound steamship, eager for the first glimpse of the promised land. They cheered us, not knowing who we were, but because we were a small boat of the new country evidently engaged on its local business and, I believe, because the Star Spangled Banner floating over us was just "catching the gleam of the morning's first beam." It was a brave little cheer, just a bit quavery, a sort of timid, quivering little cheer like the cry of children hoping for a welcome from the grown-ups. The answer was an obscene throaty "yah-ah-ah" from our upper deck, a jeering, raucous, sarcastic, blither yell, scalding with hatred, spite, and bitter jest, long-drawn out, venomous. As it died away the tug gave a couple of reassuring little friendly toots, and some one from the upper deck—I believe it was one of the Arizona rangers of the border patrol—shouted, "Morale' folks."

In company with Mr. Hoover, I talked a little with Miss Goldman on the trip across the bay. This, she said, was the beginning of the end of the United States. Time was when this country had professed to welcome the downtrodden of other lands. At that time Russia was deporting men and women to Siberia for their political beliefs. Now it was reversed. A free Russia had arisen. As the old Russia had fallen, so the new United States would fall, and for the same reasons. Oh, yes; she would be back and give us another job, though it would not be an official job. Our days of official authority would be over before her return, early though that would be. Our days of official authority were numbered and the number was getting low.

She was quite bitter against Mr. Hoover because he had not given notice to her counsel, Mr. Weinberger, of the time of the departure. The world knows, of course, that she had had her day in court, and many such days, and that every possible recourse had finally been tried in vain, but apparently she still had some hope that the courts would have protected her. Mr. Hoover asked: "Haven't I given you a square deal, Miss Goldman?" "Oh, I suppose you've given me as square a deal as you could," she answered. "We shouldn't expect from any person something beyond his capacity."

She asked us whether the departments were still "passing the buck to each other," blaming each other for failure to effect her deportation before. It seemed ungenerous to gloat over a fallen foe, and that foe a woman, but I thought it not improper to suggest that whatever disagreement there might have been between

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Notes: From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

different authorities of our Government was due to extreme solicitude that no injustice be done her. "Oh, leave it your own way," she answered, and relapsed into morose silence.

Shortly thereafter we were lashed to the *Buford*, an old Spanish War transport, an excellent and comfortable boat, according to all who have traveled in her, and we of the congressional party, being certain that the country will some day be flooded with horrible stories of the shocking brutities attendant upon this forced exodus, were very particular to observe the accommodations provided for the unwilling passengers.

The women were to travel substantially first class. There was one large stateroom of four beds provided for the three of them, with a bathroom for their exclusive use. They are to eat in the same cabin as the ship's officers, though, of course, at a separate table.

The men have the same quarters as those used by our soldiers during the Spanish War. These were much more commodious than those of the transports used by our men during the recent war, and on the *Buford* they are certainly ample. The beds are in double tiers, three high, but the top tier of each set is reserved for baggage. There are 50 or more lavatories, and there are a number of shower baths. The beds are all provided with plenty of warm blankets and with white linen. The anarchists eat in a large dining hall at tables with clean linen, not as our soldiers did, standing, and out of their mess kit.

Our soldiers on the transport—there are 50 picked men from the Thirteenth Infantry—told us that the anarchists' quarters were much better in every way than those which they themselves had had in their recent trips to and from the war zone. They are, in fact, somewhat better than the quarters now used by our guards on this vessel, and the soldiers use their own blankets without bed linen.

Several days before the *Buford* was to sail Mr. Campnett, the Commissioner General of Immigration, discovered that under the arrangements which had been made the food of the anarchists would be considerably better than the food of the soldiers, inasmuch as he had provided on the basis of a dollar a day for subsistence for the former, while the subsistence of the latter was on the Army basis of 60 cents per day. He remedied this inequality not by cutting down the allowance for the anarchists but by increasing the allowance for the soldiers out of the funds of his department. Incidentally, I may say that I gave the rest of my cigarettes and a pocketful of cigars to the soldiers. I was certainly proud of the appearance of these fine, upstanding lads. It would be impossible to find a better lot.

In addition to the soldiers, there are about an equal number of coast guards and border patrol men, old, experienced, hawk-eyed chaps, like Milfon, of Arizona, and Webb, of California, he with the 10-inch Gatling gun in one hip pocket and the Bible in the other. These chaps are in charge of a certain Mr. Berkshire, a quiet, soft-voiced, firm-handed, gray-eyed man, who has been in charge of immigrant inspection on the Mexican border for the last 12 years. You know as soon as you look at him that he can neither be fooled nor cowed.

At half past 6 in the morning we left the *Buford*, a black body outlined in red against the rising sun. Some one might say it was the "rising sun of the East," the red fire of bolshevism coming up to welcome her offspring. But that would be a great mistake. The reassurance was ours a few minutes later, for, rising out of the blackness of the night at her feet, there stood our own mother, illuminated by the same glorious rays, the Goddess of Liberty—of precious liberty under the law—bathed from her feet to the tip of her torch in the new light of a cleaner and better day, her calm and noble face, beaming upon us in the confidence that the Republic shall be kept clean and in its cleanliness shall endure.

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111

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Request for Reimbursement of Expenses in Goldman-Berkman Hearing] 1920 Jan.
5, New York / Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney, Department of Justice.—
1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.
Summary: Caffey submits a request for payment of his expenses in Goldman and Berkman's habeas corpus appeal.
Notes: Bleedthrough.

COPY
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE
Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

Dept. Form 25 B.
(SEE INSTRUCTIONS ON REVERSE SIDE.)
JVBM-22179-20215-B

Department of Justice.

186233-13
JAN 7 1920

Southern District of New York

New York, January 5, 1920.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: Authority to incur the following-described expense is hereby respectfully requested:
Nature of expense: (Describe fully, explaining the necessity—if for personal services giving proposed rate of pay, probable duration of employment, etc.)

On December 7, 1919, it became necessary for Assistant John E. Joyce and myself to use a room at the Association of the Bar in the City of New York while engaged on questions of law in connection with the habeas corpus proceedings in re Berkman and Goldman. The expense for room rent was \$1.00. Also on December 15, 1919, I used a room at the Bar Association for preparation of brief in the case of the United States v. Charles L. Craig. The rent for the room was \$1.00.

As these charges have been paid by me, please authorize my reimbursement.

Use this form exclusively in making applications for authority to incur expenses other than for supplies. If the cost of same is payable from emoluments, prepare the request on the back sheet and make three copies on the thin sheets. Sign each copy as required. The original and one copy will be returned for appropriate disposition and the other two copies will be retained by the Department. Should the expense be for a duration of the expense to be incurred, the form must be filled out for each instance. Good clear carbon copies are essential.

Estimated total expense: \$2.00

(a) Personal compensation
(b) Personal expenses
(c) Other items

United States Attorney

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

CS-ENB

186233-13-246

Approved: *R.P.S.*

186233-13-246

January 8, 1920.

You are authorized to incur the above expense.

The United States Marshal for the Southern District of New York is hereby directed to make payment under the above authorization upon the presentation of accounts in duplicate properly prepared. Payment to be made from the appropriation "Salaries and Expenses of District Attorneys, U. S. Courts, 1920".

For the Attorney General:

(Signed) R. P. Stewart

Assistant Attorney General.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: By intercepting mail, Agent Hudson finds out that Stella Comyn has taken over Goldman's apartment and acts as her publicity agent. He recommends a search of her apartment.

Notes: Barely legible.

LETTER SEIZED HERE STATES STELLA GOMYN ADDRESS THIRTY SIX
FIVE STREET NEW YORK IS PUBLICITY AGENT FOR EMMA GOLDMAN
AND JACOB BERMAN STOP SECURE SEARCH WARRANT TO SEARCH
ADDRESS AND ALL ADDRESSES RECORDED BY BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1725: 100

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 6, New York [to J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Caffey sends Hoover some of the Goldman and Berkman deportation exhibits and promises to send the rest soon.

Notes: For enclosures, see 810113080, 810113089 through 810113093, and 830214183. Reply to 810113084.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

186233-13

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"UNITED STATES ATTORNEY"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

BAMA

Hy H.

22179

Department of Justice

United States Attorney's Office

New York

January 6, 1920.

186233-13-247

The Attorney General,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

Referring to your letter of January 2, 1920 (JEH:MH), requesting the return of certain exhibits used in the habeas corpus proceedings in this District in the matter of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, I beg to inform you that the necessary orders directing the Clerk of the District Court to return these exhibits are being prepared. The exhibits will be forwarded to you at an early date.

I enclose affidavits and certificate relating to the death of Jacob Kerener; also copy of Mr. Hoover's memorandum of October 17, 1919 relating to Emma Goldman, which was of the greatest assistance to me.

Respectfully,

Francis G. Caffey

United States Attorney.

(Incl. #16517)

The Emma Goldman Papers

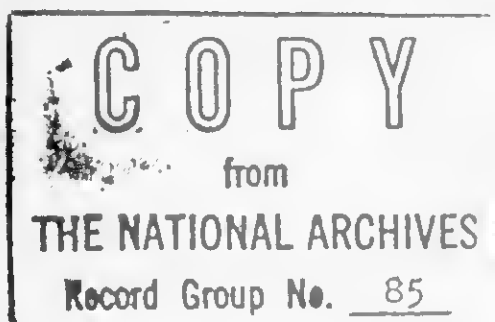
811023030

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 7, New York [to Anthony] Caminetti, Commissioner [General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Lillian Wald. — 1 p. ; 33 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Wald asks Caminetti what the Labor Department is doing to help the families of the Buford deportees.

Notes: For reply, see 811023031.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809

MAIN HOUSE
265 HENRY STREET

HENRY STREET SETTLEMENT
NEW YORK

January seventh
Nineteen Twenty

Mr. Caminetti:
Commissioner of Immigration
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Would you be good enough to let me know whether there is any basis for the rumors that the families of the deported and interned aliens are suffering? I would be greatly obliged to you if you would let me know what steps, if any, have been taken for the relief of those who may need help. I would be very appreciative to be able to make a statement as to this, from so authoritative a source as yourself.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian S. Wald

LDW:GS

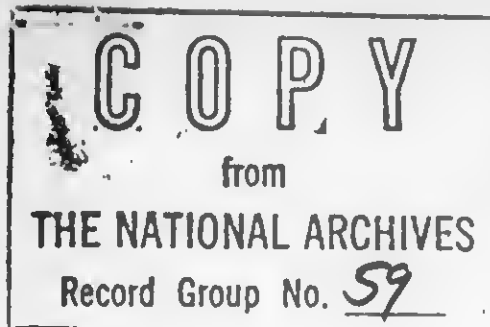
The Emma Goldman Papers

820226006

Weekly Situation Survey for week ending January 7, 1920 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpts)] / Wrisley Brown, Chief, Military Intelligence 4 [War Department].—
12 p. ; 35 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Military Intelligence's weekly situation report describes the nationwide roundup of communists and I.W.W. members and assesses the prospects of early mass deportation.



General Records of the Dept. of State
Office of the Counselor/Under Secretary and
the Chief Special Agent
File No. 504-69

C O N F I D E N T I A L .

WEEKLY SITUATION SURVEY FOR WEEK ENDING JANUARY 7, 1920.

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, GENERAL STAFF,

SECTION, M. I. 4.

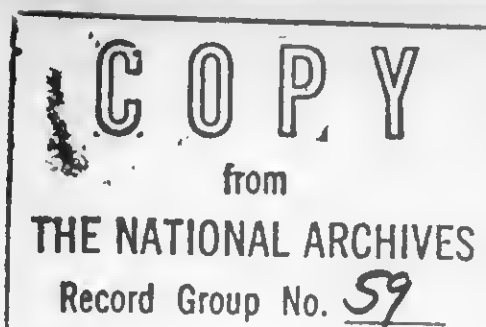
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RADICAL ACTIVITIES

Page 1

The Nation-Wide Round-Up of Communists	1
The Attitude of the Radicals toward the Mass Raids	5
Victor Berger and other Socialist Politicians	8
Communist and I. W. W. cases in California	9
Anti-Red Measures in the Northwest	11
The I. W. W. among Alien Workers	13
Influence of Canadian One Big Unionism in America	15

LABOR UNREST

16

The Coal Situation	16
The Steel Situation	17
Strikes Ended	19
Strikes Continuing	20
New Strikes	22
Strikes Threatened	23

MEMO SUBVERSION

24

Activities of the Communist Parties	24
I. W. W. Activities	25
Propaganda among the Negroes in Texas	25
The Result of Appeals in the Arkansas Cases	25

CONDITIONS IN THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT

26

FOREIGN COUNTRIES

27

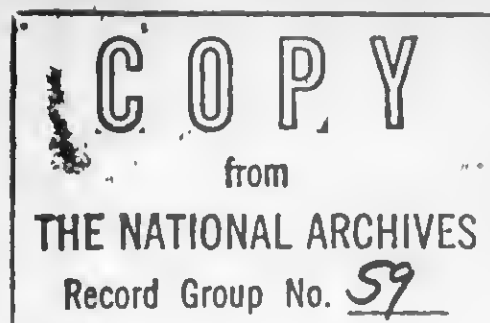
Mexico	27
Honduras	27
Argentina	28
Russia	29
Japan	29

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RESUME.

Another nation-wide round-up of dangerous radicals was inaugurated January 2nd resulting in the arrest of 5,483 men and women in 51 cities. A warrant has been issued for the apprehension of Ludwig C. A. K. Martens and deportation proceedings will be instituted in due course. The Department of Labor has asked Congress for a special fund of \$1,000,000 to enforce the law against alien radicals and \$150,000 for expenses of deportation. The sense of the country appears to be that the deportation of undesirable aliens is a necessary policy, though a few influential voices are raised here and there in opposition to deportations. The Communist Labor Party has issued a statement defying the Government to deport their members, declaring that their work will go on with accelerated speed. Various radical organizations are being used to combat deportation raids and to provide legal assistance for communists who will fight to remain in this country.

Proceedings are pending in the House of Representatives to exclude Victor Berger from being seated. Five Socialist members of the New York legislature are confronted with similar proceedings.

Among the I.W.W. cases to be tried in California the Whitney case is considered most important, because through it the constitutionality of the California anti-Syndicalist statute will be tested. In the southern part of the state it is said that there are 1600 suspects under surveillance. The trial of 11 I.W.W.'s accused of the Centralia murder will begin January 19th in Grey's Harbor County, Washington. Sixty-six I.W.W.'s now serving jail sentences in Spokane County, Washington, have been enjoined from continuing as members of the I.W.W. and teaching its principles. The I.W.W. continues to show progress among a certain class of alien workers and the organization has also extended its activities into Mexico.

The Winnipeg general strike of last summer is believed to be largely responsible for the extremism reflected in Washington and North Dakota.

The United Mine Workers convention met in Columbus January 7th and indorsed the action of their international officers in calling off the coal strike. The agitation of the steel strike continues.

Thirty-seven strikes involving about 50,000 men are reported as ended during the week. Seventy-three strikes, involving about 100,000 men are reported as continuing. Six new strikes, involving about 10,000 men are reported. Forty-one strikes, involving about 650,000 men are reported as threatened.

The Communist Parties are said to have made plans to organize the negroes to assist in overthrowing the existing political and economic system. The I. W. W.'s have been organizing negroes in Seattle, and radical propaganda has been disseminated among the negroes of Texas. Twelve negroes condemned to death for participation in the Arkansas Uprising have been denied new trials and have noted appeals.

I.W.W. literature is being circulated by civilian employees at Springfield Armory, Springfield, Mass. Radical stockyard labor leaders in Chicago are attempting to break up the 52nd Company of Illinois Reserve Militia. A strong pro-government feeling is reported among inmates of Walter Reed Hospital, in marked contrast to conditions prevailing there several months ago.

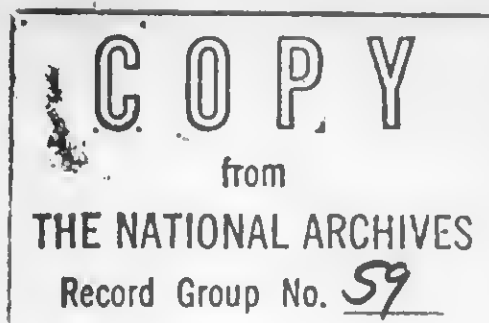
Attempts by Mexicans to steal machine guns are reported from Texas. Munitions from Japan are reported to be on the way from Salina Cruz to Mexico City. Mexican propaganda is being carried on in Texas through the "Woodmen of the World" camps. Professional revolutionists are reported to be off the coast of Honduras en route to New York. A German Aviation Mission is to be formed in Argentina and numerous German Army officers are now in that country and in Chile. A temporary labor certificate is being issued in Russia, which is to constitute a record of the work done by each person. It is reported that three thousand German soldiers and civilians are to be returned from Japan through the Swiss legation at Tokyo.

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File No. 504-69

RADICAL ACTIVITIES.

THE NATION-WIDE ROUND-UP OF COMMUNISTS:

Another nation-wide round-up of dangerous radicals was set under way by the Department of Justice on the night of January 2nd. The principal object of the raids, according to an official statement released to the press is the collection of evidence upon which the Department of Labor might deport undesirable aliens. Over 4000 warrants issued before the arrests began, and the men and women wanted were gathered in simultaneous raids, set to commence in 33 cities at 7:30 P.M. on January 2nd.

The raids still continue, and the latest estimate of arrests is 5,485 from 51 cities. Proof of membership in the Union of Russian Workers, or in the Communist or Communist Labor Parties, such as the carrying of a red card, or the appearance of the subject's name on the membership rolls, has been considered prima facie evidence of cause for deportation, and on January 6th the Department of Justice reported that 2,907 such cases had been established. Additional warrants are being issued as new lists of Communists are discovered, and the raids continue, especially in New York, unabated.

The greatest number of arrests took place in the New York area. In New York City, 1,060 warrants were issued, of which about 50% have so far been served. It is expected that from 1200 to 1500 persons will be taken into custody in and around New York. Detroit is said to be next to New York in the number of arrests made; there over 700 radicals have been rounded up, of whom 500 may be deported. Other areas most thoroughly combed were in New England, yielding more than 800 prospective deportees, Chicago and the rest of Illinois with 550, Philadelphia and vicinity with 164, and 100 each in Cleveland, Trenton, Youngstown and several other cities.

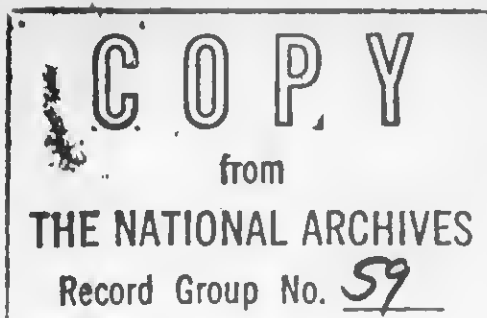
More important radicals have been taken in these raids than on any preceding occasion. The Communist Party, the more radical and alien-inspired of the two subversive parties, has lost heavily.

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the Chief Special Agent
File No. 504-69

- 2 -

Among the New York leaders who have been arrested Gregory Weinstein is preeminent. Weinstein has been "chancellor" of Martens' Soviet "Embassy", in full charge of the foreign affairs of that Bureau, and in this position was second only to Martens in representing Bolshevist interests in America. He was previously an associate with Leon Trotsky in the editorship of the Russian Bolshevist daily, "Novy Mir".

Four of the principal Communist newspapers in New York were seized during the raids, the "Communist World", the Hungarian daily "Elore", the Jewish weekly, "Kampf", and the Ukrainian tri-weekly, "Rebitnik". The cost of production of the editions seized is stated to be more than \$20,000.

Other local Communist leaders arrested in New York were Osear T. Tyverowsky, a member of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party and a prominent leader in the Union of Russian Workers, E. H. Neuwald, managing editor of "Elore", and Victor Wolodin of the staff of "Novy Mir".

Details are still meager as to the Communists captured elsewhere in the country, but among the arrests of primary importance are those of Adam Dulski, secretary of the Communist Party in Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harry Loeb, a Communist leader in Milwaukee, Ime Kaplan, the notorious Lawrence strike leader, Anafros Karelius, believed to be one of the principal Lithuanian radical leaders in New England, and the staff "Strahdnecks", a Socialist Labor paper published in South Boston.

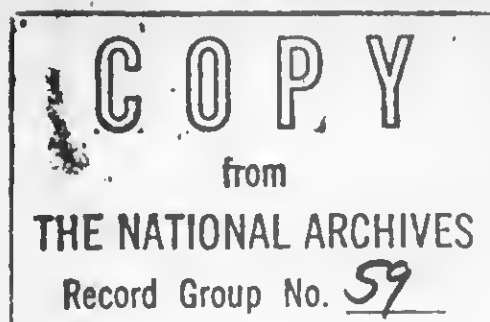
The raids were preceded by a series of arrests staged in Chicago on the night of January 1st by State Attorney Hoyne, who had 200 search-warrants and put under arrest upwards of 200 I.W.W.'s, Communists, and other suspects. Among those arrested were a large number of leading I.W.W.'s, including William D. Haywood, Thomas Whitehead, the present general secretary, James Crowley, secretary of the Construction Workers' I.W.W. Union, George Andre-

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Office of the Counselor/Under Secretary and
the Chief Special Agent
File No. 504-69

- 5 -

ytchine, the strike leader from Mesaba iron range whose deportation had been successfully opposed by Emma Goldman and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Martin De Wal, an alien I.W.W. leader of Dutch origin, and C. E. Payne, former editor of "New Solidarity", who was arrested at Newport, Washington. Both Whitehead and Haywood were held in bail for \$10,000, while the other I.W.W.'s were usually held for \$2500. Haywood's bail was provided by William Bross Lloyd, but Whitehead was unable to furnish his bail and was remanded to jail to await trial. Mr. Hoyne's series of arrests in Chicago provide the first sweeping test for the new Illinois anti-syndicalist act. The American citizens arrested in the raid will be tried under this act, while the aliens will be handed over, in the same manner as the rest of the 2900 cases now pending, to the Department of Labor for immediate deportation.

This general practice is to be observed in other States where there are criminal syndicalist laws, and in New York the prosecution of American-born Communists will commence with that of Julius Cod-kind, a local tax collector who is now being held on a charge of criminal anarchy. Others held in New York State on the same charge are Charles M. O'Brien, Rochester organizer of the Proletarian Party, a branch of the communist movement, Franklin P. Brill and George A. Till of the Buffalo Communist Party, and James Kendall, secretary of the old Left Wing Socialist organization in Buffalo and financial secretary of the local Molders' Union.

The raids were conducted, in all cities where they took place, with uniform success and with a scrupulous adherence to orders against the use of violence. A great many of the men sought, however, have escaped or are in hiding. Louis C. Fraim and Maximilian Cohen, Alexander Stocklitsky, and Nicholas Hourvich, the principal leaders of the Communist Party, are in hiding, and the whereabouts of John Read also remains a mystery.

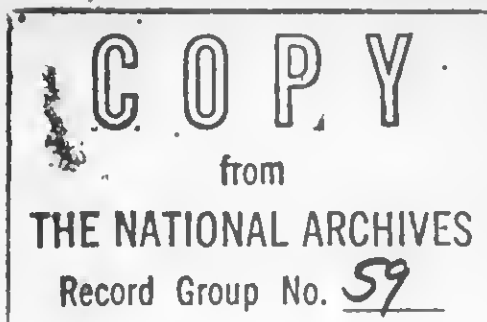
- 3 -

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Office of the Counselor/Under Secretary and
the Chief Special Agent
File No. 504-69

- 4 -

The standing question as to whether or not the authorities intend to institute deportation proceedings against Ludwig C.A.K. Martens was settled in part on January 6th, when an unsuccessful attempt was made to apprehend him in Washington where he was said to be awaiting an opportunity, with Santeri Nuorteva, to testify before a Senate Committee. He has since disappeared, however, and his whereabouts for the past day or two appear to be unknown. Previous to his disappearance, Martens wrote a letter to Emma Goldman denying the statement attributed to him that the Soviet "Ark" would receive a cool reception on reaching Russia, and stating, "I wish on behalf of my country to state that the Workers' Republic of Russia will be glad to offer an asylum to the first group of political refugees from the United States".

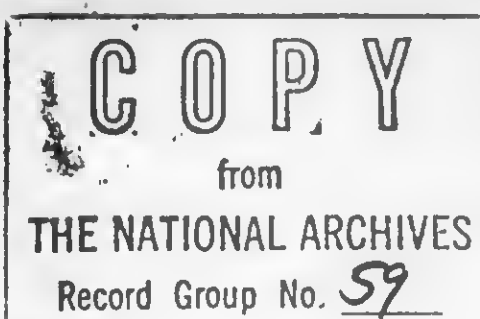
The Department of Labor has asked Congress for a special fund of \$1,000,000 to enforce the law against alien radicals, and \$150,000 for expenses of deportation. With over 600 deportable aliens already on Ellis Island and over 2,000 more due to arrive soon, it has been necessary to request the use of Camp Upton as a concentration camp for Reds, according to Acting Commissioner of Immigration Uhl. Three transports, the "America," the "President Grant", and "Fitzpatrick", are now waiting to deport the aliens. The procedure of the coming deportation trials appears to be a little uncertain. On the one hand the bail for most of those arrested has been placed at \$1,000, under general instructions, it seems, of the Secretary of Labor, but none of the prisoners are being allowed to go free until all preliminary investigations have been held. These are still going on and show no signs of relaxing. When the trials actually commence, the authorities are promising that they will be speeded up very rapidly, but John W. Abercrombie, solicitor for the Department of Labor, has stated in the press that on account of the large number of cases, "speedy" deportation is an impossibility. With the present equipment of the department about 5,000 aliens a year have been deported normally; to handle that number in one group with all the facilities

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Office of the Counselor/Under Secretary and
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- 5 -

for appeal which still remain will require an immense increase in staff and organization. At present, also, the radicals possess a large fund for bail and bond uses, and are preparing to take the utmost advantage of the right to file briefs through their attorneys, which will be forwarded to Secretary Wilson.

On the whole, the deportees pretend to be content to go back to Russia, the country of origin of the great majority of them, and although there is bound to be a certain amount of obstruction and delay, the prompt and final disposition of the Goldman-Berlman case, the complete failure of every avenue of appeal, and their dispatch from these shores on the "Buford" has greatly reduced the percentage of those inclined to contest the measures invoked by the authorities.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE RADICALS TOWARD THE MASS RAIDS:

There is no question but that the radicals have been expecting the nation-wide drive of January 2nd for a considerable time. For this reason numbers of the prominent leaders have either left the country, as John Ballan attempted to do from New Orleans, or have taken an assumed name, as Oscar T. Tyverowsky tried to do in New York. Other lesser leaders have changed their residence or have ceased Communist activities, while both the Canadian and Mexican border patrols have had to be strengthened on account of the steady drift of radical suspects in that direction. The effect of the raids on national opinion is decidedly encouraging; editorial support of the resolute policy of the authorities has been general, and the sense of the community appears to have been clearly shown that the deportation of undesirable aliens is the necessary policy at the present moment and should be pursued with all the legal machinery of the government.

It must be noted, however, that responsible and influential voices are raised here and there persistently opposing mass deportations. The most notable is that of Frank I. Cobb, editor of the "New York World", whose paper has for the past month or so attacked

- 5 -

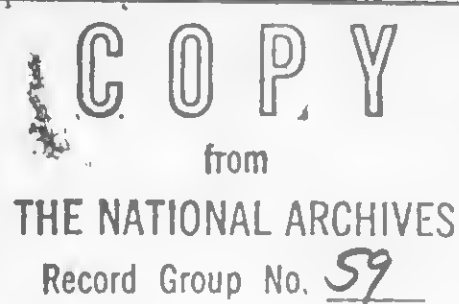
123

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File No. 504-69

- 6 -

partisans of the campaign for prosecuting the Reds as "uncritical, over-zealous, and hysterical". Mr. Cobb spoke before the Women's Civic Club of New York on December 11th on this subject and his address has been widely printed and commented upon in the country. Its general purport is a strong plea for the protection of the minority and an appeal to the authorities not to suppress opinion or liberties at a time when, according to Mr. Cobb, the evils which threaten the nation are infinitesimal when compared with the resources and proved power of the responsible citizens of the community.

Senator France, of Maryland, also published an interview on December 27th, placing the same point of view on rather a more radical plane and strongly attacking the Espionage Act. But Senator France conceded that the fundamental principle to observe now is that "the minority must be heard, but the majority must rule".

The New York World calls attention to the conviction in Kansas City, Kansas, of the twenty-seven members of the I.W.W. for conspiracy against the Government as proof that there are plenty of laws to deal with dangerous agitators if they are only enforced. The deportation of anarchists to Soviet Russia is set down by the Washington Post as a "serious mistake", which enables anarchists who were practically homeless here to join the staff of Bolshevik leaders in Russia and to carry on from Russia effective warfare against the existing order in all countries. The Houston Chronicle protests against a policy of dumping our disturbers in Europe; "we might just as well try to stop typhoid fever by sending bad milk or bad water to another market". If an undesirable alien commits a crime here he should be punished here, insists the Texas daily. Other prominent papers inclined to criticize the deportations are the New York Globe and the Springfield Republican.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has protested hotly, as might be expected, against the action of the

- 6 -

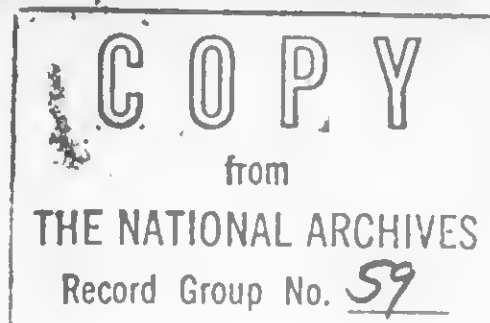
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File No. 504-69

- 7 -

authorities. In a resolution passed on January 5th, the Committee raises its voice "in emphatic and solemn protest against these activities on the part of hot-headed and over-zealous guardians for the safety of the United States". The Socialists attempted to introduce a resolution to this effect in the New York Board of Aldermen, but the question was immediately tabled.

The Communist Labor Party issued a statement on January 5th including the following provocative words, "Let them deport, let them raid, let them suppress and confiscate, it all proves that capitalism is losing and the workers are winning. Our work will go on with accelerated speed".

Santeri Nuorteva, meanwhile, issued a defiant statement on January 6th, making the charge that "We have conclusive evidence that agents of the Department of Justice have actively participated in the organization of the Communist Party of America, and that those very planks in the program of the party which now form the basis of the persecutions of thousands of people have been drafted and inserted into that program by such government agents". Mr. Nuorteva forgets, apparently, that all such planks had to be voted upon by the body of the convention he speaks of, at which time most of them were very scrupulously examined by the delegates. It is quite safe to conclude that nothing was passed in Chicago which did not represent the common mind of the delegates making up the Communist convention.

Nuorteva also states: "We can prove that the chief figures in certain celebrated bomb plots were agents of a similar nature". He hopes to be able to prove these things before the Senate Committee, but it seems likely now, in view of the rapid movements of the last few days, that a more summary disposition of the cases of Mertens and Nuorteva will be made than could be accomplished by Senate proceedings.

The principal organization of the radicals now being utilized to combat the deportation raids is the joint group of Workers' Defense and other civil liberties societies formed last fall and now operating

- 7 -

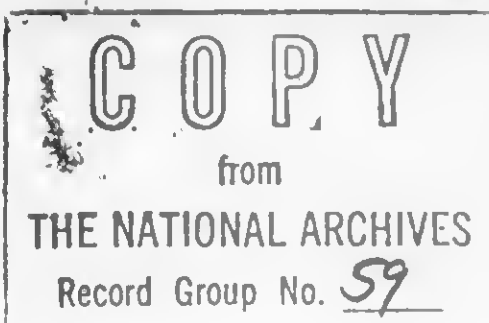
The Emma Goldman Papers

820226006

Weekly Situation Survey for week ending January 7, 1920 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpts)] / Wrisley Brown, Chief, Military Intelligence 4 [War Department].— 12 p. ; 35 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Military Intelligence's weekly situation report describes the nationwide roundup of communists and I.W.W. members and assesses the prospects of early mass deportation.



General Records of the Dept. of State
Office of the Counselor/Under Secretary and
the Chief Special Agent
File No. 504-69

- 8 -

through the "Workers' Defense Union", at the People's House, 7 E. 15th Street, New York City. Committees representing the National Civil Liberties Bureau, the various Communist parties, the Political Amnesty League, the Russian Labor Red Cross organizations, and other Russian societies, are meeting daily at the People's House under the auspices of the Workers' Defense Union, and are providing "comforts and necessities of life" for the deportees. The most important work is that providing legal assistance for the Communists who wish to make a fight to remain in this country. Charles Recht and Harry Weinberger, the Communist attorneys, are in charge of this work, and Eleanor Fitzgerald, former "associate" of Alexander Berkman, is operating through the Political Amnesty League in charge of providing the deportees with comforts and necessities. Others of the principals cooperating in this work are Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, of the I.W.W., Roger N. Baldwin of the Civil Liberties Bureau, Rose Pastor Stokes and Harry Winitzky of the Communist Party, and Fred Biedenkapp and Simon Schachter of the Workers' Defense Union.

It is claimed that these leaders have funds at their disposal of several million dollars, but there is little evidence to support that fact. Much of the money in their possession has come to them in the form of small contributions from radicals, although there are a select few who are the constant reliance for large contributions at short notice. These for the most part are well known to the authorities and are expected to be shortly under more adequate control.

With half of the official press of the Communist Party now under the ban, and more than a third of their better known leaders, together with a substantial portion of the rank and file, apprehended by the State, the Communist Party has undoubtedly been dealt a very severe blow. The Communist Labor Party having a relatively much less number of aliens, its membership has suffered less, but as a whole alien radicalism in America has suffered its most damaging blow since the Armistice.

VICTOR BERGER AND OTHER SOCIALIST POLITICIANS:

It is reported in the Socialist press that James R. Mann, formerly

- 8 -

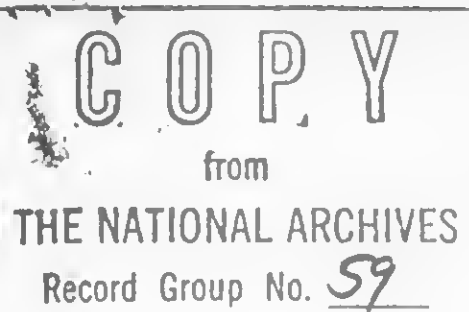
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General Records of the Dept. of State
Office of the Counselor/Under Secretary and
the Chief Special Agent
File No. 504-69

- 29 -

at present over fifteen hundred members, all of whom are ex-officers and soldiers who have come back from the war.

RUSSIA:

A blank "Temporary Labor Certificate issued to the Bourgeoisie" by the Workmen's and Peasants' Soviet Government of White Ruthenia is of interest. It is headed by the mottoes "Who does not work must not eat" and "Proletarians of all the countries--unite!" Beside the usual registration questions as to name, age, etc., it asks what was the holders profession before the Revolution, to what class he belonged before the Revolution, his financial position, attitude towards service in the Red Army, what work the owner of the certificate is supposed to do, and has space for a monthly and daily record of the work done.

JAPAN:

Arrangements have been undertaken at the Swiss Legation in Tokyo for the return of about 3,000 German soldiers and civilians to Germany. Several ships have been chartered and were expected to sail late in December. A large number of the soldiers have requested permission to remain in the Far East on account of their knowledge of the language, business connections, etc. About three hundred wish to go to the Dutch East Indies.

Wrisley Brown,
Lieut. Colonel, U. S. Army,
Chief, Foreign Influence Section.

etc.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870701007

[United States ex rel Goldman v. Caminetti: Order to Return Exhibits] 1920 Jan. [9?]
/ John C. Knox, Judge, United States District Court. — 3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 21.
Summary: Judge Knox orders the court to return specified exhibits used in Goldman and Berkman's habeas corpus case to Francis Caffey.

At a Stated Term of the District
Court of the United States for
the Southern District of New York,
held in the U. S. Court House
and Post Office Building,
Borough of Manhattan, City of
New York, on the day of
January, 1920.

P R E S E N T : JOHN C. KNOX

Honorable Julius M. Mayer,

United States District Judge.

----- x

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA :

vs. : M-5-24.

EMMA GOLDMAN :

----- x

On motion of Francis G. Caffey, United States
Attorney for the Southern District of New York, it is
hereby

ORDERED that the following exhibits be returned
to Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney for the
Southern District of New York:

Original record withdrawn from the files of
the Bureau of Immigration of the Department of Labor
in the Warrant case of Emma Goldman Kersner or Emma
Goldman, file No. 52410-43.

Exhibit A. "What I believe" by Emma Goldman.

Exhibit B. "Syndicalism. The Modern Menace
to Capitalism." by Emma Goldman.

Exhibit C. "Preparedness. The Road to Universal
Slaughter" by Emma Goldman.

Exhibit D. "Anarchism. What it really stands
for" by Emma Goldman.

Exhibit E. "Psychology of Political Violence"
by Emma Goldman.

Exhibit F. "Mother Earth", Issue of June, 1917.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870701007

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Summary: Judge Knox orders the court to return specified exhibits used in Goldman and Berkman's habeas corpus case to Francis Caffey.

- Exhibit G. "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist"
by Berkman.
- Exhibit H. "Mother Earth", Issue of February,
1914.
- Exhibit I. "Mother Earth", Issue of October,
1916.
- Exhibit J. "Mother Earth", Issue of May, 1917.
- Exhibit K. "Mother Earth", Issue of July, 1917.
- Exhibit L. "Anarchist Literature".
- Exhibit M. Correspondence of No-Conscription
League.
- Exhibit N. "Anarchy on Trial".


U. S. D. J.

Consented to

Attorney for Defendant.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870701007

[United States ex rel Goldman v. Caminetti: Order to Return Exhibits] 1920 Jan. [9?]
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MC-94

Court Docket No. _____

Form No. 336.

U. S. District Court,

Southern District of New York.

The United States of America

versus

EMMA GOLDMAN

O R D E R

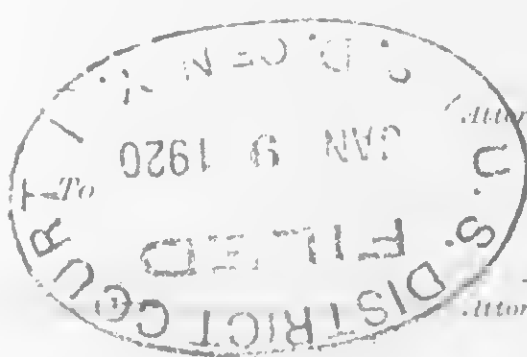
FRANCIS G. CAFFEY,

United States Attorney,
Attorney for

U. S.

Due service of a copy of the within is hereby
admitted.

New York _____, 19



Attorney for

Attorney for

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130

The Emma Goldman Papers

[United States ex rel Goldman v. Caminetti: Order to Return Exhibits] 1920 Jan. [9?]
 / Julius M. Mayer, Judge, United States District Court. — 3 p. ; 34 × 21 cm.
 Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional
 Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.
 Notes: Copy of 870701007, sent to Harry Weinberger for his signature.

[Jan. 7, 1920]

At a Stated Term of the District
 Court of the United States for
 the Southern District of New York,
 held in the U. S. Court House
 and Post Office Building,
 Borough of Manhattan, City of
 New York, on the 7th day of
 January, 1920.

P R E S E N T :

Honorable Julius M. Mayer, U. S. District Judge.

United States District Judge.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA :

vs. :

M-5-94.

EMMA GOLDMAN :

X

On motion of Francis G. Caffey, United States
 Attorney for the Southern District of New York, it is
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 Southern District of New York:

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Exhibit B. "Syndicalism. The Modern Menace
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The Emma Goldman Papers

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- | | |
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| Exhibit M.
League. | Correspondence of No-Conscription |
| Exhibit N. | "Anarchy on Trial". |

U. S. D. J.

Consented to

Attorney for Defendant.

The Emma Goldman Papers

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 Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.
 Notes: Copy of 870701007, sent to Harry Weinberger for his signature.

Sir:

You will please take notice that a -----
 of which the within is a copy, was this day
 duly entered in the within-entitled action, in
 the office of the Clerk of the -----

Dated, N. Y., -----, 19

Yours, etc.,

U. S. Attorney,
 Attorney for

To

Attorney for -----

Court Docket No. -----

Form No. 336.

U. S. District Court,

Southern District of New York.

The United States of America

versus

EMMA GOLDMAN

O R D E R

FRANCIS G. CAFFEY,

United States Attorney,
 Attorney for

U. S.
 Due service of a copy of the within is hereby
 admitted.

NEW YORK -----, 19

Harry Weinberger, Esq.
 Attorney for

To

#261 Broadway
 Attorney for

Rec'd
 Jan 7/1920

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1920 Jan. 9, New York [to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General
[Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington [D.C.] / Isaac Shorr.—
1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

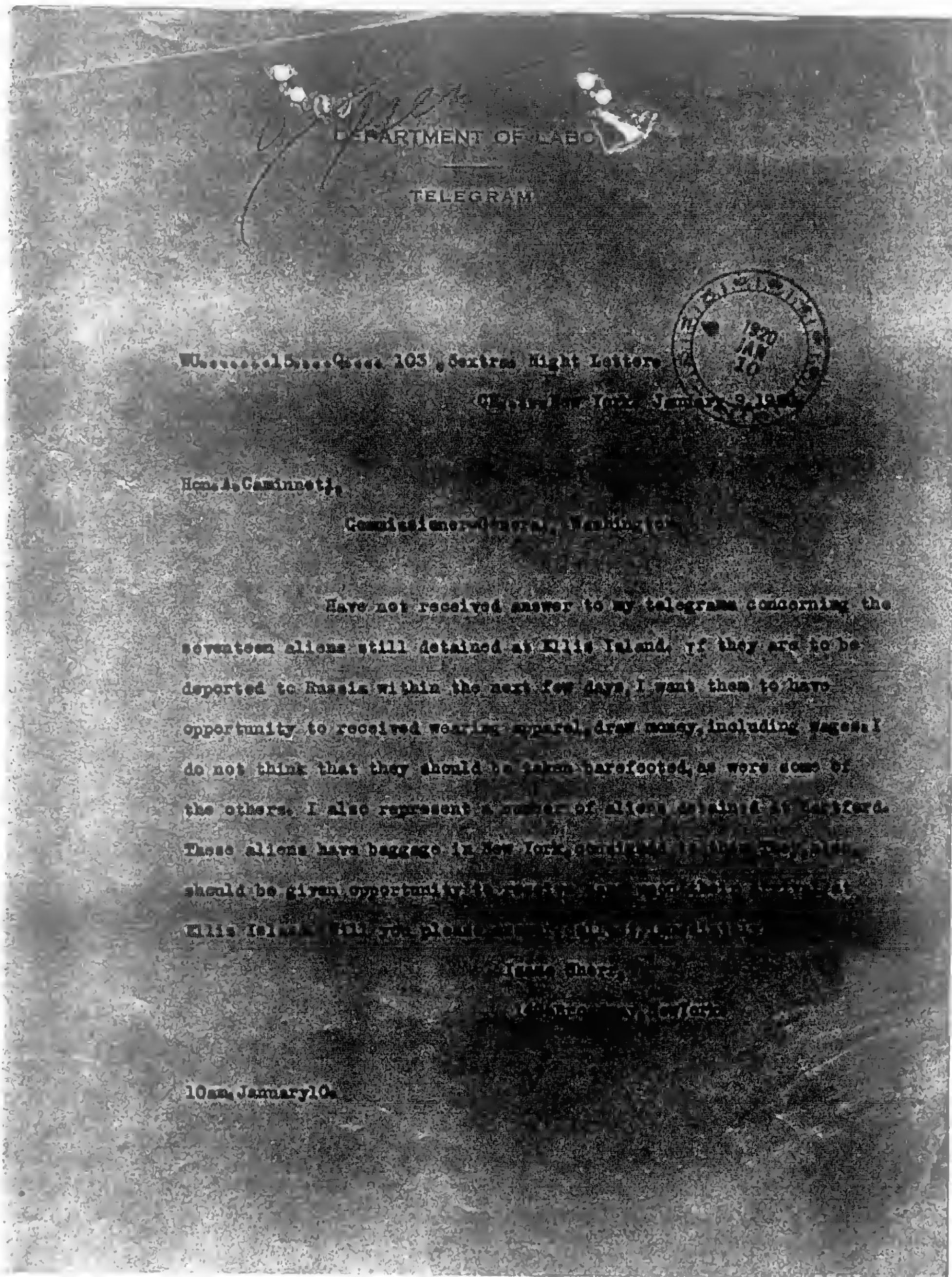
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Shorr demands that the Department of Labor allow his clients, political deportees, to receive clothing and money before deportation.

Notes: Dark copy. For reply, see 811023019.

COPY
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 85

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*



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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1920 Jan. 10 [Washington, D.C. to] Isaac Shorr, New York / A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].— 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Caminetti suggests that Shorr deal directly with immigration officials on Ellis Island about the details of his clients' deportations.

Notes: Bleedthrough; barely legible. Reply to 811023018.

COPY
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 85

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

Enb. 3:11

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CERTIFIED

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ВЕРИТЕЛИ, М. А.
ВНЕШНЕГО МИНИСТЕРСТВА
ВНЕШНЕГО МИНИСТЕРСТВА

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CONFIDENTIAL BY: CORRECTION

Commercial Rate: Collect

54809/Gen

January 10, 1920.

James Sherr, Esq.,
149 Broadway,
New York, N. Y.

Answering your telegram which suggest you keep in touch with Ellis Island concerning Russian Worker cases still undispensed, Bureau cannot undertake to advise attorneys when deportation their clients will be effected, this being a detail which must be left for local immigration authorities to attend to.

COLSINDERT

Attest: SIGNED BY A. CAMINETTI.

RECEIVED BY

Commissioner General.

WJP-REM

5.00 P. M.

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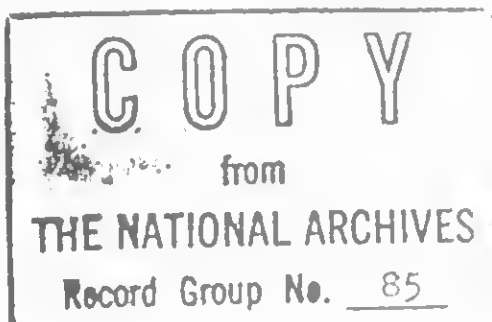
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 10 [Washington, D.C. to] D.C. Poole, Chief, Division of Russian [Affairs] Department of State, [Washington, D.C.] / [Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].— 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Caminetti arranges with the State Department to help the Buford deportees contact their families left behind and receive the money owed them in the United States.

Notes: For reply, see 811023029.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

54809/Gen.

January 10, 1920.

D. C. Poole, Esq.,
Chief of the Russian Division,
State Department.

Dear Mr. Poole:

Owing to an unexplainable oversight some heads of families were deported on the "Buford," and those interested have requested that, if it is practicable, these heads of families be informed that if they desire to send notice of what their wishes may be as to the future movements of their families to make that known to Mr. Berkshire, who is in charge for the Immigration Service, so that he may wire the undersigned in order that such information may be communicated to the families here.

It has also been stated that some of the deportees, including heads of families, failed to collect deposits or money due them, and also other property. If it is practicable, as soon as the Buford arrives, to permit any one of this class interested to execute power of attorney or order acknowledged before an officer authorized to take same, it is desired that that be done, such powers of attorney or orders to be entrusted to Mr. Berkshire for delivery through the undersigned to the parties by the sender.

Very respectfully,

AC-IMH

*Sent by messenger
1/10/20*
Commissioner General.

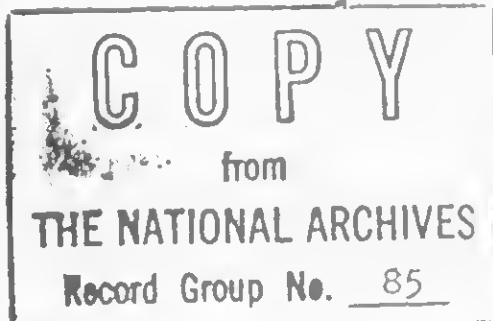
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Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Caminetti sends messages to his representative on board the *Buford*, asking him to accompany the deportees to the Russian border and find out if the Soviets will permit family reunification.

Notes: For reply, see 811023029.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

54809/Gen.

January 10, 1920.

D. C. Poole, Esq.,
Chief of the Russian Division,
Department of State.

Dear Mr. Poole:

The Bureau requests that the inclosed messages be wirelessly to Mr. Berkshire, representing the Department of Labor, on the "*Buford*."

1. "*Berkshire*, aboard SS *BUFORD*: Answering your request and after consultation with State Department you are hereby directed to accompany the United States Consul or his representative through what territory landing takes place to the boundary line of Soviet Russia, with such members of the Immigration Service as said Consul and yourself may deem necessary to take along."

2. "*Berkshire*, aboard SS *BUFORD*: In addition to present instructions, on arrival at the boundary line of Soviet Russia ascertain existing conditions in territory in Russia adjacent to such line, with the view of determining whether the request of families of some of the deportees to be permitted to follow their husbands to Soviet Russia, in case another vessel is detailed for that purpose can be granted." On your return to the steamship wire Bureau this information. Secure same through the Consul or American representative."

Very truly yours,

AC-IMH

Sent by messenger
1/10/20
Commissioner General.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 10 [en route to U.S.S.R. to unknown recipient] / [Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman]. — 6 p. ; 30 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Goldman and Berkman prepare a description of the Buford voyage, intended for general circulation in the United States. They describe the secrecy of the departure and the privations of the trip.

Notes: Dark copy; portions illegible. Handwritten postscript by Berkman. Enclosed with 880422007. For transcript with slightly different text, see 880422006.

Dear Comrades — After 20 days of anxiety & suspense as to our final destination, we have at last found out, unofficially, where we are bound. It is to be L'ban, and we are due there Monday. But even this information may be one of the numerous rumors on board this ship, without foundation. Officially we do not know our destination even at this late day, but fervently hope it may be L'ban, & that there we shall be turned over to Soviet Russia.

Our trip on the Buford is a most unpleasant one. No one, perhaps not even the Captain, knows where we are bound. Only when we are asked to go on shore, we are informed of the destination.

It is difficult to explain the situation. The ship is bound for L'ban, but the destination is not known to the crew. The ship is bound for L'ban, but the destination is not known to the crew. The ship is bound for L'ban, but the destination is not known to the crew.

The ship is bound for L'ban, but the destination is not known to the crew. The ship is bound for L'ban, but the destination is not known to the crew. The ship is bound for L'ban, but the destination is not known to the crew.

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Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Goldman and Berkman prepare a description of the *Buford* voyage, intended for general circulation in the United States. They describe the secrecy of the departure and the privations of the trip.

Notes: Dark copy; portions illegible. Handwritten postscript by Berkman. Enclosed with 880422007. For transcript with slightly different text, see 880422006.

Liberty - the rights of people in America

With the usual "Liberty" set on hand at the time, - that of "Locks first", in this instance - raised the whole matter of the three women politicals. They had a cabin to themselves, were fed in the officers' dining room - a question of the future, by the way - and the attention of the entire crew. In other words, they were shown the same tender-hearted jokers show their prisoners - a kindness more insulting than cruelty & brutality.

But the treatment of the men was simply harrowing. Cattle
never placed in worse quarters than the cadets assigned to the
practical refugees. The hospital is an old leaky tub, built in 1885,
in 1900, and now in the shape of the most wretched weather even in the
the vicinity. The men are almost continuously sweeping all the
away from the hospital building. The cadets, during heavy weather, were
often kept in the hospital building. The men were often kept in the
hospital building. The men were often kept in the hospital building.

The image is a high-contrast, black and white photograph of a document page, possibly a letter or report. The paper is heavily stained and discolored, with large, dark, irregular smudges and stains covering much of the surface, particularly on the right side. The text is mostly illegible due to the damage and high contrast. On the left side, some faint, handwritten text is visible, including the words "that", "were", "thing", and "I". The overall appearance is that of an old, damaged, and possibly water-damaged document.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 10 [en route to U.S.S.R. to unknown recipient] / [Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman]. — 6 p.; 30 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Goldman and Berkman prepare a description of the Buford voyage, intended for general circulation in the United States. They describe the secrecy of the departure and the privations of the trip.

Notes: Dark copy; portions illegible. Handwritten postscript by Berkman. Enclosed with 880422007. For transcript with slightly different text, see 880422006.

... were suddenly ordered to embark, at Ellis Island, at 4:20 A.M. on Sunday, December 6, 1919. Some were just preparing to go out on bail, in accordance with Government promises. Others had been held incommunicado for 6 to 8 weeks in the jails. Passed on trains to Ellis Island, from San Francisco, Pittsburg, Detroit, Fairmont (W. Va.) with me, Sullivan, Harbord, Bridgmont, etc., arrived Ellis Island Saturday morning & afternoon. They were deported some night, without even the opportunity of communicating with their attorneys & friends. Some came without any baggage; others had been dragged from their workbenches, without even a coat. Actually they began sending wires to friends for personal effects. But even before their telegrams could reach their destinations, were on the Buford. Incidentally, though their wires were of- ficially permitted & accepted, none were sent.

Aboard the ship, found on a long journey & unknown to us, crowded to the bone & sleeping in bunks, dressed by every one in the deportees were in a pitiable condition. We saw whatever things those having friends could send, such as whatever of personal comfort, and the volunteers contributed shoes, hats, coats, socks, charge distributed the underwear, shoes, hats, coats, socks, etc. in greatest need. Though the donations were more than still even now the lack of certain articles of clothing, especially of shoes & overcoats, is sadly felt. As a result of different clothing, poor feet, & the fearfully close with- out, most of the men were ill. Our good American friends seem on the contrary to become their personal effects, & climax by robbing them of the last earned dollar & years of toil & severe economy. The list I prepared, Committee, a copy of which I turned over, by his request, Berkman, Labor Dept representative on the Buford, was left by the deportees in American & postal savings & Liberty bonds. That is outstand-

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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The journey belonging to men on the Buford who seemed to advise the Government about the monies they left behind.

This has the great U.S. Government treated men against whom no crime was charged and who were merely accused of entertaining ideas of human brotherhood. Not even at the height of the war did America treat actual alien enemies with such utter barbarity.

May this fearful journey soon be at an end, with all its physical pain & mental misery, its torture of uncertainty & the harassing military surveillance. At this writing, January 10th, we are anchored in the Kiel Bay, with the torpedo boat destroyer Ballou, U.S. 267, alongside as our "escort", probably in the event of an attack. Incidentally it may be remarked that during the whole voyage we have succeeded in gaining the friendship of a majority of the soldiers on the Buford.

Dear friends, we write this letter to inform you of the circumstances of our kidnapping. There will be many more victims to follow. We are free Americans. We want you to be spared some of the hardships of our journey. Surely you can make your own effective demand that America be put under its motto of liberty. Demand that great men should be given true opportunities. Demand that the life in this country be made more pleasant. Demand that the wealth & comforts be made more available to those who during years of untold suffering have helped to build up this country.

And you can do more than that. You can organize a movement for those who have no means of their own. You can not permit them to be torn out by the roots from the country and sent away in chains. Remember, dear friends,

And you can do more than that. You can organize a movement for those who have no means of their own. You can not permit them to be torn out by the roots from the country and sent away in chains. Remember, dear friends,

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Notes: Dark copy; portions illegible. Handwritten postscript by Berkman. Enclosed with 880422007. For transcript with slightly different text, see 880422006.

Yesterday all day we have been were passing through the Kiel Canal. On both sides stretched of rock land spotted with beautiful villages. Here & there a farm. Over all lay the still death. Not a human in sight. Five years of carnage have left their indelible mark. The blood of many thousands of men has been washed away.

analyzing
with by

A dark, grainy, black and white photograph of a landscape. A bright, horizontal line of light, possibly a path or a body of water, runs across the middle of the frame. The surrounding areas are dark and textured, suggesting a field or forest. The image has a high-contrast, almost abstract quality due to the grain and lighting.

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142

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Goldman and Berkman prepare a description of the *Buford* voyage, intended for general circulation in the United States. They describe the secrecy of the departure and the privations of the trip.

Notes: Dark copy; portions illegible. Handwritten postscript by Berkman. Enclosed with 880422007. For transcript with slightly different text, see 880422006.

(Signed)

T. Buxton
Jan. 1920



... ..

His letter

also as a telephone

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 10 [en route to U.S.S.R. to unknown recipient (government? transcript)] / Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. — 8 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Notes: Broken type. Transcript of 880422004.

On Board the U. S. Transport Buford, Jan. 10, 1920

Dear Comrades:-

After 20 days of anxiety and suspense as to our final destination, we have at last found out - unofficially - where we are bound. It is to be Liban, and we are due there Monday. But even this information may be but only more of the numerous rumors on board this ship, without foundation. Positively and officially we not know our destination even at this late day, but we fervently hope it will be Liban, and that there we will be turned over to Soviet Russia.

Our trip on the Buford is a most mysterious affair. No one, perhaps not even the Captain, seems to have known for a long time whither we were bound. Only when we reached the English Channel on the 15th day of our journey, and picked up the pilot, did we get an inkling of our route.

It is difficult to explain why the U. S. Government thought it necessary to veil our deportation with so much secrecy. To be sure, the Government could not afford to take us from Ellis Island in broad daylight. The condition of the first group of American deportees, most of them destitute and half naked, ~~among~~ among them a number who had been rushed to Ellis Island direct from the jails of Buffalo, Detroit, Youngstown, Bridgeport etc., and arrived only a few hours before their deportation, would have aroused the indignation of even the most callous American citizen. The Government, which waxed so indignant over the German atrocities in ~~Belgium~~ ^{Belgium}, did not dare let the people see that it was committing similar atrocities at home, on people more helpless and defenceless than the Belgians were. It did not dare. Therefore our kidnapping

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Notes: Broken type. Transcript of 880422004.

-2-

in the dead of night, in mad haste, with a military force armed for murder and bloodshed at the least provocation.

However, if the secrecy had any justification till we reached the open sea, it surely had none whatever since we entered the Atlantic. Unless, of course, the U. S. Government is anxious to hide from the world the conditions which the first group of American political refugees were forced to endure during the entire journey, conditions that should shame every American who still has some sense of justice and liberty. It is for this reason that we want to make the facts known to you, dear comrades and friends, and to all liberty-loving people in America.

With the usual hypocrisy which makes "ladies first" one of the American slogans, the three women politicals on board were made much of. They were given a cabin to themselves, were fed in the officers' dining room - a very doubtful compliment, by the way - and had the attention of the entire crew. They were shown the kindness more irritating and insulting than outright brutality.

But the treatment of the men is simply harrowing. Cattle are placed in no worse quarters than the cabins assigned to the 245 political refugees. The Buford is an old leaky tub, built in 1885, repaired in 1900, and now in her dotage. The mildest weather even is too much for the old lady. The waves are almost continually sweeping all the decks, and the water flooding the cabins. During the heavy weather every spot on the Buford, including the officers' dining room, was thoroughly washed by the sea. For 20 days the men were drenched when on deck, walked in two inches of water in their cabins, and at night slept in wet bunks covered with dripping blankets.

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145

The Emma Goldman Papers

880422006

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 10 [en route to U.S.S.R. to unknown recipient (government? transcript)] / Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. — 8 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.
Notes: Broken type. Transcript of 880422004.

-3-

The food, none too good even in the salon, is abominable as served to the men. The bread is sour dough, the soup apparently made of salt sea water, the meat rancid. The bakery and kitchen are stuffy and positively filthy.

The Buford has a well equipped hospital, and the Chief Physician is a fairly decent man. But for some mysterious reason it is almost impossible to get a sick man to the hospital. Some of the politicals here were deathly ~~sick~~ ill, not only with sea sickness, but in high fever due to the dampness ~~with commensurate~~ and their lack of underwear or other warm clothing. The assistant doctor prescribe only pills, and never take a man to the hospital without the Chief doctor's orders. But it is most difficult to reach the chief doctor. One of the men on board, who suffers from an ulcerated stomach and who was long in the hospital at Ellis Island, tried repeatedly but failed to get to the hospital. Another man was lying five days in bed with an injured knee-cap, but the young doctor refused to order him to the hospital. He was showing signs of paralysis before they finally reported the case to the Chief Doctor who at once saw the serious condition of the man and ordered him to the hospital. In short, the only fit place on the Buford is apparently kept for show and is inaccessible to our sick comrades.

Very characteristic of the whole situation is the fact that there are only 37 trunks aboard for the 248 political ~~refugees~~ deportees. The great majority of the men on the Buford were rushed out of the country without even a change of clothing. They were kept in the dark as to the time of their deportation, and assured that they would be given plenty of time to prepare. The deportation papers for most of them had not even reached their

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146

The Emma Goldman Papers

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 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.
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-3- a

attorneys when they were taken away from Ellis Island, at 4:20 A.M., December 21st, 1919. Some of these refugees were preparing to be released on bail; others were held incommunicado in the jails of various cities. Then, without notice of even an hour, they were packed into trains and carried to Ellis Island. The men from San Francisco, Detroit, Buffalo, Pittsburg, Fairmont (W.Va.) Baltimore, Hartford, Bridgeport etc. arrived at Ellis Island Saturday night, without an opportunity having been given them to communicate with their friends, or even with their attorneys. They came practically without any baggage. Some men had been arrested at their work benches, in their working clothes, and arrived at Ellis Island in that condition. Frantically they all began sending telegrams to their friends, calling for their personal effects and funds. But even before their wires could reach their friends, they were already on the Buford, speeding they knew not where. Incidentally, the authorities of Ellis Island, though permitting and accepting the telegrams of the deportees, on Saturday, December 20th, never sent a telegram to any of them. I made this statement that they were not sent telegrams because one of the women received a wire on Monday after the ship had gone. Perhaps others received wires, I do not know. Some of the friends in Hartford received wires — but the ship had gone.

Aboard the ship, bound on a long journey to unknown shores, chilled to the bone and sleeping in bunks drenched by every breath of the ocean, the men were in a pitiable condition. We collected whatever things those having trunks could spare, even at great sacrifice of personal comfort. Then the committee in charge distributed underwear, shoes, caps, overcoats, etc. to those in greatest need. Though the donations were very generous, still even now the lack especially of shoes and warm overcoats is badly felt. As a result of the insufficient

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147

The Emma Goldman Papers

880422006

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-4-

clothing, the poor food and fearfully close and ill smelling quarters, most of the men suffer from severe colds, chills and rheumatism. Our good American democracy refused them even an opportunity to take their personal effects, and deliberately robbed them of the few hard-earned dollars ^{had} they saved by year-long toil and strict economy. The list prepared by the Committee, a copy of which was turned over to the representative of the Immigration Department on the Buford (Mr. Berkshire), shows that \$45,470.39 in Postal and Bank Savings, and in pay due, was left by the deportees in the United States.

Thus has the great United States Government treated the men against whom no crime was charged, but who were merely accused of entertaining ideals of human brotherhood. Not even at the ~~mk~~ height of the war did America treat actual alien enemies with such utter barbarity.

May this fearful journey soon be at an end, with all its physical pain and mental misery, its torture of uncertainty and the nerve-racking military surveillance. At this writing we are at anchor in the Kiel Bay, directly opposite the city of Kiel, with the Torpedo Boat Destroyer Ballard, U.S.S. 267, our convoy, alongside of the Buford. The boilers of this boat have sprung a serious leak. It will require more than 2 days to repair the damage. Then to Baltic Sea, and to Liban, we earnestly hope.

Dear friends and comrades, we write this because we want you, and the public at large, to know the facts. There will be many more victims to follow us, to tread the same Golgotha road. In a copy of a wireless from London, ~~received by the~~ received by the Buford and which we also managed to see, we read that 4,500 more "political extremists" had been rounded up in our dear free America. We want you to see to it that they, at least, and those to follow

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148

The Emma Goldman Papers

880422006

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Notes: Broken type. Transcript of 880422004.

-5-

them, like the endless Siberian chain of the Umar-exiled, should be spared some of the hardships that were our on this journey. Surely you can make yourself heard in some vital manner, with the demand that America do not compete with the defunct Russian autocracy in her treatment of political protestants. Demand that future deportees be given an opportunity to supply themselves with the necessary warm clothing and some food for existence in famished Russia. Demand that the government cease robbing them of their savings, and that it provide decent transportation and treatment during this terribly long voyage. It is the least America can do for those who during years of untold suffering and work have helped to produce her wealth and comforts.

But you can do more than that, dear friends. You can organize relief work for those who have no means of their own. You can not, you must not, permit them to be torn out of their adopted land, root and branch, kidnapped from their families, robbed of their loved ones, and sent away in tatters into the open ocean. Remember, dear friends, silence is next to consent. If you do not voice your protest, if you do not come to the rescue of the victims of the American official white terror, the blame will also be yours. You cannot afford to be a party to such wanton outrage.

Yesterday we were passing through the Kiel Canal. On both sides stretches of fine land with beautiful villas and neat clean-looking homesteads. Five years of carnage have left their indelible mark. The blood shed has been washed away, but the hand of death is still visible, ^{appalling,} ~~appalling,~~ paralyzing.

The misery of Germany, the woe of the world, was expressed in a few words by the Quartermaster of the Canal who came

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149

The Emma Goldman Papers

880422006

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 10 [en route to U.S.S.R. to unknown recipient (government? transcript)] / Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. — 8 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.
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Notes: Broken type. Transcript of 880422004.

-6-

on board the Buford. "You are surprised at the stillness", he said. "Well, we are being starved to death by the kindness of the powers who set out to make the world safe for democracy. We are not yet dead, but we are so faint we cannot cry out." But the Quartermaster does not know that the dead come back to life. Wee, then, when Resurrection strikes!

Poor Russia, too, bled and starved, blockaded and besieged, is not yet dead. But she is still. She also is being fed on the kindness and generosity of the governmental world saviors. And yet she is not quite still. Faint in body, yet strong in spirit, Russia defies the world of greed and sham, and holds her own against the combined power of the international conspiracy of murder and robbery. Russia, the incarnation of a flaming ideal, the inspiration of the New Day.

A few more days, and we shall touch the soil hallowed by the martyrdom and heroism of her people! In wonder and awe we await the moment when we shall behold great Russia, the invincible, the unconquerable.

Dear friends, we are not forgetting the land and the people we have left behind. We know that however insignificant our deportation and trials may be in the universal scheme of things, our fate is yet to make history in the annals of the great human struggle for liberty. Nothing we ourselves might have done could have advanced the final settlement between the oppressed and the oppressors as the introduction of deportation and exile in America. Just as the first Russian refugees and exiles were the harbingers of the destruction of Czarism in Russia, so will our deportation mark the final fall of American Czarism. The mystery ship on the U. S. Transport Buford of the first 248 political refugees from America may get

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150

The Emma Goldman Papers

880422006

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Notes: Broken type. Transcript of 880422004.

-7-

prove to be the leaven to quicken the spirit and waken the energies
of the American people for the coming Social Revolution.

Signed

Emma Goldman

Alexander Berkman

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151

The Emma Goldman Papers

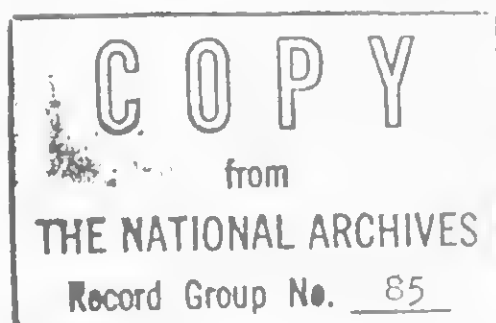
811023061

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 12, Washington [D.C. to William B. Wilson] Secretary of Labor
[Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Frank L. Polk, Undersecretary [of State]
Department of State. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: In order to regulate visas, the State Department requests a list of deported Bolsheviks.

Notes: For reply, see 811023006 and 811023010. For follow-ups, see 811023036 and 811023005.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

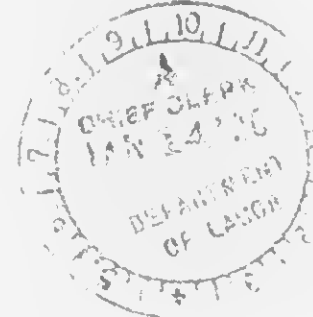
ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
U-H 811.111/28741

January 12, 1920



The Honorable

The Secretary of Labor.

Sir:

I have the honor to inform you that this Department is anxious to obtain, if possible, for reference in regard to visa applications, a complete list of the Bolsheviks who have been deported, with a descriptive personal record of each individual. If it is feasible to furnish such a list, the Department would greatly appreciate it.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

For the Secretary of State:

Under Secretary.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 13, New York [to J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Francis G. Caffey, United States Attorney, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Caffey returns the exhibits from Goldman and Berkman's habeas corpus case to the Justice Department.

Notes: Reply to 810113084.

C O P Y
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE
Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"UNITED STATES ATTORNEY"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

Hy. H. *AGW*

22179

Department of Justice

United States Attorney's Office

New York

Jan'y 13 1920

The Attorney General,
Washington, D.C.

S i r :-

Referring to your letter of January 2, 1920, requesting the return of records of the Department of Labor introduced as evidence in the habeas corpus proceedings of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, I am forwarding under separate cover all the exhibits in these cases.

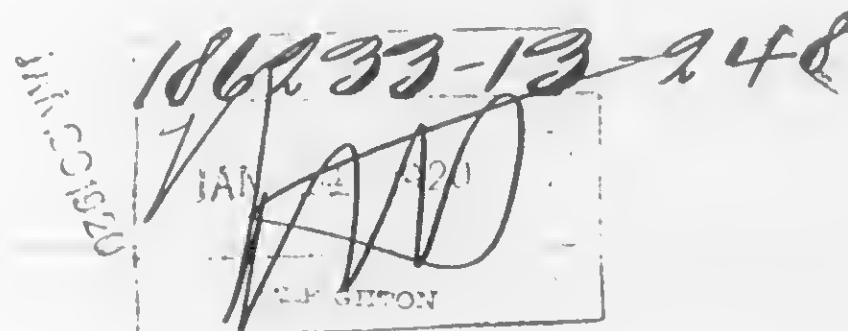
I do not know which of these records were obtained from the files of the Department of Labor; I am therefore sending all the exhibits to you. Will you kindly retain those obtained from the files of the Department of Justice and forward the remainder to the Department of Labor.

Respectfully,

Francis G. Caffey

United States Attorney.

Incl. #18218



The Emma Goldman Papers

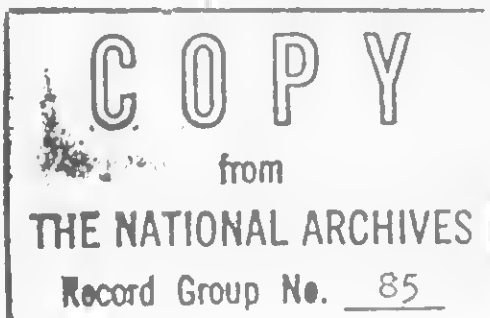
811023029

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 13, Washington [D.C. to William B. Wilson] Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Alvey A. Adey, Second Assistant Secretary, Department of State. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: The State Department explains the arrangements it has made regarding the families and personal affairs of the Buford deportees.

Notes: Reply to 811023062 and 811023063.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

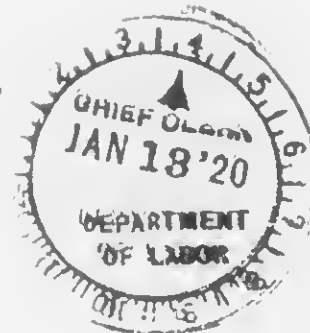
In reply refer to
R.

The Honorable

The Secretary of Labor.

Sir:

January 13, 1920.



Referring to a communication of January 10, 1919, from the Commissioner General of Immigration to the Chief of the Russian Division of this Department, I have the honor to inform you that the American Commissioner at Helsingfors has been instructed to permit, if possible, the execution by deported aliens en route to Russia, of Powers of Attorney or other documents relating to the disposition of property owned by them in this country.

The Commissioner has also been instructed to deliver to Mr. Berkshire, Inspector of Immigration accompanying these aliens, the two messages from the Commissioner General of Immigration contained in the letter of January 10 from the Commissioner General to the Chief of the Russian Division. He has also been instructed to inform Mr. Berkshire that he should telegraph to the Department of Labor messages from any heads of families who may be among the deported aliens, respecting their wishes as to the future movements of their families.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

For the Secretary of State:

Alvey A. Adey

Second Assistant Secretary.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870717008

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 16, Hangö, Fin[land to Frank] Harris [New York (government transcript)] / Emma Goldman. — 5 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Writing from the Buford, Goldman describes her voyage, her regrets at leaving America and her optimism for Russia. The hardships of the trip have only strengthened her belief in the anarchist ideal.

Notes: For related document, see 870717016.

Jalijennes

At the Finnish port, Hango. Still on board the BUFORD. Jan. 16, 1920.

My dear Mr. Harris:

This is to be our last night on our floating prison. We are to be put on trains in the morning and sent direct to Petrograd. There have been so many changes in our route but we dare not be too sanguine, that this is to be the last and final disposition. Only two days ago we were leaving for Libau. Then we learned that fierce fighting was taking place there between the Letts and the Bolsheviks and that Uncle Sam being so furiously solicitous about our safety, the BUFORD will sail for some Finnish port. Here we are docked at last. Tomorrow we're to see Soviet pad; it all seems too wonderful to be true.

I wrote you at length at Ellis Island. Alas, there was no way of getting the letter to you. We were taken out unexpectedly at 4:20 a. m. Sunday, December 21st, so there was no way of reaching you. The letter went ten days ago unofficially in the official mail bag taken off by the English pilots some where near Dover. From there I hope it made its way to the States. I sent the letter to some one whose name is less conspicuous than yours. By the time my letter will reach its destination it will have made a trip as mysterious and roundabout as we have.

Four weeks on a floating prison. Some time ago there was an old English convict ship on the Hudson. I used to see it on my walks on Riverside Drive. How far was the thought from me that I, myself, would be forced to go on a convict ship -- that such a thing would be introduced in America in the year 1919. But the reality is always wilder than the wildest imaginings. It is

amazing

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155

The Emma Goldman Papers

870717008

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Notes: For related document, see 870717016.

- 2 -

Amazing how much the human animal can endure when forced to meet reality. Four weeks on a floating prison ; sentinels at our cabin doors night and day - sentries and secret service men at our heels on deck. Watched always. I cannot tell you how depressing, how benumbing of body and spirit surveillance was. The contrast - especially between the ocean - huge, majestic, glorious, and the humans who were set to watch us. How ridiculous! How puny they seemed. One violent outbreak of the sea and the old tottering BUFORD with her force of military and civilian cycofants would have been swallowed up. Never did man with all his stupidity - his inflated importance, seem quite so utterly stupid to me. In fact, the whole performance, beginning with our kidnapping from Ellis Island - our being rushed to the BUFORD in secrecy and under cover of night - the military display during our entire journey - the conspiracy of silence as to our destination, were really cheap melodrama stupidly staged. How frail the machinery of Government if it has to employ such tactics to save itself from political dissention.

After we left the Kiel Harbor two American newspaper men came on board - an Associated Press man and one from the United Press. They asked me what I thought about our deportation. I told them aside from the cruel aspect of tearing people who lived in the country a life time from their home and hearth, our deportation was utterly futile and foolish as measures of checking ideas. I added that the introduction of deportation in American will play the same part played in Russia by exile. The tramp of the legion eventually turned into the song of the greatest revolution. The tramp of the exiled legions now close, now distant, beat upon the consciousness.

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156

The Emma Goldman Papers

870717008

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 16, Hangö, Fin[land to Frank] Harris [New York (government transcript)] / Emma Goldman. — 5 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Writing from the *Buford*, Goldman describes her voyage, her regrets at leaving America and her optimism for Russia. The hardships of the trip have only strengthened her belief in the anarchist ideal.

Notes: For related document, see 870717016.

- 1 -

consciousness of the Russian people until they could stand no more. The revolution was the answer. Is it hoping too much when I expect our deportation to prove just such a spiritual factor? Our forced exile - may it not beat upon the consciousness of the American people until they too rise on mass? It is not true that the time of miracles has passed. New Russia, is she not the miracle come true? and soon we, the first exiles from America shall behold the miracle. Soon we shall see with our own eyes the wonder of a people starved, famished, besieged by the whole world yet holding on doggedly to an ideal. I feel like my forebearers must have felt on entering the sacred temples - humble and in awe.

Our trip was very hard and trying. But it was also a marvelous adventure. Is not all great experience fraught with pain? One must not expect to get to the bottom of the goblet without draining the last drop, used to be a slogan of an old Krasny peasant nurse of mine. What wisdom! I did not know then that the more one drives of the gold of idealism, the farther the bottom recedes. I have learned the great truth in the four weeks on the *BUFORD*. This too I have learned, that the ideal which doesn't retain its lure and charm, which doesn't increase the great hunger for it, which does not constantly gain in fervor, so that one would gladly die for it a thousand deaths, because by it and through it one lives, and a thousand lives is like love crusted by the first embrace of the lover - without depth and vitality. Nothing I have endured for my ideal in the intellectual, spiritual desert that has thrust me out, has quite convinced me of the beauty of that ideal than these four weeks on our floating prison. The pain

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157

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Notes: For related document, see 870717016.

- 4 -

pain of it, the conflicting emotions that pulled me back to that desert, to America, whose soil I have broken and ploughed and sown; and the new land - the Russia of mine. Hard days! For you see I still love America. I love her for the Niagara, awe-inspiring; for the Rockies, forbidding and majestic; the Canaries - mysterious and fascinating; -- California so laden in floral beauty. Above all I love America who hungers and struggles for freedom. And with all dear Wal---? I shall always, so long as the sun does not exclude you I shall not exclude you.

Our people, tried to the breaking point by wretched conditions on board - rotten food - flooded cabins - wet clothes and beds - not to speak of the everlasting military surveillance, have borne up wonderfully. You should have heard them sing while they were on deck shivering with cold. Do you know that little German refrain: "No Menschen singen lässt Euch nieder, schlechte Menschen haben keine Lieder." No other people in all the world could have kept up their song under such stress and suffering as the Russians. I wonder whether that does not explain the triumph of Russia of the last two and a half years - a triumph in the face of almost universal opposition. Her music, more than Bolshevism, strikes into the hearts even of the soldiers sent to crush her. You should have heard our sentries hum Russian songs - the sentries who were to kill us at the least provocation. A few weeks longer and they would have organized soldiers' councils. What an infectious element is the struggle for freedom expressed in terms of music.

I must close. What I have written here with red, pale and inadequate, I must ask you to make allowance for the unusual circumstance, my restlessness of spirit on these last hours on the BUFORD, the wonder

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158

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Notes: For related document, see 870717016.

- 5 -

wonder of the moment when we shall step on Soviet soil. I haven't paper enough to put this ramble into shape. I promise you my first letter dealing with conditions in Russia will be more carefully written. I hope it will not be less intense.

Thankfully,

EMMA GOLDMAN (signed)

Member of the first group of pilgrims forced out of the land founded by persecuted pilgrims. May we not repeat the follies and crimes of the Plymouth Rock refugees which terminated in the present American despotism?

Seal:

Correctness of copy certified: Helsinki Central Intelligence Police Office in Kanslia, April 14, 1920. Officially,

Mammi Arlinen

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159

The Emma Goldman Papers

Is It Unprofessional for a Lawyer to Defend "Radicals" in Court? [1920 Jan? 19?] / Harry Weinberger. — 3 p. ; 22 x 28 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 174.

Summary: Weinberger prints a statement protesting his eviction as an undesirable tenant based on the politically unpopular clients he represents.

Notes: Three shots of four pages. Initialed by Secretary of Labor, William B. Wilson.

Record Group 174
E-1 Chief Clerk's File
#167/225 Deportations



IS IT UNPROFESSIONAL FOR A LAWYER TO DEFEND "RADICALS" IN COURT? DOES HE THEREBY BECOME AN UNDESIRABLE TENANT IN A BUILDING OCCUPIED MOSTLY BY LAWYERS?

I occupy offices at 261 Broadway, New York, Rooms 505-506, and have occupied them for the past ten years. My associate and I were notified that the lease would not be renewed on May 1st. The reason given by Mr. E. A. Tredwell, of 41 Park Row, agent of my building, was that I was an undesirable tenant because of the clients I have been representing in court.

On January 3rd, 1920, I was telephoned to that an out-of-town lawyer had called at 261 Broadway and could not find my name in the directory of the building maintained in the main hall, and that the elevator men and the starter had informed him that they did not know me. Upon inquiry, I ascertained that this was so. I immediately called on Mr. Edward C. Smith, one of the lessees of the building, at his home, 415 East 18th Street, Brooklyn, and after a long talk he said the agent had full authority to act and that he had had the best legal advice to back up his action, even to the taking of my name out of the directory maintained in the hall of the building, and telling the elevator men and the starter not to direct new clients to my offices.

The legal advisors of the owners of the building are Messrs. Coombs & Wilson, of 32 Court Street, Brooklyn. Mr. C. W. Wilson handled this matter. The lease of our offices does not expire until May 1st, 1920. If I have no right to possession of an office in the building, dispossession proceedings is the remedy, not forceful interference by

Noted HSH

91

The Emma Goldman Papers

Is It Unprofessional for a Lawyer to Defend "Radicals" in Court? [1920 Jan? 19?] / Harry Weinberger. — 3 p. ; 22 × 28 cm.

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Notes: Three shots of four pages. Initialed by Secretary of Labor, William B. Wilson.

2

taking my name out of the directory and advising elevator men to inform new clients that they do not know me.

My position has always been that: Everyone accused of crime—the crookedest corporation or the meanest individual, the most unpopular visionary or the most "practical" politician—is entitled to his day in court, and with a lawyer of his own choosing. That is our law and our Constitution, and our entire system of government is based on that.

What has the Bench and Bar to say to this sort of procedure?

What has the Bench and Bar to say to an attorney who advises the agent and owner of a building to act in the way they have?

What have the editors of the country to say as to whether so-called "radicals" are entitled to their day in court?

What has the public to say?

AM I AN UNDESIRABLE TENANT?

I was born in New York City. My parents came to this country when seventeen years of age, and have been citizens for more than thirty years. I was educated in the school systems of New York City. I attended New York University Law School and was one of the prize men of my class and earned the degree of LL.B. I was for years the president of the Brooklyn Philosophical Association, the oldest open forum of America.

My standing at the bar has never been questioned. I was appointed by two different Attorney Generals of the State of New York, Special Assistant Attorney General to prosecute food adulterators. I have been often appointed receiver of bankrupt concerns by the United States Court. I have written for some of the best newspapers

3

and magazines, and have lectured in all parts of the country.

Besides the active practice of corporation, commercial and estate law, I have fought in my career as a lawyer many cases to the highest courts on the question of personal liberty.

In the years 1910 to 1912, in the cases of *People v. Herbert Thorpe* and *Herbert Thorpe v. City of New York*, I fought the question of the right of a child to attend public school unvaccinated, on the basis of liberty.

In the year 1913, in the case of *People v. Hagbard Ekerold*, on the right of a child to attend school unvaccinated, I fought that question to the New York Court of Appeals, on the basis of liberty.

In the year 1914, in the case of *People of State of New York v. Samuel W. Simpson*, I fought the question of the right to distribute leaflets on the streets of the City of New York, on the basis of liberty.

In the year 1916, in the case of *People of the State of New Jersey v. Herbert A. Thorpe*, I fought the question of the right to distribute leaflets on the streets of Jersey City to the Court of Errors and Appeals, on the basis of liberty.

In the years 1917 and 1918, in the cases of *Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman v. The United States*, and *Kramer and Becker v. The United States*, I fought the question of conscription to the Supreme Court of the United States, on the basis of liberty.

In the year 1919, in the case of *Jacob Abrams et al. v. United States*, I fought the question of free speech and free press under the espionage law to the Supreme Court of the United States, on the basis of liberty.

In the year 1919, in the case of *Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman*, I fought the deportation of aliens for holding opinions to the Supreme Court of the United States, on the basis of liberty.

The Emma Goldman Papers

Is It Unprofessional for a Lawyer to Defend "Radicals" in Court? [1920 Jan? 19?] / Harry Weinberger. — 3 p. ; 22 × 28 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 174.

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Notes: Three shots of four pages. Initialed by Secretary of Labor, William B. Wilson.

Have lawyers a right to defend so-called "radicals" in court? If we are a government of law, must not every individual accused of crime be given his day in court, and a hearing according to law? Is it one hundred per cent Americanism to interfere with that right by high-handed illegal procedure in interfering with the attorney of accused individuals? In the hysteria rampant in America, does one hundred per cent Americanism mean forgetting the law and the Constitution?

Will discontent be lessened by preventing so-called radicals from having their day in court with a lawyer of their own choosing?

Will respect be added to law and the Constitution by hounding lawyers who proceed according to law, and whose duty it is to defend individuals accused of crime?

Is our constitutional guarantee of trial by jury, blood-bought as it is, to be abrogated by the forceful acts of a few individuals?

Can a fair trial be had without a lawyer? If a fair trial is not to be given to unpopular defendants, why go through the form of a trial?

HARRY WEINBERGER,
261 Broadway,
New York City.

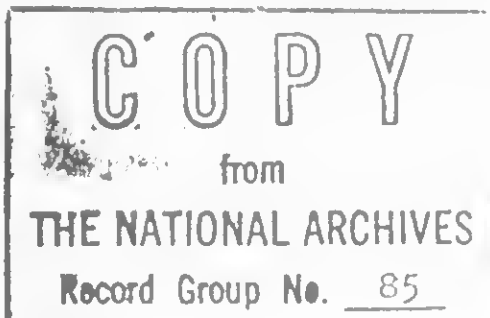
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 19, Paris [to A.T. Henderson] General Representative [Compagnie Generale Transatlantique], New York / [Compagnie Generale Transatlantique].—
1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: A French steamship company notifies its New York office that the only deportees from the United States that France will accept are French nationals.

Notes: Enclosed with 811023065.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

Copy - Translation

Letter received from Paris,

dated January 19th, 1920

Third Class Dept.

General Representative,
New York

Dear Sir:

DEPORTED ANARCHISTS -

We learn from the newspapers that the American Government intends to deport a great number of anarchists, revolutionists, etc.

We beg to advise you on this subject that the Minister of the Interior, Secret Service Department, has informed our Havre agency that he forbids the entrance of such undesirable persons unless they are of French Nationality. Consequently, all persons deported by the American authorities for Bolshevism will not be permitted to land at Havre, they will be kept on board the steamer and sent back to New York by the next boat.

We will ask you to kindly take note of this, and beg to remain,

Very truly yours,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on] Richard J. Verhagen, Chicago, 1920 Jan. 20 / [Agent] No. 14 [Military Intelligence Division, War Department].— 1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Agent No. 14 describes the enclosed letters that show Richard Verhagen's socialist tendencies and his association with Goldman.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. For enclosure, see 810402105.

DEPARTMENT INTELLIGENCE OFFICE CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

REPORT

PERSON

REPORTED BY No. 14.

SUBJECT Richard J. Verhagen

PLACE Chicago, Ill.

OFFENSE CHARGED

DATE January 20, 1920.

Agent has attached herewith two letters, which show that during 1914, subject was an assessor for the City of Schenectady, N.Y. and was also local organizer for the Socialist Party. A carbon copy of a letter written by subject to one Carl L. Thompson, attached is signed "I am your Comrade for the Social Revolution".

The other letter written by Mr. and Mrs. Verhagen is to William Langer, whose wife is of birth control fame. In the letter he also mentions that he has been in communication with Mr. Abbott and Miss Emma Goldman (who was just recently deported).

Other letters which are attached for the file show his early socialist tendencies and his affiliation with James (Jim) Larkin, who, as letters would show had an interest in Irish unrest even at that date. Other correspondents of subject were Benjamin Legere, George R. Kirkpatrick author of "War--What For?"

An interesting letter dated Dec. 29, 1914 from George R. Kirkpatrick is also attached some notes are as follows:

"I believe in a general strike."

"I believe we should systematically distribute tens of millions of pieces of anti-war and anti-militarist literature."

A letter dated March 18, 1915 from Leonard D. Abbott to subject states "Emma Goldman has spoken to me of you ****".

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164

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 20, Washington [D.C. to] W[illiam] L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State, Washington, D.C. / M[arlborough] Churchill, Director, Military Intelligence [Division] War Department.— 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Churchill sends Hurley fingerprints of the *Buford* deportees.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870717007. For reply, see 870717005.

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

In replying refer to

10110-1594
M. I. 4-E

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON

January 20, 1920.

Mr. W. L. Hurley,
Office of the Under Secretary,
Department of State, Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Hurley:-

Enclosed herewith are fingerprints of 156 radicals who were deported on the "Buford." The originals of these fingerprints have been furnished the Department of Justice, and copies thereof to the Department of Immigration.

Very truly yours,

M. Churchill,
Brigadier General, General Staff,
Director of Military Intelligence,
Assistant Chief of Staff.

By:

W.W. Hicks
W.W. Hicks,
Lieut. Colonel, C.A.C.

Incls.
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165

The Emma Goldman Papers

870805005

Gli scioperi colossali di America / P. Calcaterra. — 36 cm. In Avanti! (Jan. 20, 1920).

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Avanti! prints excerpts from an interview with Goldman, conducted on Ellis Island.

Notes: In Italian. Enclosed with 810331013.

Martedì 20 Gennaio 1920

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giornale del Partito socialista

ANNO XXIV - N. 1

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NADO - Il Bolscevismo ed il regime dei Soviet in Russia

Gruppo Parlamentare socialista L'azione del Gruppo

L'attività parlamentare finora svolta dal nuovo Gruppo, è stata diretta ad orientare la politica socialista in modo ben diverso e più deciso che per il passato: il risolutivo atteggiamento, l'ostilità subito spiegata contro le intenzioni del potere esecutivo, ha già indotto le frazioni parlamentari a smascherare ed accentuare la propria fisionomia politica, rivelando apertamente l'insanabile contraddizione esistente fra l'apparente dedizione dei programmi e la reale osservazione capitalistica delle funzioni rappresentative.

Questa linea di condotta, concordata e seguita da tutto il Gruppo, è stata giustamente rinforzata da una energica partecipazione alle varie discussioni sollevate dagli oratori alla Camera dal suffragio dei lavoratori.

Nei venti giorni in cui la Camera ha funzionato, furono ben cinquanta i socialisti che approfittarono dell'occasione per affermare

IL CONFLITTO DI BERLINO

Indipendenti e Comunisti

contro la legge sul Consigli di fabbrica

Quando nella primavera del 1919 la marca rivoluzionaria si faceva sempre più minacciata, e per le strade di Berlino scorreva di nuovo sangue cittadino, e gli scioperi della vestaglia e della Germania centrale e dei minatori silenziosi parevano volere inghiottire « l'Isola dei Beati » di Weimar, sul muro delle case di Berlino, accanto al grottesco, e truci manifesti della Società antibolscevica, si videro improvvisamente spiccare grandi cartelloni con le parole: « La socializzazione è una marcia ». Due giorni dopo la marcia era compiuta, e nuovi cartelloni annunciavano già: « La socializzazione è qui ».

Ed in realtà, il governo Scheidemann, impressionato dagli eventi, subito specialmente dal presidente Ebert, sotto la pressione di quegli eventi incalzanti, si affrettò a presentare all'assemblea nazionale un progetto di legge sulla socializzazione e

glio di Direzione, per patrocinare gli interessi e i postulati dei prenditori di lavoro, come pure per sostenere i loro desideri e le loro opinioni rispetto all'organizzazione dell'azienda. I rappresentanti degli operai hanno sede e voto in tutte le adunanze del Consiglio di Direzione, ma non hanno nessun potere rappresentativo e nessun diritto ad altra indennità oltre al rimborso spese.

Per assolvere il suo compito, il Consiglio di fabbrica ha il diritto di pretendere dal datore di lavoro che presenti al Consiglio di Fabbrica, i registri dei salari e gli dati schiarimenti intorno a tutti gli avvenimenti della fabbrica, riguardanti il contratto di lavoro e l'attività dei prenditori di lavoro.

Oltre a ciò il datore di lavoro ha il dovere di fare, almeno una volta al trimestre, una relazione intorno alla situazione e all'andamento dell'impre-

La ripresa dei rapporti commerciali con la Russia dei Soviet

PARIGI, 18.7. — Allo scopo di porre rimedio all'infelice situazione della popolazione nell'interno della Russia, ora priva di tutte le merci manifatturate fuori della Russia, il Consiglio Supremo, dopo aver preso nota del rapporto di un Comitato nominato per studiare la ripresa delle relazioni commerciali con il popolo russo, ha deciso di permettere lo scambio tra le merci sulla base della reciprocità tra il popolo russo e le nazioni alleate e neutrali. A tal fine il Consiglio Supremo ha deciso di accordare facilitazioni alle organizzazioni cooperative russe che sono in diretto contatto col commercio in tutta la Russia, in modo che esse possano disporre per l'importazione in Russia di effetti di vestiario, medicinali, macchine agricole ed altri oggetti necessari di cui il popolo russo ha estremo bisogno, in cambio di cereali, bestiame, ecc. di cui la Russia ha quantità in eccedenza.

Questa disposizione non implica alcun cambiamento nella politica del governo alleati. — (Stefani).

Richiamiamo l'attenzione dei lettori sulla gaiezza dell'ultimo periodo di questo comunicato ufficiale. Ieri c'era il blocco ed oggi non c'è. Come vedete, non è proprio cambiato nulla. Saremmo curiosi di sapere come si potrà trattare e commerciare con le organizzazioni

zioni commerciali con la Russia togliando parzialmente il blocco marittimo finora mantenuto è commentata dalla stampa londinese in vario senso.

Mentre il « Daily News », e il « Daily Express », considerano la decisione come un primo passo verso la pace con la Russia dei Soviet, altri giornali appaiono preoccupati per la situazione che può crearsi specialmente in vista della posizione che i bolscevichi hanno acquistata nell'Asia Centrale. La decisione del Consiglio Supremo, essi dicono, male si accorda con i comunicati allarmanti fatti pubblicare ieri dal « War Office » e con l'importanza data all'improvvisa partenza del ministro della guerra o del ministro della marina per Parigi.

I giornali liberali e radicali attaccano Winston Churchill per gli allarmi diffusi sopra la situazione nell'Asia centrale e lo accusano di cercare nuove avventure.

Il « Daily Mail » rileva la minaccia del bolscevismo verso la Polonia, qualunque questa sia per il momento possa mantenere la propria posizione.

Il « Times », dopo aver enunciato le ragioni per cui bisogna sostenere la Polonia nelle presenti circostanze, aggiunge che il pericolo bolscevico intensifica le ragioni per le quali l'Italia e la Jugoslavia debbono regolare le loro divergenze senza ritardo. Se la Polonia è invasa, la Romania difficilmente potrà evitare di essere all'andata rivol-

Scampo

Come hanno cominciato

Leggiamo in una rivista francese del dicembre '46 e traduciamo:

L'ammiraglio Cecilie si è diritta fregata la Cleopatra, verso l'isola di Nippon e dha l'entata cure sopra parecchi punti del per potere entrare in relazione con la nuova, i quali hanno tentato di neutralizzare. I giornali inglesi Hong-Kong, parlando di questo, dicono, se ne felicitano, giacché non che esso darà modo alla Francia di vendere questi insulti e di a Giappone al commercio europeo.

Eccola il lettore tutte le cose che vuole sul Giappone, dal '46; sulla Francia che voleva colto alla civiltà europea; sugli insulti all'entusiasmo degli sforzi fra settanta anni di distanza le cose sono talmente mutate che il Giappone è diventato una « potenza civile ». La Francia e l'Inghilterra lo sono volentieri nello stesso modo che gli Stati Uniti temono un giorno a stazionare il Giappone, se, pensando al pericolo giapponese di aver fatto male a non mano in quel tempo.

Tardiva con

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Gli scioperi colossali di America / P. Calcaterra. — 36 cm. In Avanti! (Jan. 20, 1920).

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Avanti! prints excerpts from an interview with Goldman, conducted on Ellis Island.

Notes: In Italian. Enclosed with 810331013.

la lavoro che si da aspettarsi.
Nelle imprese, che sono obbligate
a fare i conti commerciali, i Con-
sigli di fabbrica possono pretendere
che vengano loro presentato, una volta
l'anno — per prenderne visione —
il bilancio e una nota del guadagno e
delle perdite durante l'anno decorren-
te. Il bilancio e la nota dei guadagni
delle perdite debbono rispondere
alle prescrizioni del codice di com-
mercio. Le disposizioni di questo ca-
poverso non sono applicabili a im-
prese che non abbiano almeno cento
operai o cinquecento operai.
I membri del Consiglio di Fabbrica
sono obbligati a serbare silenzio sul-
le comunicazioni confidenziali loro
fatti dai datori di lavoro.

Inaccettabile!

Inaccettabile, esclamano, fin dal
l'anno scorso, socialisti indipendenti
comunisti, anarchi furono resi noti
questi due progetti di legge; e inac-
cettabili essi sono realmente.
Il sistema dei Consigli, che sono
lanciati a preparare ed a realizzare
la socializzazione della produzione,
ge influenza decisiva degli operai
il processo della produzione; e co-
primo passo verso questa meta i
Consigli di Fabbrica hanno accampa-
to il postulato del diritto di controllo
la confederazione. Se il Consiglio di
Fabbrica vuole adoperarsi per la re-
azione della produzione, esso deve
er prendere visione di tutti gli af-
fari dell'azienda. Ma nulla di tutto
questo di questi diritti si trova
due progetti di legge, del governo
della maggioranza, i quali, oltre
ad avere lo scopo di rinviare
apre più il capitalismo.

Consigli di Fabbrica possono ben-
prender visione dei bilanci. Ma
sto diritto non ha assolutamente
un valore, se insieme col bilan-
cio non si possono esaminare anche
i documenti, registri, ecc. E un
presentante del governo ha già di-
clarato che un tale diritto non suc-
ce. Il prender visione del bilancio
duce quindi a una compedia, tan-
to che, come è noto, i bilanci po-
no esser raffazzonati come si vuole,
modo da trarre in inganno anche
i nobili e i più astuti.

Interessante è poi, sotto questo as-
petto, il progetto-compromesso. I
Consigli della maggioranza vogliono
il diritto di controllo del bilancio
riconosciuto soltanto nelle azien-
che hanno almeno 10 impiegati o
operai. Ciò vale, adunque, cal-
o per le grandi aziende che, ordi-
namente, hanno la forma di socie-
tà azioni. Ma simili società sono
obbligate per legge a pubblicare
o bilanci, i loro guadagni e le
perdite. Ai Consigli di Fabbrica
farebbe quindi una concessione,
non fatta... a qualsiasi altro mor-
to quale si diletti di bilanci.

A tacere di altre maggiori e
di minde, a complemento della
sui Consigli di Fabbrica, il go-
« promette » alla classe opera-
ia legge « sociale », la quale sa-
rebbe una vera violazione di uno dei
fondamentali diritti, di cui gode ora
detariato. Si ammette cioè una
che rende obbligatorio l'arbi-
rio nei conflitti fra lavoro e capi-
stabilendo che uno sciopero non
venire, se non è approvato da
entri in violazione segreta con
caggoranza di due terzi del vo-
to. La Repubblica di Ebert e di
Eugen e Bauer e Noske sem-
brano voler richiamare in onore la
« legge della reclusione »,
la quale, sotto gli Hohenzol-
lerna tanto invelto gli onore-
oske, Bauer, Scheidemann e

meravigliare se gli operai ri-
nari sembrano in piazza a pro-
contro una tal legge?

Genosse.

situazione a Berlino

BERLINO, 14 (Ritardato).
« Ma così pure la notte sono
calme. Il Reichstag e gli edifici
sono occupati dalla polizia e
gli uomini ad essi sono in un
stato di massima vigilanza ».

dei Soviet.
LONDRA, 17 (ritardato).
La decisione del Supremo Consi-
glio degli Allenti di riaprire le rela-
zioni con il Soviet.

Gli scioperi colossali di America

La predizione di Emma Goldman

NUOVA YORK, 19. (Rit.).
(P. Calcaterra). — Non è credibile.
La lotta per miglioramenti economi-
ci è divenuta lotta di tutto. Ormai
non vi è più differenza fra le folle.
L'esistenza tutta è difesa da tutti:
rossi, gialli, bianchi, azzurri e trici-
colori sono in prima linea. Anche i più
arrabbiati cattolici hanno lanciato il
loro « feeble cry » contro il « pro-vi-
vert ».

Ma non è più il grido quarantotte-
scio di pane e lavoro. Esso ormai ap-
partiene al solco dei ricordi. E' un
grido che lo si è sentito nei movimen-
ti rivoluzionari che furono. Oggi il
pune stanca le miscele. Siamo en-
trati nel periodo dei comfort. Il pro-
letariato di oggi ha un altro grido. E'
o benessere o insurrezione, o benessere
o rivolta. E' arcistinto del privilegio.
Vi è troppa differenza fra padrone e
salariato. Vuol livellare le condizioni.

La vita che si vive in America è
brutta. E' vita d'inganni, di sottutu-
gi e di volgari speculazioni. Il « gros-
siere » ricicla e ruba. Il più sfac-
ciato, il più ladro, il più preparato alla
frode, trianfa. Il detective che ha
ordine di vigilare la capolino ogni
tanto alla porta degli affumatori so-
lamente per andarci a ritirare il pat-
tuito « grift ».

Le Commissioni statali incaricate
di fissare e controllare i prezzi, han-
no altro da pensare. Ci sono le ele-
zioni vicine ed inimicarsi il Tizio e il
Caio è dannosissimo.

I poliziotti, i pompieri, gli scaricen-
tori del porto, i metallurgici, i tipog-
rafi ed i sarti hanno, in tutta la Fe-
derazione, poco tempo fa, incrociato
le braccia reclamando condizioni mi-
gliori. La lotta fu bene impostata e
conseguentemente vinta.

Ma tutte queste numerosissime ca-
legorie di salariati, unite in una so-
non possono rappresentare che una
leggera minoranza in confronto
colosso che ha minacciato per ven-
due giorni l'intera nazione america-
na e due terzi dell'Europa.

I minatori. Quattrocentomila soli
mavano gli organizzati e quattrocento
tomila sono stati gli scioperanti. Non
uno solo è rimasto nelle cave. E que-
sta è stato il primo passo verso la
vittoria. Che cosa domandavano?
Trentacinque ore di lavoro settimana-
li, il sessanta per cento di aumento
e la statizzazione delle miniere.

Hanno dato tre mesi di tempo per
la risposta. L'ultima ora fu la più tra-
gica. Si contavano i minuti, i secon-
di come il medico conta i battiti del
febricitante. La massa dei « miners »
in una compattezza granitica ed in
una calma cenobitica, attendeva nel-
le profondità delle miniere l'estrema
decisione.

Quando la mezzanotte del 23 novem-
bre suonò, il « wire » telegrafico re-
cava a tutte le « mine towns » l'ordi-
ne imperativo di « all out ».

Da principio si rise. I più scaltri
« operators » credevano di ridurre in
pochi giorni alla capitolazione i loro
sottoposti. Il minatore beve molto.
Inna troppo, è saturo di vizi. Appen-
na avrà consumato l'ultimo « penny »
verrà sicuramente a bussare alle no-
stre porte ».

Non fu così. Il colosso era di cre-
ta. Tutto era stato preveduto dal ca-
pi dell'Unione. E alla distanza di ven-
ti giorni la faccia del minatore è riap-
parsa nella miniera, non con una ri-
ga di mestizia, ma con un sorriso di
tanta e di fierezza. Aveva vinto.

Ma l'ingerenza del Governo nelle
vertenze fra capitale e lavoro è d'esse-
nazional in lotta col dispotismo. E noi,
che abbiamo lottato e lottiamo per
la libertà, questo dispotismo, non

mente, anti-capitalismo ed anti-
ed in queste circostanze, l'America
Italo-jugoslavo è un necessario.
La « Morning Post » condanna il
modo più assoluto la decisione del
Consiglio Supremo.

Quali sarebbero state le conseguen-
ze della continuazione dello sciopero?
Il Fuel Commissioner aveva già det-
tato ordini drastici per il risparmio
del carbone, ed era arrivata perfino
ad imporre la chiusura delle fabbri-
che per due giorni alla settimana.
Garfield: quella perla di razione-
rio che voleva ridurre ad un pugno di
evirati i 400.000 minatori, ha dato le
dimissioni da Commissario degli ap-
provigionamenti non dividendo le
idee di Wilson. — (Boia) —

Le vittime politiche della guerra
vengono adesso o annistate o depor-
tate. I meno violenti, ossia « i rosei »
vengono rilasciati in libertà dopo una
evangelica ruminazione. Gli scarlat-
ti e i cervelli lucidi, quelli vengono de-
portati « all'once ». La maggioranza di
questi ultimi è composta di russi.
Miss Emma Goldman, la « priestess »
del comunismo è anch'essa fra i de-
portandi. Benché nata in Russia essa
è « effizien » americana. La Supre-
ma Corte degli Stati Uniti non sa per-
ciò quale decisione prendere e la sua
ultima ordinanza sembra favorevole
alla « not deportation ».

Ha interrogato da Goldman giorni
or sono ad Ellis Island ove essa è
confinata in attesa della decisione.
— Ecosì — le ho chiesto — se la
Corte si consentirà di rimanere in A-
merica, cosa farà?

Ellen mi ha guardato « attraverso il
crinello dei suoi grandi occhi », e
con un sorriso pieno di malizia e di
verità mi ha risposto:
— No, no, in questa terra di eu-
nuchi io non rimarrò un solo minuto.
Preferisco essere riuviata nella mia
Russia comunista. Qui ritornerò fra
cinque anni sicura epoca della procla-
mazione del Soviet americano.

Mi ha stretto la mano, raccoman-
dandomi di salutare tutti i compagni
d'Italia, e non ha parlato più. Ha de-
to fin troppo!

La ripresa dei rapporti politici
tra l'Inghilterra e la Germania

LONDRA, 15 (ritardato).
Kilmarneck, rappresentante della
Gran Bretagna a Berlino, è partito
per la Germania.

Il ministro degli Esteri, Lord Curzon,
ha dichiarato che la Gran Bretagna
non ha nulla da opporre alla ripresa
dei rapporti politici tra l'Inghilterra
e la Germania, purché questa sia
basata su una base di reciproca
fiducia e di equità.

La ripresa dei rapporti politici
tra l'Inghilterra e la Germania
è stata annunciata da Lord Curzon,
ministro degli Esteri britannico, in
una conferenza stampa a Londra.

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167

The Emma Goldman Papers

870717005

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 21 [Washington, D.C. to] M[arlborough] Churchill [Director]
Military Intelligence Division, War Department, [Washington, D.C.] / [William L. Hur-
ley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley thanks Churchill for the fingerprints of the Buford deportees.

Notes: Light copy. Reply to 870717006.

January 21, 1920.

Brigadier General M. Churchill, U.S.A.,

Military Intelligence Division,

War Department.

Dear General Churchill: Attention Lieut. Col. Hicks:

Allow me to thank you for your letter of January 20th

10110-15⁹⁴ M.I.4-E, enclosing fingerprints of the one hundred
and fifty-six radicals who were deported on the BUFORD.

These photostats will be of great value to the Department
and I appreciate their being forwarded to me.

Very truly yours,

C-H

W.C. HURLEY

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168

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 22 [Washington, D.C. to] George F. Lamb [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], New York / [Frank Burke] Assistant Director and Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 26 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Burke informs Lamb that Stella Ballantine's apartment contains letters between Goldman and Jacob Margolis that he would like to see.

Notes: Light copy; barely legible.

218765

100-050

January 22, 1920.

George F. Lamb, Esq.,
Box 241, City Hall Station,
New York City.

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of advice from a very confidential source that the residence of STELLA BALLANTINE, 25 West 41st Street, New York City, contains a collection of correspondence belonging to EMMA GOLDMAN which contains letters passing between Emma Goldman and JACOB MARGOLIS. It would of course be highly desirable to obtain such information as these letters contain, and I am submitting the above information to you for your personal attention and such action as you may deem advisable.

Very truly yours,

Assistant Director and Chief

100-050

100-050

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169

The Emma Goldman Papers

810331020

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 22, Washington [D.C. to] M[arlborough] Churchill [Director] Military Intelligence Division, War Department, [Washington, D.C.] / W[illiam] L. Hurley, Department of State. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Hurley instructs Churchill to discount John Clayton's newspaper articles, because he is a Bolshevik sympathizer who transmitted Goldman's statement from Finland to the United States.

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

January 22, 1920.

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF
Executive Division
M. I. Branch

10058-470

WAR DEPARTMENT

CAPTAIN SNOW
M. I. 4.

H. J. Neville
M. I. 1-E

Brigadier General M. Churchill, U.S.A.,
Military Intelligence Division,
War Department.

Dear General Churchill:

It has just come to my attention that John Clayton, who received an emergency passport in Paris in September last, is a Bolshevik sympathizer. Clayton has been recently accompanying from Hango to the Russian border the Bolsheviks who were deported on the BUFORD.

A signed statement in the nature of propaganda given out by Emma Goldman was transmitted by him to his paper. He is also stated to have said that he intends to go to Russia as he has friends there who will help him.

In view of the above, any articles which he may contribute to the newspapers should not be taken at their face value. I am sending similar information to Department of Justice.

Very truly yours,

W. L. Hurley

C-H

See 2774-130

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Notes: Light copy, barely legible. Enclosed with #11222012.

Bureau of Investigation

Attention: Mr. Hoover.

752 12/17/96 9:45 AM

171

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 23 [Washington, D.C. to] Geo[rge] F. Lamb, Division Superintendent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], New York / [Frank Burke] Assistant Director and Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 25 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Burke asks if Lamb ever found Goldman and Berkman's lost deportation files.

Notes: Dark copy. For reply, see 810618004.

MJD-MT

15446
January 23, 1920.

Geo. F. Lamb, Esq.,
Division Superintendent,
P. O. Box 241, City Hall Station,
New York City, New York.

Dear Sir:

According to the report of Agent Anderson for December 6, entitled "Lost file on Goldman-Berkman Case," your office was making an effort to locate a file which had gone astray in the mails between the New York Office of the Department and the United States Attorney.

Will you kindly advise whether or not this file has been recovered.

Very truly yours,

Assistant Director and Chief.

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172

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 24, New York [to] Frank Burke, Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / George F. Lamb, Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.— 1 p. ; 25 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Lamb explains what happened to Goldman and Berkman's lost immigration files.

Notes: Reply to 880606320.

CJS-JTD.

Department of Justice,
Bureau of Investigation.

New York City, January 24, 1920.

15-446

Frank Burke, Esq.,
Assistant Director and Chief,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

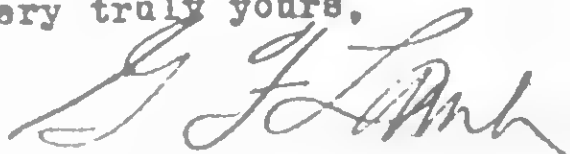
Attention: M.J.D.

Dear Sir:

Referring to your letter under date of January 23d, initialed M.J.D., concerning a report entitled "Lost File in Goldman and Berkman Case", you are hereby informed that on December 6th of last year, Mr. J.E. Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, telephoned this office advising that mail matter in connection with Berkman and Goldman Case sent by him to Colonel Caffey, United States Attorney for this district, had not been received and that efforts be made to locate same.

Subsequent investigation developed the fact that the mail matter reached Colonel Caffey at 1 A. M. on the morning following the day that said papers were reported as being lost, and Mr. Hoover was promptly advised of this.

Very truly yours,



GEORGE F. LAMB

Division Superintendent.

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173

The Emma Goldman Papers

810618005

[Telegram] 1920 Jan. 24 [Washington, D.C. to Arthur L.] Barkey [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Detroit, Mich. / [Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 25 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Burke asks for a copy of the stenographer's report on the speeches of Goldman and Jacob Margolis on November 23, 1919.

Notes: Barely legible. For reply, see 810618006. For report mentioned, see 810930188, 810930189, and 880606232.

154461

872-HKY

January 24 1920

C O D E

Barkey

Own Building

Detroit Mich

Reference meeting at Auto Workers Hall Adams Street
November twenty third at which Emma Goldman and Jake
Margolis spoke stop Advise by wire if stenographic
report was made on these speeches stop If so
forward copy of same immediately attention Hoover
stop five

Burke Chief

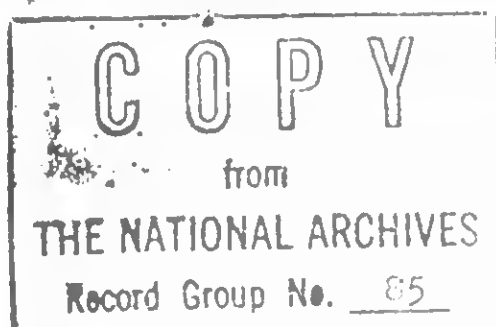
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174

The Emma Goldman Papers

811023021

[Memorandum] 1920 Jan. 24, Washington [D.C. to] A[nthony] Caminetti [Commissioner] General [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor, [Washington, D.C.] / Frank T. Hines, Chief, Transportation Service, War Department. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85. Summary: Hines sends Caminetti the text of a radio message from the Buford giving details of the transfer of deportees from Finland to Russia.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1922
File Number 54809

ADDRESS REPLY TO
CHIEF OF TRANSPORTATION SERVICE
WATER TRANSPORTATION DIVISION
MUNITIONS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

WAR DEPARTMENT
TRANSPORTATION SERVICE
WASHINGTON

WCB/L

REFER TO FILE NO. _____

January 24, 1920.

From: Chief of Transportation Service.
To: Mr. A. Caminetti, Director General of Immigration, Department of Labor.
Subject: Radio message from Col. Hilton.

1. I quote below for your information radio received from Col. Hilton on the U. S. A. T. BUFORD:

"Jan. 24, 1920 Copenhagen
Hines Chief of Transportation Washington
Met arrival Hango by Coulter viceconsul period noon next day
finish general chief officer comma Mister Erkko Finnish
foreign office Military guard arrived one o'clock with train
period they had assurances easy transfer aliens and in conference on ship said unnecessary Berkshire go on Buford wait until crossing completed as Coulter had suggested period Berkshire able to get from officer best information concerning conditions on Russian side frontier desired commissioner period destroyer low oil and Buford's boiler leaking period every reason to leave promptly period Berkshires report commissioner going today delayed because lack confirmation crossing promised by Coulter and Erkko period destroyer with us again been Copenhagen for oil period stop
Hilton"

Frank T. Hines
FRANK T. HINES
Brigadier General, U. S. A.
Chief of Transportation Service.

175

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Notes: Portions illegible. Pages missing and possibly out of sequence. Numerous postscripts by Berkman. For enclosure, see 880422004.

Uxbridge, Society Den, Jan. 25. 1920

Dearest Joe St. -- This is Sunday evening & I am in the Soviet House in Petro-
grad -- think of it! -- writing to you in '29. Miracles of miracles, you then
were moments, really hours & days, when I did not believe that we'd ever reach
Petrograd or Russia alive. And here I am, writing to you in red ink from the home
of a member of the Petr. Soviet, in my room in the Soviet Home (formerly the fashion-
able Hotel Victoria), my large double-paned window ~~now~~ looking out on the ~~the~~ celebrated
Nevsky Prospekt & the castle of Maria-Feodorovna's Tomb. Many of my youthful memories
are centered around the Nevsky, which is one of the most beautiful temples in a city of
beautiful architecture. (I lived in Petr. till the age of 15). I do not recognize the city, nor
the people -- the change is fundamental. But of that again at some other time.

to begin at the beginning. We were 28 days at sea. We sent you cable from the English Channel, via Boston, on the 6th or 7th inst. Another cable from Soviet Soil, or wireless, via Budapest, on the 19th. Then a long radio from Peter on the 20. Of course I don't whether you rec'd anything. Also sent a number of letters from Engl. Channel, one from Kiel. - Now the first opportunity to send message through personal friend. I entertain a friend of his may soon come here. See at once about sending message, if practical.

The enclosed letter for Comrades will tell our Odyssey. At the last moment plans were changed: impossible to go to Libau, - fighting. We went to Helgo - terrible storm - finally reached that port in Finland, southeast of Helsinki. Strong wind threw the Buford on a reef; stopped all night. Landed in Helgo on Helgo Jan. 17 20. m. Got into a train, cold and, over-crowded, no water, white Finnish guards. At first treatment inimical; next day special respect. Foreign Office of Finland sent for me (I represented the deportees from first to last day in dealing with the authorities) attitude more friendly & very polite. Perhaps owing to talk about trading off the blockade. I arranged conditions of delivery to R. Sent radios to Shostoff & Chicherin: No reply. We decided not to leave train till we see Comm. of Soviet, because of danger of putting the Russ. border-guard in a position where they'd have to shoot, not being informed who is crossing border. Big Finnish army at border, ready for an attack on R. Finally I got promise from Fin. Gov. that they would not show hostilities. I went with representatives of F. go army, foreign office, two Amer. consuls. (one J. Clayton, Chi. Tribune) on foot, with white flag. We had elected Comm. of 4 (6 & I among them) to go to border. They feared to let me go alone. But it had to be done. No one else was allowed to go. Red Pres. represent. joined us. At boundary line (Belostrow, on the R. side) stood R. guard. we talked. Then R. guard sent for Comm. appointed by Soviet to meet us. (Mme. Andreeva (wife of Sergei etc) I arranged things with them. We also came on foot through deep path. Snow to the Finnish station, where stood our train. The rest of my Comrades and me (C. Rosenberg, Veras) we talked matters over. Train went on a stoppage about a week in R. border. We got weights, so not over our train etc. & crossed. Inspected by Soviet Police.

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2) with mus. ... more ... fine ... first Russ. R.R. station. First
this meeting an ... of local ... for our ... In platform out. Women, some ...
auditing ... from men, others in the ... of Cathol. ... in ... Sisters of Mercy. ...
of our party ... Chernov made good talk. I said a few things in Russ; I spoke in Eng. ...
by train to Petrograd. Great ... in station, in the old ... Palace, then at the Smolny
Institute, the seat of the Betr. government. Had dinner at Smolny. Party lodged there till individually
assigned to work ... to inclination & ability. E & I, Dora, Ellen & ... Biandy & ...
Shackel found rooms in Soviet House, where live the "active workers" of the Soviet, chiefly.
The ... Shatov, ... & ... provided most effective ...
... R. Then was ... of ...
... against Gudenski, ... Was most critical time. Gudenski ... at the ...
... of Petr. ... his agents ... that he had ... already organized
... for the "demonstration" of P. Every able man & woman ... to work, ...
... in the streets, etc. Soviet decided to blow up Petr. rather than ... Fortunately, ...
... & ... New ... & ... R. Kolchak is in hands of Soviet. ...
... in R., esp. in Petr. The R.R. is fighting a gigantic struggle. We have not
... enough to acquaint ourselves with the situation. My position just now is
... of student. I have come to learn before I can teach. Real. in reality, face to face, ...
... theories about it. That much is certain. - Some of our people take ...
... to work. Shatov left last night for Siberia, to take charge of the railways. He ...
... Biandri, both ... Tell their families. They are ... Taxes ...
... to Siberia. They may stay 6 months. Petr's wife Anna is about to give birth to a ...
... with the Sasha in Moscow, but is here now. Both fine girls; I know ...
... Sam. Manya ... & ... from S. Fr. ... all ... to ...
... from America - ... from ... from Paris etc. ...
... in Moscow. E & I plan to go there in a week or two. But may return ...
... I may go to Ukraine, special situation there. Not, of course, till I hear ...
... by & by perhaps also to Siberia, to study conditions.
Petr. is practically on a war footing, owing to recent Gudenski ...
Great hunger. Impossible to get many necessities of life. Some things ...
2,000 rubles per lb; shoes 1800 r. etc. proportionately. Great scarcity. No coal,
The last enclosed, of things we need, is absolutely necessary for ourselves -
brought here all the trunks etc. Your spouse of a box with ... - we did not
did not get any hard tack, made by ... & ... addressed to others. One was ...
men on the ship; the other was totally spoiled by the salt water. I did not find
things - shoes, brown suit etc (which you put in the oblong old trunk other in
wardrobe trunk. (Terrible pack of clothes here - we fitted and ... Manya
the big trunk of ... we expected to find cats. Disappointed. No canned stuff
peanut butter, cocoa etc. Mostly soap, which is very necessary here & ...
But what to eat? That's the problem here. For the present we have a little
at a little on ship. - I suppose you had no more room in trunk - if other deposited
boxes or trunks with the things marked on list here enclosed. The more the better
will write about it in detail. - Our things were only superficially examined, ...
end of ... & nothing taken. - Sent complete set of M. S., a few copies of
set of pamphlets etc. Another ... Also send me, in Eng., French
Revolution by Lamartine, in 2 vols, I think, & also one by ...

ARMED AND DANGEROUS

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Notes: Portions illegible. Pages missing and possibly out of sequence. Numerous postscripts by Berkman. For enclosure, see 880422004.

I have been thinking of you a great deal lately. I hope you are well. I have been very busy lately, but I have managed to find some time to write to you. I have been thinking of you a great deal lately. I hope you are well. I have been very busy lately, but I have managed to find some time to write to you. I have been thinking of you a great deal lately. I hope you are well. I have been very busy lately, but I have managed to find some time to write to you.

OTHER BOOKS AVAILABLE

[illegible]

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Notes: Portions illegible. Pages missing and possibly out of sequence. Numerous postscripts by Berkman. For enclosure, see 880422004.

Extensile for electric light
 Elec. Globes very hard to get (300 units, a piece)

Э. Драма Вокс - 6 стр.

Latest Book on Diet for Sick
Text Book on Nursing
(Latest)

[illegible]

I guess the address given
by E. W. is one

Fitzie

(ELEANOR (FITZGERALD)
BERKMANS "FIANCÉE":

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 25, Petrograd [to M. Eleanor] F[it]zgerald] or St[ella] Ballantine,
New York] / [Alexander Berkman]. — 7 p. ; 33 x 23 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Berkman describes the deportees' trip across Finland to Soviet Russia and conditions in Russia during the first days of their stay in Petrograd. He reports the condition of friends, arranges for mail, and sends lists of necessary supplies for Fitzgerald to send.

Notes: Portions illegible. Pages missing and possibly out of sequence. Numerous postscripts by Berkman. For enclosure, see 880422004.

Things Needed

List #1 - For the use of E & S.

Class

A Electric Boxing Store for 2 pots
+ fixing, if possible

02

A 2 Electric Soup Pots and El. Frying Pan

A / " Iron

A Matched

A Candles - 2 25 large thick; 25 medium

A 6 Cigarette Lighters - best quality - to save matches

A Bottle Benz. or Turpent. for the above

A 6 Cans Sub-L Cleanser

A 50 Fels Naphta Soap

A 6 Boxes Lux

A 6 Fairy Soap

6 Long!

1/2 Test pan

1 Wisp Broom large size to sweep room

A 12 and Covered to -

(mostly at 1000 ft. or less, near the foot,
trapped etc. under the same 500 ft. or less)

Aug 10 ...

(Harris Road, 1st on R. and Co. for K S Army
get this road)

Tea - 6/10 - 5/10

90.111 - Test 12

1942-1943

Coffin Ins.

21c. 1936

Swampy Creek

15. A = vital & immediate necessity. B = vital necessity, to be sent after C .

No. 1. ... the various things now in your mind. Just carry out requests by one object at a time, giving nationality. You may be taught in this house today; next month ... (burns only 7-10 P.M.) others have none. Cooking is great

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 25, Petrograd [to M. Eleanor] F[itzgerald] or St[ella] Ballantine, New York] / [Alexander Berkman]. — 7 p. ; 33 x 23 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Berkman describes the deportees' trip across Finland to Soviet Russia and conditions in Russia during the first days of their stay in Petrograd. He reports the condition of friends, arranges for mail, and sends lists of necessary supplies for Fitzgerald to send.

Notes: Portions illegible. Pages missing and possibly out of sequence. Numerous postscripts by Berkman. For enclosure, see 880422004.

List of Things to be sent in Transit o. Boxes — per Second Group of Deportees

Cotton 2 1/2 lbs. buttons, lace shades, 8 yd lengths
Muslin — 25 yds

Summer dresses — new, former, old, all sizes
Hosiery

Socks

Chemise

Baby clothes — 25 yds

Mixed case

Leather Soles

Black Hosiery (most vital)

Blue Socks

Blue Suffering

Blue Suffering

Blue Suffering

Blue Suffering

Blue Suffering

Blue Suffering

Blue Suffering

Blue Suffering

Blue Suffering

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Shirts, Plain Cases, Towels

Wool balls

White paste for shoes

Razor Hone for hair

Josephine Shaving Strips

Pencils

Penpoints

Penholders

Hard ~~Shoes~~

Hard ~~Shoes~~

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Specially used:

Five Hair combs

Wool balls

Black Hosiery

Black Hosiery

Black Hosiery

Black Hosiery

Black Hosiery

Black Hosiery

Black Hosiery

Black Hosiery

Black Hosiery

Black Hosiery

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Black Hosiery

Black Hosiery

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Black Hosiery

Black Hosiery

Wire Hosiery / Pins

also: all the items mentioned
in List #1 (except electric things)

Foods, dried fruit, canned
etc etc

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 26 [Washington, D.C. to] E[dward] J. Brennan [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Chicago / [Frank Burke] Assistant Director and Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 28 × 20 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Burke sends Brennan a report on Reitman and requests an inquiry.

Notes: Light copy; barely legible. For enclosure, see 811222033.

Received with a copy of a communication
from the New York office of the
Bureau of Investigation regarding the present activities
of the Reitman, and request that it be
employed in the office of the Bureau, and further that he
be placed in the office of the Bureau with the Division
of the Bureau.

Thompson, George
Assistant Director

RECEIVED

RECEIVED

RECEIVED

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183

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1920 Jan. 26, Detroit, Mich. [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Department [of] Justice, Washington [D.C.] / [Arthur L.] Barkey [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Barkey assures Burke that he already sent him a transcript of Goldman's speech, as requested.

Notes: Barely legible. Reply to 810618005. For coded version, see 880606321.

15446

Noted
F.D.N.

13a 34 called govt

Detroit, Mich. January 26, 1920.

Burke,

Department Justice,
Washington.

Five stop Hoover reference Emma Goldman and Kate Margolis I forwarded to you with my letter December third transcript of the notes taken by stenographer of their speeches given November twenty third and twenty sixth in event you do not locate them please advise and I will forward our copy.

Barkey.

12 32 P.M.

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184

The Emma Goldman Papers

880606321

[Telegram] 1920 Jan. 26, Detroit, Mich. [to Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation] Department [of] Justice, Washington [D.C.] / [Arthur L.] Barkey [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].—
1 p.; 25 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Notes: Dark copy. Partially coded version of 810618006.

12th no . st govt

Detroit, Mich. January 26, 1920

Noted
F.D.N.

Burke,

Department Justice,

Washington

Five stop Hoover reference outote zwomotey and shespa texosivaw

I forwarded to you with my letter December third transcript of
the notes taken by stenographer of their speeches given November
twenty third and twenty sixth in event you do not locate them
please advise and I will forward our copy.

Barkey

12 52 P.M.

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185

The Emma Goldman Papers

880606311

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 26, Pittsburgh, Pa. [to] J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Arthur M. Scully.— 1 p.; 26 × 20 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Attorney Scully thanks Hoover for his help in the Bar Association's investigation of Jacob Margolis.

Notes: For stenographic notes mentioned, see 880606232 and 890216000.

ARTHUR M. SCULLY,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
PITTSBURGH, PA.
PRICE 10000.

January 26, 1920.

J. E. Hoover, Esqre.,
Special Assistant to the Attorney General,
Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Hoover:-

In response to your letter of the 22nd inst., I beg to advise you that Mr. Edward Cope, of 1590 Amsterdam Avenue, New York, is authorized to represent the Allegheny County Bar Association in the investigation of the activities of Jacob Margolis. Any assistance you may give to him in this behalf will be much appreciated.

The special agent of the department here has delivered to me the matter which you forwarded to him, for which please accept our thanks. Mr. Bane and I appreciate your courteous co-operation and assistance in this matter. Will you be good enough to express my thanks to Mr. Burke?

In our recent conversation in Washington, you mentioned certain stenographic notes which might possibly be furnished to us. If this can conveniently be done, it could be used to great advantage.

Very truly yours,

ams-eak

Arthur M. Scully

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186

The Emma Goldman Papers

For the National Defense — 28 cm. In [Washington Post (Jan. 27, 1920)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: The Washington Post editorializes that Congress should support A. Mitchell Palmer's version of the new anti-sedition bill, citing Goldman and Berkman's deportation as evidence of Palmer's trustworthiness.

Notes: From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

For the National Defense. 7/27/20

Wash. Post,
January 27, 1920

FROM every point of the compass come warnings against the danger of radicalism. Each day some new nest of treason is unearthed and some revolutionary plot laid bare to the world. Germs of anarchy are breeding and multiplying in the body politic and the virus of bolshevism is manifested in eruptions which as yet are but superficial, but which, unless subjected to treatment, threaten serious results.

In the face of this condition, the House of Representatives, through its committee on rules, has, temporarily at least, placed an obstruction in the path of legislation which Attorney General Palmer declares is needed in order to strengthen the arm of the government in dealing with the situation and in suppressing the activities of the reds. The ukase has gone forth from this powerful committee that the pending legislation must be materially modified before a special rule will be reported giving it an opportunity for consideration by the House.

The Sterling bill, passed by the Senate, contained stringent provisions for the suppression of radicalism. But the House committee on the judiciary substituted for it the Graham bill, which is even more drastic and which aroused the active opposition of labor unions, representatives of which, fearing it might lead to an invasion of their constitutional rights, appeared before the rules committee and registered their disapproval of it.

Neither of these bills reflects the views of the Attorney General. He was asked to draft a measure which he believed would best meet the situation, and he did so. It was introduced in the House by Representative Davey, of Ohio, where it lies unconsidered, while bills framed by Republicans are taken up in its stead. Following the hearing before the committee on rules Chairman Campbell delivered an opinion to the effect that existing law is ample to deal with conditions, and naively inquired why the Attorney General did not proceed to prosecute cases under the statutes now in force.

Is it the intention of House leaders to refuse the additional legislation asked by the Attorney General? If so, they must accept responsibility for the results, a responsibility that will grow and become formidable as the menace of radicalism casts its crimson blight upon the nation.

The Attorney General of the United States is the officer intrusted with the duty of enforcing the laws against the enemies of the Republic, and his judgment should have great influence with Congress regarding the legislation required. During the war Congress cast partisanship aside and ungrudgingly gave the administration every weapon it desired for the national defense. Now that the nation is threatened by a sinister enemy from within, why should partisanship be permitted to intervene and obstruct the Department of Justice in carrying out its work?

Mr. Campbell's fling at Attorney General Palmer, carrying as it does the insinuation that that official is not prosecuting sedition cases, is wholly unwarranted by the facts.

Whatever criticism may be laid against Mr. Palmer's official record, no intelligent person will accuse him of pandering to enemy aliens or of half-heartedness in dealing with sedition cases.

If the Attorney General had done nothing more during his tenure of office than rid the country of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, those twin anarchists who for more than a quarter of a century have labored to poison the minds and hearts of American citizens, incite to murder and foment unrest, he would have earned the thanks of his fellow citizens. Goldman's chief claim to fame was that she incited the weak-minded Czolgosz to assassinate McKinley, while Berkman's murderous attack upon H. C. Frick in 1892 made him a hero in the eyes of the anarchists.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

830523031

For the National Defense — 28 cm. In [Washington Post (Jan. 27, 1920)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: The Washington Post editorializes that Congress should support A. Mitchell Palmer's version of the new anti-sedition bill, citing Goldman and Berkman's deportation as evidence of Palmer's trustworthiness.

Notes: From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

They are gone and the curse of their presence is removed from America. Mark this up to the credit of the Department of Justice. And with them went 247 others of the same disloyal stripe, back to Russia, where they will find more congenial company. Others are on the way, some to jail and some to Europe, and the process of cleaning up is well in hand. Gentlemen of the Congress should reflect that had these renovating tactics been undertaken some years ago much trouble might have been avoided.

The Department of Justice should be accorded the fullest cooperation in its task of ridding the country of the red danger, and the politician who permits his partisanship to control his judgment in this important matter is courting trouble for himself and his party. There is room for an honest difference of opinion as to the provisions of the antisedition bill, but there is no reason why any party or individual should obstruct its passage. Peanut politics has no place in the consideration of this legislation. It is for the national defense against a real danger, a danger which if not curbed now may in the near future reach alarming proportions.

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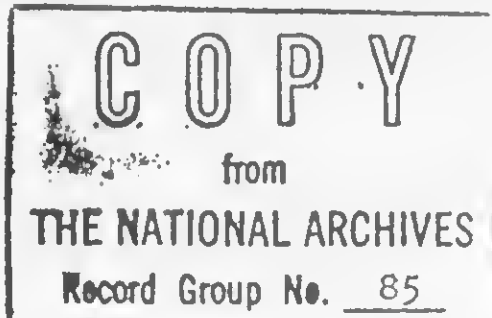
188

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 27, Washington [D.C. to William B. Wilson] Secretary of Labor
[Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State,
Department of State. — 2 p. ; 32 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Polk transmits the text of a telegram from the American consul in Finland, notifying the State Department of the Buford's arrival and the plans for crossing the Soviet frontier.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

January 27, 1920

In reply refer to
Co 311.6124/26

The Honorable

The Secretary of Labor.

Sir:

In confirmation of a telephone conversation with the office of the Commissioner of Immigration, I have the honor to give below the substance of a telegram dated January 17, 1920, that has been received from the American Consul at Helsingfors, Finland, presumably in connection with the recent deportation of undesirable aliens:

Deportees were landed today at Hango. The party is expected to arrive at the border Sunday, p. m. and should cross border by Monday morning. Matters are pursuing an even course. Authentication of papers sought by many and while they would give no money in payment of official fees involved, their documents will be executed and forwarded notwithstanding. I suggested to Hilton that he had better delay departure until assured of the successful crossing of the border, but he insists that his orders call for a return immediately upon landing of the deportees. Should take

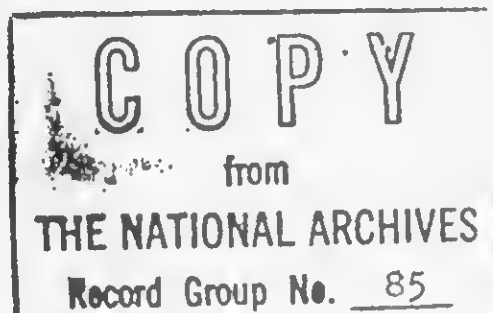
not

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 27, Washington [D.C. to William B. Wilson] Secretary of Labor
[Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State,
Department of State. — 2 p. ; 32 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Polk transmits the text of a telegram from the American consul in Finland, notifying the State Department of the Buford's arrival and the plans for crossing the Soviet frontier.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809

-2-

not more than three days to effect crossing.
A naval convoy will await Berkshire and the
members of his guard, should Hilton depart.
Do not anticipate any complications. Bad con-
ditions and scant supply of coal on BUFORD
reported by destroyer. The Consul states
Finnish Government co-operated in every way.

In accordance with the oral understanding had with
your office, the Consul at Helsingfors has been instructed
by telegraph to send to the Department the authenticated
papers referred to, in order that before delivery of the
documents the regular consular fees may be collected by
your office or paid for from funds at your disposal.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Acting Secretary of State.

Noted Jan 31-20
HLS

Co

190

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1920 Jan. 27 [Washington, D.C. to Arthur L.] Barkey [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Detroit, Mich. / [Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 25 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Burke asks for a copy of the speeches of Goldman and Jacob Margolis.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. For reply, see 880606312 and 880606314.

15446

JANUARY 27, 1920;

QFB-107

CODE

Barkey

Owen Building

Detroit Michigan

Reference telegram January twenty fourth regarding
speeches of Emma Goldman and Jake Margolis stop
Advise immediately if stenographic report was made
of these speeches stop If so forward copy of same
without delay Stop five

Burke Chief

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

191

The Emma Goldman Papers

880606312

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 28, Detroit, Mich. [to] Frank Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Arthur L. Barkey, Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 24 x 19 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Barkey sends copies of the Detroit speeches of Goldman, Berkman, and Jacob Margolis.

Notes: For enclosures, see 880606232, 810930188, 810930189, 880606249, 890216000, and 890216001. Reply to 880606322.

Department of Justice. Bureau of Investigation.



Detroit, Michigan, January 28, 1920

Frank Burke, Esquire,
Chief, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

15446
51
D.V.

Dear Sir:

Attention Mr. Hoover

FILE
G.F.R.

Referring to your telegram Five Stop, I beg to enclose herewith transcript of the notes taken by a stenographer of the speeches made by Emma Goldman, Jacob Margolis, and Alexander Berkman, on November 23rd and 26th, 1919, in the Auto Workers Hall of this City.

Yours very truly,

Arthur L. Barkey
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE.

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192

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 28 [Washington, D.C. to] Henry T. Rainey [Representative], Washington, D.C. / J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 32 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Hoover sends Rainey the Justice Department's briefs on Goldman and Berkman.

Notes: Dark copy. For reply, see 810618007. For Goldman brief, see 830214183. For follow-up, see 810113056.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

186233-13

January 28, 1920

Honorable Henry T. Rainey,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Congressman:

In compliance with your request, I am
inclosing herewith copy of the briefs prepared
in this office on the activities of Alexander
Berkman and Emma Goldman, two anarchists who
have now been deported by order of the Secretary
of Labor.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. E. Hoover.

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.



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193

The Emma Goldman Papers

That "Red" Army at Ellis Island Dwindles to 63 — 23 cm. In [The (New York) World (Jan. 28, 1920)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: A New York World reporter sarcastically observes that talk of mass deportations is premature, since the government has completed hearings for only sixty-three of the hundreds of deportable aliens on Ellis Island.

Notes: Dark copy. From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

New York World,
January 28, 1920.

THAT "RED" ARMY AT ELLIS ISLAND DWINDES TO 63

So the Investigator Concludes
Big Soviet Ark Fleet Is
Unnecessary.

Reporters whose regular diet is "covering" the social events of Ellis Island will be much obliged to any one down to Washington—Joe Tumulty, Admiral Sims, "Ambassador" Martens or any one—who will throw a damp, cold blanket over all this talk of Soviet Ark No. 2, Soviet Ark No. 3, Soviet Ark No. 500 and the rest of the fleet.

So far as the handsome young gentlemen of the Press assigned to the Immigration Station can make out, the good ship Buford, which recently dumped Emma and Alex and 247 other tourists at Russia's back door, will be able to take care of all the "Red" business Ellis Island turns out and, between trips, make a pretty dollar in the "this-way-to-the-fishing-grounds" excursion business.

The latest "Soviet Ark" rumor to throw a crimp into the poker game of the Island war correspondents was credited to one of the Hoover boys—maybe you've noticed how they are getting into print lately—who is described as "special assistant to Attorney General Palmer in charge of prosecutions."

Mr. Hoover declared that, as a result of Secretary of Labor Wilson's decision that the Communist and Communist Labor Parties are "revolutionary" within the meaning of the Deportation Law, 3,000 of the 2,600 aliens taken in the Nation-wide round-up of radicals soon will be sailing back to Europe.

"Such cases are perfect," he declared; "in that it will be necessary only for agents of the Department of Justice to present the alien's membership card in either party to make out proof for deportation."

When this statement reached city editors they naturally shook a stick toward Ellis Island and ordered their young men to "dig up all the facts" about the fleet of Arks.

Well, it doesn't need to be a long story. The facts are these:

Leaving the Buford's first load out of the question, the number of Reds, near Reds, and alleged Reds who have been corralled on Ellis Island is 591.

Of these, 253 are at this minute out on bail.

There remain on the Island 338, whose food and care are costing Uncle Sam at least \$500 a day.

And of these 338 the cases of only 63 have been marked "closed."

Hence and therefore, men and brethren, the number of may-be passengers waiting for the Buford to sail right in, turn around and sail right out again is exactly 63. No more, no less.

The comfort in this situation is that by patience and diligence the Ellis Island correspondents feel that they have saved their fellow citizens \$19,676,446.34, or whatever the cost of Arks would cost.

Now can we resume the story of the Arks?

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 28, Washington [D.C. to] Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State
[Department of State, Washington, D.C.] / K. Shidehara [Japanese Ambassador].—
1 p. ; 32 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: The Japanese ambassador asks the State Department for the names of all radicals deported to Russia.

Notes: Enclosed with 811023033.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809

IMPERIAL JAPANESE EMBASSY
WASHINGTON

January 28, 1920

Sir:

My Government have received with keen interest reports of the recent deportation from the United States of a large number of Russian anarchists and other radical elements aiming to subvert all forms of orderly government. It being of much importance to the Japanese authorities to watch the movements of these men, some of whom might eventually make their way to Siberia, and thence to Japan, I have the honor to ask you, under instructions from my Government, whether it would be possible and convenient for you to furnish me with a list of the names of the aliens so deported from the United States.

I am further desired to request that in the event of the deportation of such aliens being ordered from the United States direct to Siberia, you may be so good as to keep me informed of their names, and of the ships by which they are to be transported to that destination.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my high consideration.

(signed) K. SHIDEHARA

Honorable Frank Lyon Polk,

Acting Secretary of State.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 28, Petrograd [to Stella Ballantine, New York (government transcript)] / E[mma Goldman]. — 10 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Goldman describes her first ten days in Soviet Russia, especially the privations. She asks Stella Ballantine to send gold and provisions. She alludes to a deep spiritual conflict.

Notes: Includes short postscripts to M.E. Fitzgerald and Harry Weinberger. Certified copy made by Finnish Intelligence, see 870717015.

Jeljenkos.

- I -

Petrograd. Jan. 26th, 1920.

Darling. We are here ~~ix~~ ten days, but the impressions crowded in, make our presence in Russia seem 6 months. My head is in^a whirl, my heart full to the bursting point. There are a million things I would like to write you about, but I can't do it now. Even if we had come to a normal Russia it would have been difficult for us to act just ourselves. But Russia is herself in such an abnormal state, that we are completely uprooted. It will take us months to find our bearings, to know where we might fit in and the work we might do. Russia is marvelous, yet painfully confused. We are torn in a hundred directions. We can join now, and may never be able to do so. We are just adrift. We are sure only of one thing, until we have grasped the *raison d'être* for many extraordinary events we will not be able to work within the Soviet regime or even with our own comrades. We're like babies in a wilderness. For the first time in our lives we can find no way out of the tangle. I can say no more, dearest. But you will understand. All is only for you and the very few immediate friends. I am inclosing a letter for H. The original may reach you before this together with a lot of other mail, which I sent through another man we met on the steamer. If he arrives, explain to H. why I am now sending a copy. The part about Russia is a separate matter. Get that to him just as soon as this reaches you.

Life for us here will be extremely difficult. You see, we can accept no support from the Soviet Government until we can render some service. And we can not consistently do that, until we have learned to understand and absorb what now seems to us conflicting. On the other hand, it is wellnigh impossible to life here outside the Soviet regime. Things are terribly scarce and still more terrible in price. Imagine 2000;- rubles for a dozen eggs, 3000;- rubles for a pound of butter, shoes 2000;- rubles or more. The Dollar now is 50 rubles. So you can figure out for yourself how one can manage. There is one way out,

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- 2 -

that is to get money from home in gold. Its value is ten times as much as that of paper. It is a great pity no one told us that, as we could just as well have taken part of our money in gold. As it is,--Cash had only 10. --
Now darling, if you want us to be able to live more or less independently, you'll have to do two things, send us provisions and things and gold. I don't know how much Harris intends to pay for my correspondence. But whatever it will be you will, of course, collect it from him and change it into gold. Among those who will be deported next there surely will be some dependable people who will bring us gold and provisions. For instance, Schneidman's wife. You can reach her at the following place: Mr. Alexandry, 558 East 191 Street. H., you or F. might get hold of her and ask her to take 500 in gold to us. It is too bad that we took paper with us. It would be a loss of ten times over to change it now. We don't want to do it if we can help it. You will see the importance of gold, when I tell you that I paid 4500 rubles today for a little electric tea pot. Even with gold the rate is 9/2 for something which costs about 5 at home. But in the rate of paper the tea kettle costs about 90. You see then that unless we can get gold from time to time we will not be able to live in Russia at all, in view of the fact that we must retain our independence if we are to decide without fear or favor whether we can work within the Soviet regime.

About the things we want, you'll find a list of absolutely necessary things to be sent at the first opportunity. The others whenever you have a chance. But outside of that we'd have to help Russia. The poverty and distress are beyond description. No medicines of any sort, no soap -- matches -- muslin -- underwear and no food. It is appalling. The suffering of the sick and of children is awful. Why not get a few women together to organize relief work. To -----? fund for the equipment of 50 or 100 bunks or more which the next bunch of de-

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197

The Emma Goldman Papers

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- 3 -

portees could take with them for Russia. It must not be official or else the things will never leave America. The work can be done quite far as we know, no restrictions were placed on anyone as to the amount of I could have taken 22 or more trunks -- so could everyone else; as a matter of fact, no one was searched. Sasha's and my trunks were opened on Ellis Island but very superficially looked over. Why not go after Lillian Wald, Villard the Mussy, the Levisohn sisters and others, who can contribute and lay the suggestions before them. Take soap, for example, don't you think Mrs. Vels could be induced to contribute a substantial quantity? Then about medicines -- between Lillian Wald, Dr. Wooshin and his connections and Ho, a whole hospital could be supplied. By the way, tell my own beloved broker to fill out a medicine chest for our own use, such as aspirin, quinine, calomel, codine, sodine, aspen salt, castor oil; anything and everything for severe colds and coughs, chest trouble, etc. H. and Wooshin will know best what to send. The doctor of the Buford gave me a small supply. The Petrograd climate is rotten, nearly all of our people have colds. Be sure to tell Mr. to get up a large variety of medicines, boric acid, something for disinfection, etc. But aside from our own need we'd like a trunk full for the unfortunate sick here, or at least for some of them. Then about foodstuffs; with the help of Leon M., it ought to be possible to get things wholesale, so that each deportee can be given the extra trunk of food for the hungry children of Petrograd. What's become of Mrs. Vanderlip's 100,000 ----? Couldn't she be rounded up to help carry out our project? You don't know what it would mean to the children. You'll find a general list of things. If you and T. can raise some money, send what you can.

While our train was waiting in Viborg two American correspondents brought me greetings from Mae Halaberg. She is quite ill in the hospital. I gave them money for flowers for her. In Viborg I also received the cable

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198

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- 4 -

of the New York World. We replied by cable, but had to send it to the World correspondent stationed at Helsingfors. We had no one to send it ~~which~~ by except the American correspondents, one of whom writes for the Chicago Tribune. Of course, you will write big ~~-----~~ for me. Ask him to send us the Chicago Tribune, Sonya Kolomburevna, c/o I. Zorin, Hotel Astoria, Petrograd. That will be his and my address, his to the name of A. Rachmetov. We're going to Moscow in about ten days, but will return to Petrograd to live. This is the revolutionary workers' centre, while Moscow is the seat of the government; needless to say, we prefer to be far distant from Moscow. But we must go to meet Lenin and the others. We also want to see old Peter; then there is Shapira of London and several others. Of the leadingmen in Petrograd we've met only two so far, Zinoviev and I. Zorin. We saw the former only for an hour. But the latter has devoted much of his time to us. He is a most lovable personality. In fact, they all are, and so earnest and dedicated. All work themselves to death -- they are starved and exhausted. But their spirit is beyond belief. And yet we may not be able to work with them. The situation is such that we are now going through the deepest spiritual conflict in our lives. Perhaps we will be able to be more explicit when next we have a chance to send you a letter. ~~-----~~. Tell dear ~~-----~~ I have been thanking the stars ever since we left that she was not with us, and since we came here my thanks have increased. I dread to think how she would feel here, not only because of the awful cold and want -- but still more because of many bitter disappointments. It requires a Russian hide to survive; still, if she wants the experience and feels strong enough to make the venture, I will be glad to have her. As to S., she ought to know how he longs for her. We both feel very, very lonely so far. You can imagine our joy when we met dear Bill Shatov. He is our neighbor, lives in the same house on the floor above us. I dread to think of it. The mother so poorly nourished and

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199

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- 4 -

without anything for the -----? Imagine she has a half dozen diapers for the baby. She fell on my neck when I gave her a box of baby-powder, and a piece of castile soap. Dearest, I want you and Rose Yater to get one or two outfits for Shatov's child; be sure to include a little hot water bottle, diapers, shirts, a few little dresses, coat, little sweaters or woolen jackets, cap, little knitted shoes and stockings and anything else you can think of. By the way, Minnie Levisohn was going to give us a package for Shatov; tell her she can send it through the other deportees. He needs a sweater, shoes, socks, shirts, flannel shirts. Dear old Bill has played a tremendous part in the Revolution. In the defence of Petrograd against Yudenitch Bill made a brilliant showing. He is now on the way to Siberia to organize and reconstruct the railroads. Among the men who went with him are I. Ananbalt and Beanki. Of our new arrivals, Straton asked me to send his love to you, Leonard, Minnie L., Harry K. and all the rest; you can add my love, too. We met besides Shatov our dear friends Vasilij and Maria Semionoff; we met them first in D-----? then -----? L. A. knows them. Their young son returned to America with Raymond Robins. They have not heard from him for ever so long and are desperate. I am sure it will not be difficult for you to get hold of Robins and through him with Steven Semionoff. If the boy works, he should send his people clothes. A suit of underwear and shoes for his father, the same for the mother. They are both in rags; we rigged him out in a pair of Sasha's trousers, a sweater and underwear from the Bishop's trunk. I had hoped to find my brown skirt in my trunk, which would have been something for poor Manija. She runs around in a little white shirt in 22 below zero. I gave her a sweater, underwear, a pair of shoes and woolen gloves. Write the Man-----? about the plight of the Semionoffs, they were great friends, they might send you some things and money to get things for them.

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200

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- 6 -

Dearest, tell Sugar Pop's mother, if she plans to come here to bring gold instead of paper money, in her case one needs from 75 - 100,000 rubles a month to live in Petrograd or Moscow, and even then one will be underfed. Everything except women, nationalized. The open market, though it is tolerated as an evil, has few things and sells at terrible prices and you ought to know that and be prepared for it. The best thing for her would be a few trunks of food stuffs, plenty of winter and summer apparel and gold instead of paper. Give her my fondest love and say I have been promised what is called a perpetual pass to Stanislavskij's Theatre when I get to Moscow. I will be well --- as her guide and interpreter; so far I have attended only two things, a rotten performance of Othello abominably set and the Opera "Kusalka" with Chaliapin in the title role. He has lost much of his voice, but his acting is still acting, very wonderful. However, Moscow is the art centre, I am told. We'll see what they have there. We were to meet Gorki this week, but had to postpone it until next. Everybody here runs around with a cold. We heard him on Monday in a reading in Andrejev. G. is a very poor reader, but his personality warms your whole being. He is very, very simple and tender. I can hardly wait for the event of meeting him intimately. --- It is 2:30 now and I am numb with cold. We're lodged in the famous Astoria hotel --- now called the Soviet house --- several hundred soviet officials live here. Nothing has remained of the old splendour, except the spacious rooms and the high ceilings, which make the cold more acute. I sit in my warm robe with blankets over my feet and we have steam and electric light. Most of the workers haven't even that. You can imagine how they suffer. I was called up by a woman who is the sister of a photographer our dear Helena once worked for --- Kadison --- she said "I would love to come to you, but my hands and feet are swollen and have been frost bitten". It's dreadful. But the spirit of the Revolution burns like a magic flame. It is truly miraculous.

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201

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- 1/2 -

Beloved mine, I long for you with all the intensity of my being. I'd give ten years of my life to be able to look in upon you, hold you close, to see our own beloved baby. No such red cheeks and shining eyes as Dan's here. No such well fed precious bodies. Yet pale and frail as the children are, they too are consumed by the divine spirit which has imbued the Russian people and made them invincible against the whole world. I visited a children's home, for defective children. Some of them were quarantined. A little tot of about eight, said to the physician in charge, "We've been imprisoned long enough, we want to get out!" Imagine! My heart is full with the woe and the marvel of Russia. Darling, I wonder when I will hear from you? I am sick with anxiety. Be sure to arrange with the party who will bring you this, to send back mail. He will instruct you how. It will be the only way until the blockade is lifted. And Helena, --how is she? I think of her all the time and -- girlhood days in this city. What a transformation. It's beyond wildest fancy. The other evening we attended a memorial to Alexander Herzen. It took place in one of the gorgeous rooms of the Winter palace. A division of the fire department in uniform and helmet marched in on tiptoes not to disturb the meeting. It seemed a dream, not reality, to see these soldiers -- once the very dust under the feet of the Czar, in the Winter palace. It all seems a dream, yet it is vividly real. Darling, darling, I wish I could write even one millionth part of what is going on within me. Let dear, precious Mase read this letter; he'll understand. How I'd love to have a talk with him. Embrace him for me. Tell him more than ever I agree with Ibsen that it is the struggle for rather than the attainment of the ideal, which alone makes life rich and full. The ideal achieved means the ideal fettered -- crushed ---- I will not be able to write anyone else but you, for the present. You will have to write for me to big and little Ben, Agnes & -- & V Cook, the dear old Bishop and his wife. Tell him they are being blessed by several people, who have suffered tortures from gold;

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202

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- 7 -

for the first time since the terrible war. Of course, you
my own beloved Saxe -- how I would love to see him. He'd cause a
second Revolution in P. with his dental art, if he could bring his book equip-
ment; and my own Moushe, what would he not do as an X Ray expert. Love to the
whole Koch bunch. My dear old lady, how is she keeping? What is heard from M?
I think it will be best to take out the most important points of this letter
and have them typewritten or mimeographed and sent along with our letter to our
comrades. They ought to see how urgently their help is still needed. Of
course, you will see all our N.Y. friends, Ellen K., Gertrude -- Dorothy Miller,
Elvira B. and -----? Sarah Grubeth and her family. My love to them all. Tell
Sarah she'll save my life if she'll send me several summer dresses; there is
absolutely nothing, nothing to be had here. In a few days Ella will be free.
My love to her. I hope when she returns to Italy she will not find herself so
out of place as we do here just now. Love to Kate, when you write her, to
Hutch and Bugard and all our friends.

Write about everything and send copies of deportation pamphlets and
other important material. I hold you close, my precious child. Your E. Give
my darling many kisses for me. See Teddy and give my love to ----? Gee how
I miss her. Give my love to Van; he or Ehrlich might help with electrical
articles we need. There is no alcohol to be had here, so my percolators are
useless. Nor is there any other way to cook in the rooms here. One must either
starve or cook in the common kitchen. We have electricity, hence need the stove,
pots, etc. Do not fail to send Leon K. excerpts of this letter. Tell him he has
saved our lives with the things the big trunk contains, if only we had some
Connecticut sea foods. My love to him. Tell him not to rush to K. just yet.

Lovingly E.

Darling, I can't tell you how we miss you. Not only dear Sasha but I
miss you and long for you as I never have since we met. Everybody here is very

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203

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- 8 -

kind to us, especially the Zorins -- both were in N.Y. for a number of years, but we never met them there. Zorin is a type like Mass, so kind and solicitous. He has been perfectly lovely to us, without him we'd have been utterly lost. We're that pretty much anyway. But even the Zorins are removed from us in so many ways -- we have no one of our own. I mean in ideas of thought. I really don't know what I would have done here all alone, or I without him. We both miss you, dearie. Yet I haven't it in my heart to urge you to come. It isn't only because of the dreadful poverty -- it is the extreme difference of view point on life in general and our ideas -- in particular. We're in a strange world altogether. But if you decide to join us, it will be a great adventure for you. I wonder how you are and what's doing in N.Y. -- strange how dear the old boy has grown to me. You will write us the first chance you have to send a letter, won't you, dearie. We need the copies of M.E. which contain -----? on the Mexican Revolution. Of course if you can send one set M.E. that would be fine. If not, just send the single copies containing the material. There is a book on the Mexican Revolution by Dornare and also Durner, send copy of each. Then we want the speeches of the Chicago Anarchists, a copy of the Bomb and a copy of Charles Edward Russell's book on the Labor movement of the Haymarket period, several copies of Vattimer, my Essays and Dramas, Sasha's Memories, if the new edition is out, and pamphlets. Give my love to Rose and A. Baron, to Polya, Hilda and Sam, to all our comrades. I embrace you fondly.

P.S. Love to Martha Gruening, Ida Raich, Your E. Mary O.B. -- Dear H.W. Unless you come here and help me carry out the plan we talked about so often, you'll never see me again. I couldn't scare up an American here for any amount or consideration. The Americans have all taken Dutch leave. Believe me, this is some country, I freeze all the time. It has one quality, however, it helps to reduce. If I stay here any length of time I will come back a perfect lily of the valley.

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204

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- 10 -

lithe and rhythmic like a nymph. I don't have to tell you, old man, how much I'd love to have a visit with you, but I would not wish it on you to be here now. It is some confusion, due not to the Revolution but to the awful want. But let us talk of more cheerful things. What are you doing now that your illustrious clients are no more. I will let you know how we might be reached. Write us; we're so anxious to hear from you.

Affectionately,

E.G.

Correctness of copy certified; Helsingfors Central Intelligence
Police Office in Kanala, April 14, 1920. Officially:

SEAL

MAMAT ARLINEN

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205

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1920 Jan. 28, Petrograd to M. Eleanor Fitzgerald, New York (government transcript)] / E[mma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Goldman misses M.E. Fitzgerald, but cannot urge her to join her in Russia, because life is so difficult. She requests numerous books and articles.

Notes: Follows letter to Stella Ballantine, 870717010, and precedes letter to Harry Weinberger, 870804002. Certified copy made by Finnish Intelligence, see 870717015.

- 7 -

for the first time since the terrible war. Of course, you
my own beloved Saxe -- how I would love to see him. He'd cause a
social revolution in P. with his dental art, if he could bring it. I would
want him my own house, what would he not do as an X Ray expert. Love to the
whole Koch bunch. My dear old lady, how is the keeping? What is heard from my
I think it will be best to take out the most important points of this letter
and have them typewritten or mimeographed and sent along with our letter to our
comrades. They ought to see how urgently their help is still needed. Of
course, you will see all our N.Y. friends, Ellen K., Gertrude -- Dorothy Miller,
M. Ira B. and -----? Sarah Grubeth and her family. My love to them all. Tell
Sarah she'll save my life if she'll send me several summer dresses; there is
absolutely nothing, nothing to be had here. In a few days Ella will be free.
My love to her. I hope when she returns to Italy she will not find herself so
out of place as we do here just now. Love to Kate, when you write her, to
Hutch and Bugard and all our friends.

Write about everything and send copies of deportation pamphlets and
other important material. I hold you close, my precious child. Your E. Give
my darling many kisses for me. See Teddy and give my love to ---? See how
I miss her. Give my love to Van; he or Ehrlich might help with electrical
articles we need. There is no alcohol to be had here, so my percolators are
useless. Nor is there any other way to cook in the rooms here. One must either
starve or cook in the common kitchen. We have electricity, hence need the stove,
pots, etc. Do not fail to send Leon K. excerpts of this letter. Tell him he has
saved our lives with the things the big trunk contains, if only we had some
Connecticut sea foods. My love to him. Tell him not to rush to K. just yet.

Lovingly E.

Darling, I can't tell you how we miss you. Not only dear Sasha but I
miss you and long for you as I never have since we met. Everybody here is very

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206

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Notes: Follows letter to Stella Ballantine, 870717010, and precedes letter to Harry Weinberger, 870804002. Certified copy made by Finnish Intelligence, sec 870717015.

- 6 -

kind to us, especially the Zorins -- both were in N.Y. for a number of years, but we never met them there. Zorin is a type like Mass, so kind and solicitous. He has been perfectly lovely to us, without him we'd have been utterly lost. We're that pretty much anyway. But even the Zorins are removed from us in so many ways -- we have no one of our own. I mean in ideas of thought. I really don't know what I would have done here all alone, or I without him. He both misses you, dearie. Yet I haven't it in my heart to urge you to come. It isn't only because of the dreadful poverty -- it is the extreme difference of viewpoint on life in general and our ideas -- in particular. We're in a strange world all together. But if you decide to join us, it will be a great adventure for you. I wonder how you are and what's doing in N.Y. -- strange how dear the old boy has grown to me. You will write us the first chance you have to send a letter, won't you, dearie. We need the copies of M.E. which contain -----? on the Mexican Revolution. Of course if you can send one set M.E. that would be fine. If not, just send the single copies containing the material. There is a book on the Mexican Revolution by Dornier and also Burner, send copy of each. Then we want the speeches of the Chicago Anarchists, a copy of the Bomb and a copy of Charles Edward Russell's book on the Labor movement of the Haymarket period, several copies of Vattalmer, my Essays and Dramas, Sasha's Memories, if the new edition is out, and pamphlets. Give my love to Rose and A. Baran, to Polya, Hilda and Sam, to all our comrades. I embrace you fondly.

P.S. Love to Martha Gruening, Ida Raich, Your M. Mary O.B. -- Dear H.W. Unless you come here and help me carry out the plan we talked about so often, you'll never see me again. I couldn't scare up an American here for any amount or consideration. The Americans have all taken Dutch leave. Believe me, this is some country, I freeze all the time. It has one quality, however, it helps to reduce. If I stay here any length of time I will come back a perfect lily of the valley.

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207

The Emma Goldman Papers

870804002

[Letter, 1920 Jan. 28, Petrograd [to] H[arry] W[einberger, New York (government transcript)] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Goldman sends Weinberger a brief greeting and notes that she is losing weight due to the food shortage.

Notes: Appended to letter to Stella Ballantine, 870717010, and M.E. Fitzgerald, 870804001. Certified copy made by Finnish Intelligence, see 870717015.

- 6 -

kind to us, especially the Zorins -- both were in N.Y. for a number of years, but we never met them there. Zorin is a type like mine, so kind and solicitous. He has been perfectly lovely to us, without him we'd have been utterly lost. We're that pretty much anyway. But even the Zorins are removed from us in so many ways -- we have no one of our own. I mean in ideas of thought. I really don't know what I would have done here all alone, or I without him. We both miss you, dearie. Yet I haven't it in my heart to urge you to come. It isn't only because of the dreadful poverty -- it is the extreme difference of viewpoint on life in general and our ideas -- in particular. We're in a strange world all together. But if you decide to join us, it will be a great adventure for you. I wonder how you are and what's doing in N.Y. -- strange how dear the old boy has grown to me. You will write us the first chance you have to send a letter, won't you, dearie. We need the copies of N.E. which contain -----? on the Mexican Revolution. Of course if you can send one set N.E. that would be fine. If not, just send the single copies containing the material. There is a book on the Mexican Revolution by Dornare and also Burner, send copy of each. Then we want the speeches of the Chicago Anarchists, a copy of the Bomb and a copy of Charles Edward Russell's book on the Labor movement of the Haymarket period, several copies of Vattimer, my Essays and Dramas, Sasha's Memories, if the new edition is out, and pamphlets. Give my love to Rosa and A. Baran, to Polya, Hilda and Sam, to all our comrades. I embrace you fondly.

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208

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Notes: Appended to letter to Stella Ballantine, 870717010, and M.E. Fitzgerald, 870804001. Certified copy made by Finnish Intelligence, see 870717015.

- 1 -

lithe and rhythmic like a nymph. I don't have to tell you, old man, how much I love to have a visit with you, but I would not wish it on you to be here now. It is some confusion, due not to the revolution but to the awful want. But let us talk of more cheerful things. What are you doing now? That your illustrious clients are no more. I will let you know how we might be reached. Write us; we're so anxious to hear from you.

Affectionately,

E.G.

Correctness of copy certified; Helsinki Central Intelligence
Police Office in Helsinki, April 14, 1920. Officially:

SEAL

MAMAT ARLINEN

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209

The Emma Goldman Papers

870717012

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 29, Petrograd [to Frank? Harris?, New York? (government transcript)] / Emma Goldman. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Goldman describes her reception in Soviet Russia and pleads for an end to the blockade which is causing extreme hunger.

Notes: Dark copy. Follow-up to 870717008. For related document, see 870717014.

Jal jennos

Petrograd, January 29th, 1920.

I am taking the first opportunity to send this to you in case the original copy dated Jan. 16 failed to reach you. I will add only a few lines now. Our railway trip through Finland, locked in congested cars with guards over us, was a nightmare. Mannerheim no longer in Finland but his spirit evidently goes on. During 27 hours we were outrageously treated then our jailers released their rigid discipline. They suddenly became courteous. We learned afterward that it was the report of the lifting of the blockade. Our reception by Soviet Russia took place at Beloostrow.

The Soviet committee consisted of Madame Andrejewa (Maxim Gorky's wife), a man by the name of Pineberg and I. Zorin. The latter holds the post of head to the Petrograd Executive Committee Extra-ordinaire. The trio came over after the parley between the Finnish and Russian authorities. The committee then met Alexander Berkman and myself as the committee chosen by our party. After that our people were taken back by the Soviet Committee to Beloostrow, where all were enthusiastically received with music and song. Red Army soldiers at the railway station trains had been waiting all day to take us to Petrograd. Before our departure we attended our first meeting on Soviet soil. It was most impressive - the bitter cold hall dimly lit by a few candles on the platform -? The eagerly upturned faces of our people who had been thrust out of America and were now listening to the first comradely words in their own native language. The woman who addressed the audience surrounded by a group of women, whose pale faces framed in black nursehoods, looked like that of the Madonna. It was a wonderfully

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210

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870717012

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- 2 -

impressive event.

On our arrival in Petrograd we were met by a large delegation of workers and soldiers taken into the station and again treated to speeches. The Revolution had made the Russian people articulate beyond belief. Not even cutting cold and gnawing hunger have checked their flow of speech--speech so musical as I have not heard in weeks. After the addresses of welcome all marched to the Antaki house--once famous Douried (Tanride) palace -- there our people were entertained and played for. That night a few of us went as guests of Petrograd to Soviet House -- the erstwhile Astoria Hotel. The following morning the party was taken to Smolny, where they have been living ever since, until they will be placed at the work they most like to do. Yesterday they were given 5000 Rubles, which is the wage paid every one in the Soviet State. Today the American refugees were furnished with warm clothing. Our American democracy did not give the men as much after they had toiled for years. Thus Soviet Russia is the first to apply the Communist axiom that a worker must first be a consumer before he can become a producer.

Being here only ten days I have had no time to look into the achievements of the Bolshevik Revolution, to be able to write authoritatively. But there is one outstanding feature -- it is the equality of hunger. For the most humble worker -- all are tortured alike by lack of food and warmth. But the Revolution is not to be blamed for that. The blame for the slow starvation of the Russian people lies with the capitalists -- imperialists --

with

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211

The Emma Goldman Papers

870717012

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 29, Petrograd [to Frank? Harris?, New York? (government transcript)] / Emma Goldman.— 4 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Goldman describes her reception in Soviet Russia and pleads for an end to the blockade which is causing extreme hunger.

Notes: Dark copy. Follow-up to 870717008. For related document, see 870717014.

- 3 -

with those who proclaimed so loudly against the atrocities of the German Junkers and then outjunkered Germany by the atrocious blockade. The bitter irony of this black crime is this: The blockade while depleting the bodies of the Russian people has had the very opposite effect upon their spirit.

Perhaps it is the almost human capacity for suffering - perhaps it is their fervent glowing faith in the Revolution. I only know that the imperialistic conspiracy has strengthened the Russian people, has strengthened their revolutionary faith - it has made the people determined to defeat it beyond measure. Think of it! in a temperature of 32 degrees below zero, half naked and with king hunger ever present, the people go about their daily tasks in the passionate belief that the Revolution must be defended to the very last. With that as their motto they crowd to the meetings, held in bitterly cold halls, oblivious to all physical distress. They gather in the Winter Palace to pay homage to the memory of the great Alexander Herzen, the exile of one of the Czars, who once reigned supreme in the Winter Palace. They march in thousands to the open square, (once drenched in the blood of the people, misled by Gapon), to celebrate the anniversary of the victory of the Czar in the Revolution of 1905. They travel miles in open cars to lay wreaths on the graves of their martyred dead. And miracle of miracles, the Russian people fed on one-half pound of bread, a little soup, an occasional herring, retain their unquenchable thirst for learning and art. Huddled together they listen in rapt attention to the men in the class rooms, sit through six hours of a performance of Othello, go wild with enthusiasm over a baliepins singing and

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212

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 29, Petrograd [to Frank? Harris?, New York? (government transcript)] / Emma Goldman.— 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Goldman describes her reception in Soviet Russia and pleads for an end to the blockade which is causing extreme hunger.

Notes: Dark copy. Follow-up to 870717008. For related document, see 870717014.

- 4 -

and noting Rusalka--attend an Andreyev evening with Gorky and others as readers, and do a thousand other extraordinary amazing things which would test the vitality of people normally fed and clothed. And this marvellous people the imperialists conspired to whip-to grind under the iron heel of capitalism.

Though I am here a few days I can already see that the wanton conspiracy has failed utterly. For this reason alone it behooves fair-minded America to put an end to the cruel blockade as being futile and inhuman - the blackest crime in the history of man. I go to Moscow in ten days to meet Lenin and the other men at the head of the Soviet régime.

I will then return to Petrograd which is the revolutionary industrial centre. Moscow is the seat of government. By instinct, conviction and experience I like government seats per distance.

EMMA GOLDMAN

(Seal)

Correctness of copy certified; Helsinki Central Intelligence Police Office in Kanalia, April 14, 1920. Officially,

HAMAT ARLINEN

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213

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1920 Jan. 29, Moscow [to Stella] Balla[n]tin[e], New York [government transcript] / Emma Goldman [and] Alexander Berkman. — 1 p. ; 35 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The State Department transcribes a letter Goldman and Berkman sent to Stella Ballantine upon their arrival in Russia.



From Moscow via Lyons,
 January 29, 1920

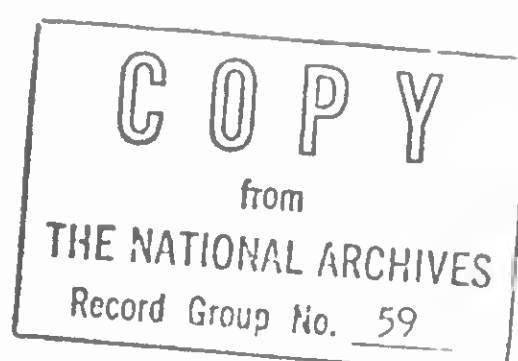
RETURN TO C-11
 FILE
 861.0-668

Mrs. J. Ballatin,
 36 Grove Street,
 New York City

Premet at Soviet border and Petrograd with
 tremendous enthusiasm reception weeping. En-
 joying hospitality Petrograd. Deportees will be
 sent to work wherever they desire. People cold
 and hungry but spirit and devotion marvellous.
 After weeks will go to Moscow cabled World Finland.

Emma Goldman
 Alexander Berkman

Note: Not delivered
 Copy ONI
 " Mr W L Hurley, room 101, State Dept.
 " 10 for Secnav
 " Department of Justice



General Records of the Department of State
 Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 29, Washington, D.C. [to] J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Henry T. Rainey [Representative].— 1 p. ; 13 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Rainey tells Hoover that he had not requested the Goldman and Berkman briefs that Hoover sent him.

Notes: Reply to 810113055. For reply, see 810113056.

HENRY T. RAINEY
ILLINOIS

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Jan. 29, 1920.

Hon. J. E. Hoover,
Special Assistant to the Attorney General,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Noted
F.D.M.

15-446

My dear Sir:

I am in receipt this morning of your communication of January 26 sending me very elaborate and very valuable briefs prepared in the Department of Justice with reference to the activities of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman. There must be some mistake about it. I have no recollection of making this request. The documents you have sent are very valuable indeed and you may desire to recall them and send them to whoever made the request.

Very truly yours,

Henry T. Rainey

R.T.R.
FILE

X 16

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215

The Emma Goldman Papers

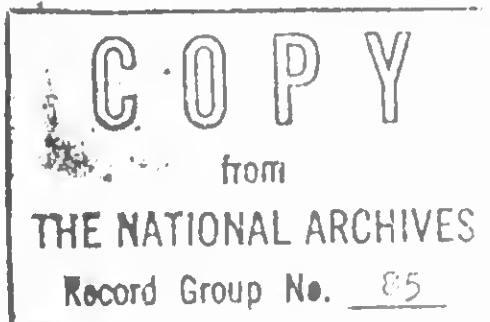
811023028

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 29, Washington [D.C. to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner [General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State, Department of State. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Polk asks Caminetti to pay Latvia for preparing to transport the Buford deportees to the Soviet frontier.

Notes: For response, see 811023034. For related documents, see 811023017 and 870723004.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1922
File Number 54809

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
R 311.6124/32.

JAN 29 1920

The Honorable

The Secretary of Labor.

Attention of Mr. A. Caminetti,
Commissioner of Immigration.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to correspondence concerning the recent deportations on the S. S. BUFORD. You will recall that the Latvian authorities undertook to transport the deportees across Latvia to the Soviet frontier against reimbursement of the costs of this transportation, and that the Latvian authorities desired to receive flour in lieu of money payment. At the time the decision was made to land the deportees in Finland the Latvian authorities had already incurred some actual expense in making preparations to receive the deported aliens. The American Commissioner for the Baltic Provinces of Russia, Mr. J. A. Gade at Riga, who made the arrangements with the Latvian authorities, now urges that in view of the readiness shown to meet the desires of the American Government, that the Latvian authorities be presented with the small quantity of twenty-four tons of flour agreed upon in the premises.

May

The Emma Goldman Papers

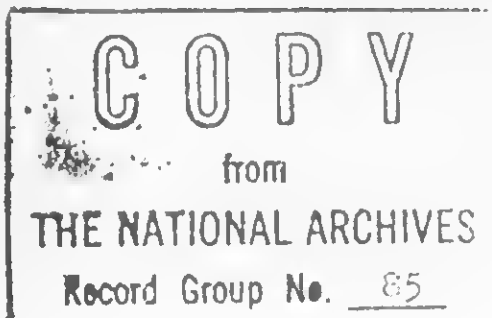
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[Letter] 1920 Jan. 29, Washington [D.C. to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner [General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State, Department of State. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

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Summary: Polk asks Caminetti to pay Latvia for preparing to transport the *Buford* deportees to the Soviet frontier.

Notes: For response, see 811023034. For related documents, see 811023017 and 870723004.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809

-2-

May I have your authority to instruct the American Relief Administration to make delivery to the Latvian authorities at Libau of the desired quantity of flour, against payment in dollars by you to the American Relief Administration's New York Office?

The Relief Administration states that the flour will cost \$165 a ton, ex-warehouse in Libau.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Frank L. Polk
Acting Secretary of State.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880606313

[Telegram] 1920 Jan. 29 [Washington, D.C. to] A[rthur] L. Barkey [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation; Department of Justice], Detroit, Mich. / [Frank] Burke [Assistant Director and] Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Burke finds his copy of the speeches of Goldman and Jacob Margolis.

Notes: Dark copy.

15446

January 29th, 1920.

Q72-73

A. L. Barkey,
Owen Building,
Detroit, Mich.

Reference telegram January twenty eighth regarding
stenographic speeches Emma Goldman and Margolis Stop Have
located copies in office Stop five

Burke Chief

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218

The Emma Goldman Papers

810618009

[Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and Mina Lowensohn — Alleged Jewish Bolsheviki Activities, Philadelphia, 1920 Jan. 30 / Jos. F. McDevitt [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 6 p. ; 28 x 19 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65. Summary: Following J. Edgar Hoover's instructions, McDevitt investigates the Jewish control of the Bolshevik movement by interviewing Dr. Goricar. Goricar explains that many radical organizations, periodicals, and the Lusk Committee, are run by Jews. Notes: Follow-up to 880606310.

100-70000 No. 1 (SPECIAL AGENT - PERSONAL ATTENTION) HOOVER 157446

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|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|
| REPORT MADE BY:
JOS. F. McDEVITT | PLACE WHERE MADE:
PHILADELPHIA | DATE WHEN MADE:
JAN. 30, 1920 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
JAN. 28-29-30 |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|

TITLE OF CASE OR CASES OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION:
EMMA GOLDMAN, ALEXANDER BERKMAN : Alleged Jewish
and MINA LOWENSOHN : Bolsheviki Activities
ANARCHISTIC SOVIET BULLETIN-DR. GORICAR :

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.:
At New York: See former reports. Noted P.D.B. NOTED W.W.B.

Under directions of Division Superintendent and special directions of Mr. Hoover, Assistant Attorney General, I proceeded to New York today, as instructed by Mr. Hoover, for the purpose of interviewing ²⁰ DR. GORICAR, and obtain from him whatever information he had regarding his alleged charges "that they were all Jews behind the Bolsheviki movement throughout the entire world," as made mention by me in my former reports.

I have to report that I arrived in New York on Wednesday about 1 PM but was unable to meet the Doctor until Thursday night. I waited for him at his apartments, 418 Central Park West, for almost three hours, and then made arrangements with his housekeeper to meet him at his apartments between 5 and 6 PM Thursday.

I called at his apartments but he was not there. However, he telephoned and requested me to meet him in John Zemek's saloon at 1432 First Avenue, which I did. We later went to the National Hall at 74th Street & First Avenue and while there I secured the following information: DR. GORICAR stated he was in a position to prove his statements and that he would only be too glad to do so, stating he would be perfectly willing to make a statement to a stenographer, outlining his entire information, which I felt was the proper thing for him to do. In the meantime he stated he would telegraph to Pittsburgh to a friend of his and secure from him a list of names and addresses of Jewish people, whom he said were behind this Bolsheviki movement. In order to get some idea of the nature of his information

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:
(G) Washington-2, Philadelphia-1

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219

The Emma Goldman Papers

810618009

[Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and Mina Lowensohn — Alleged Jewish Bolsheviki Activities, Philadelphia, 1920 Jan. 30 / Jos. F. McDevitt [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 6 p. ; 28 x 19 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65. Summary: Following J. Edgar Hoover's instructions, McDevitt investigates the Jewish control of the Bolshevik movement by interviewing Dr. Goricar. Goricar explains that many radical organizations, periodicals, and the Lusk Committee, are run by Jews. Notes: Follow-up to 880606310.

REPORT FORM NO. 1

JOS. F. McDEVITT

JAN. 28-29-30, 1920

2

Oh. w. I asked him to outline it to me and he began by telling me that the Union of Russian Workers was organized in Detroit on August 7, 1914 and among other Jewish leaders of this movement were SCHNEBEL, who was recently deported from New York and BILL SEATOV, whom I have reported prior to this as being the Military Commander at Petrograd. The Doctor declared emphatically there was no other class of people behind the movement other than Russian and German Jews and at the present time there was in the course of construction a plan by the above Jewish people to raise a fund of \$50,000 for the purpose of establishing a Russian Communist Daily and \$2.00 bonds were being sold to sympathizers for this purpose and he had seen a photograph of the bonds. He stated he would make an effort to get one and give it to me. He further stated some of the pictures printed in this Daily are pictures of KARL MARX and LENINE. He does not know just which one of the Jewish organizations it is behind this movement but it is one of the Jewish Leagues and the paper will be printed in Hebrew. The Doctor states all of this information was given to him and is still in possession of ARCHIBALD STEVENSON, the attorney for the Lusk Investigation Committee in New York. The Doctor also asked me whether or not I had heard of a recent Creation Communist Monthly printed in Chicago called "Glas Komunista." When I told him I had not, he told me in the first edition of this Paper there was a nasty cartoon appeared portraying the Bolsheviks having succeeded in conquering the world and a powerful Bolshevik was holding at arm's length Uncle Sam in a very threatening manner and the cartoon was signed "Dust" which the Doctor says is not the name of the author and that it really means nothing, that this is one of the methods employed by the leaders of the movement and very often news articles and cartoons will be signed with a name that means absolutely nothing whatever and often is nothing more

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220

The Emma Goldman Papers

810618009

[Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and Mina Lowensohn - Alleged Jewish Bolsheviki Activities, Philadelphia, 1920 Jan. 30 / Jos. F. McDevitt [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. - 6 p.; 28 x 19 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65. Summary: Following J. Edgar Hoover's instructions, McDevitt investigates the Jewish control of the Bolshevik movement by interviewing Dr. Goricar. Goricar explains that many radical organizations, periodicals, and the Lusk Committee, are run by Jews. Notes: Follow-up to 880606310.

JOS. F. McDEVITT

JAN. 28-29-30, 1920

3.

then a slang word or a word that is known as a "joke word" in the particular language in which the article or cartoon is published.

The Doctor states the leader of the Croation Communists in Chicago is a Bulgarian by the name of CVETKO, and he asked me whether or not it would be possible for me to find out for him if CVSTEO had been arrested in any of the recent raids. The Doctor stated the name of the Croation Bolsheviki Paper in Chicago is JUGOSLOVENSKEI SVET, and the editor of this Paper is the REV. GRSEOVIC, that this man is from Cleveland, Ohio and was formerly a Catholic Priest but escaped after having been, I think he said arrested or either charged with being intimate with a teacher and was compelled to leave Cleveland.

The Doctor also stated the entire crowd around the American Commercial Association to promote Russian trade were Jews and that the firm of exporters in New York, WEINBERG & POSNER, who really are the above association, were the former employers of LUDWIG MARTENS, the self styled Soviet Ambassador. The Doctor states that MARTENS is a German Jewish Agent and that the entire scheme is to get control of Russia, that not a single Christian is employed in the so-called Russian Embassy but one and that man is now in Moscow, Russia, and is PROFESSOR LOIBEOSOFF but even his wife is Jewish, her name being ROSEN, and all the others are German New York Jews.

The Doctor stated he has a friend, one BEN SVARG, an attorney in Cleveland, who testified last June before the Lusk Investigation Committee that on the third day ARCHIBALD STEVENSON said to him, during his examination, "When you come to speak about the part that the Jews are playing in the Bolsheviki Revolution, put the soft pedal on it." Dr. GORICAR states he heard STEVENSON make this remark and that he was present at the examination. The Doctor states the Lusk Committee is dominated by Jews and that one SIEGEL(?) is a Jew and a member

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221

The Emma Goldman Papers

810618009

[Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and Mina Lowensohn — Alleged Jewish Bolsheviki Activities, Philadelphia, 1920 Jan. 30 / Jos. F. McDevitt [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 6 p. ; 28 x 19 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65. Summary: Following J. Edgar Hoover's instructions, McDevitt investigates the Jewish control of the Bolshevik movement by interviewing Dr. Goricar. Goricar explains that many radical organizations, periodicals, and the Lusk Committee, are run by Jews. Notes: Follow-up to 880606310.

JOS. F. McDEVITT

JAN. 28-29-30, 1920

4

of the Committee. The Doctor stated that individual members of such organizations as the Union of Russian Workers should not be deported, that they are not to blame, but the Jew leaders behind the movement should be deported, providing, of course, they are aliens. The Doctor stated these Jewish leaders will be found behind all of the radical publications, such as "Bread and Freedom," "The New York Call," "The Nation," "The New Republic," etc. and there is keen competition among these different publication promoters in trying to get subscriptions and in order to get these subscriptions they write in the wildest manner and force the people to buy them. Here I asked the Doctor to name me some of these people and he did, beginning with TROTSKY, whom he said is a Jew. LENINE, whom he said is Morvin or one-half Mongolian, and that LENINE has been in the employ of a Russian Jewish Leader in Russia named APPELBAUM. GREGORY WEINSTEIN, NICHOLAS KOWOWICH, HELLER, MORRIS HILQUIT, LOUIS, SANTERI, NUVERTURIS, Private Secretary to LUDWIG HARTENS, whose real name is HYEBERG and LUDWIG HARTENS. To this list will be added the names of the list I mentioned at the beginning of the report. The Doctor then told me how the common Slavish people, of whom there are a great many Catholics, are fooled by these Russian Jewish leaders and these Slavish people do not take the time to look behind and see who it is that are the real leaders of this Bolsheviki movement, which seems to have taken a firm hold upon them. He stated if the American Government would at intervals state the truth, that a number of these radicals being deported were Russian Jews and not simply Russians, that it would not be long before the Bolsheviki movement would end. He also suggested that a little ^{notice} of this kind be ^{printed in the newspapers} made; "So and so, a Russian Jew, has been deported." The Doctor said it is time the American Government was doing something

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222

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Notes: Follow-up to 880606310.

JOSE. F. McDEVITT

JAN. 28-29-30, 1920

5

for America and not for Russia.

DR. GORICAR is not a citizen of the United States. He told me so last night, stating he has applied for his first papers. He also informed me he is a lawyer.

GORICAR is a highly educated man and can furnish, according to his statements, references from some of the largest manufacturing concerns in the United States, and as I have previously stated it was he who furnished MR. RATHON, the editor of the PROVIDENCE JOURNAL with considerable of his information during the war. I would suggest in regard to other information of DR. GORICAR that Agent Scully of the New York Office be spoken to.

Since writing the above, I have spoken to Agent Willett of this office, who is handling a great many of the visa cases, and he has mentioned to me, not knowing anything about this investigation, that since the raids applications for permits to enter are being made in large quantities and when he calls upon the references named they are of the lowest type of Jewish people. Might I suggest that in view of my last statement that an investigation of the references in the visa cases be made for the purpose of determining whether or not any of their relatives have been arrested in any of the recent raids? The Agent also states in a great many of the investigations he has made the applicants are principally young men and women.

Since this investigation has been started a photostat copy of an anonymous letter from Asst. Director & Chief Burke has been received dated January 24, 1920 and initialed GFR/AMP. This letter is a copy of one addressed to Attorney General Palmer

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223

The Emma Goldman Papers

810618009

[Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and Mina Lowensohn — Alleged Jewish Bolsheviki Activities, Philadelphia, 1920 Jan. 30 / Jos. F. McDevitt [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 6 p. ; 28 x 19 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65. Summary: Following J. Edgar Hoover's instructions, McDevitt investigates the Jewish control of the Bolshevik movement by interviewing Dr. Goricar. Goricar explains that many radical organizations, periodicals, and the Lusk Committee, are run by Jews. Notes: Follow-up to 880606310.

JOS. F. McDEVITT

JAN. 28-29-30, 1920

6.

in which it is mentioned the Jews are largely responsible for the Bolsheviki movement. The letter is anonymous.

As a matter of general information I will state the names of several of the prominent leaders of the radical movement here in Philadelphia, all of whom are Jews. SHLOM KNABEL, HERMAN LEVY, SAMUEL SKLAROFF, MAITVEI FURSHTEIN, and it is interesting to note that a great fight is being put up to keep LEVY and FURSHTEIN from deportation. FURSHTEIN is a Russian Jew and the man, who was found acting as chairman of the Union of Russian Workers, on the night we raided same and the majority of those at the meeting were Russians. HERMAN LEVY is an English Russian Jew and at present great efforts are being made to have his bond reduced. SKLAROFF fought us for a long time but we have a clear case against him now. KNABEL is an Austrian Jew but a citizen.

Since writing the above, I noticed in the Philadelphia Inquirer of January 30th an article, which I am attaching to the original of this report, entitled "RATHON RIDICULES DEPORTING ALIENS." RATHON, of course, is the editor of the Providence, R.I. Journal and the man I mentioned above as having received the information from DR. CORICAR. It will be noticed that he holds the same views as the Doctor and I rather suspect DR. CORICAR is still furnishing him with information.

Case to be continued.

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224

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 30 [Washington, D.C. to] R.B. Spencer [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Pittsburgh, Pa. / [Frank Burke] Assistant Director and Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 25 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Burke sends Spencer a copy of the speeches made by Goldman, Berkman, and Jacob Margolis in Detroit in November 1919.

Notes: Barely legible. For enclosures, see 810930188, 810930189, 880606249, 890216000, and 890216001.

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JEN-MH

January 30, 1920

R. B. Spencer, Esq.

Box 987

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dear Sir:

I am inclos in herewith a photostatic copy of the speeches made by individuals at the meeting held in Detroit on the occasion of the visit of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. You will note that Jake Margolin is listed as one of the speakers, and I believe that this information may be of interest to Mr. Scully of the Allegheny Bar Association. Mr. Hoover promised Mr. Scully that he would endeavor to obtain a transcript of these speeches for his use.

Very truly yours,

Assistant Director and Chief.

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225

The Emma Goldman Papers

870724009

[Letter] 1920 Jan. 31, Middletown, Conn. [to] Frank B. Brandegee, Senator, Washington, D.C. / C[h]arles E. Jackson. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Jackson deplores the public opposition to political deportations and urges his senator to ask the attorney general to publicly defend his policy.

Notes: Enclosed with 811027008. For reply, see 811027009.

COPY

from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 60

General Records of the Department of Justice
D. J. Central Files — Straight Numerical Files
File Number 202600-65

Middletown, Conn. January 31, 1920

My dear Senator Brandegee:

You doubtless have seen in the "Courant" of Jan. 29th the protest of Bishop Brewster of Connecticut, and others against deportation of the "Reds", and that they had no judicial trial, etc. etc.

As an Episcopalian I regret that he, his Brother, and Bishop Brent—all men whom we esteem, and the latter of whom, rendered good service in the Philippines and France, —should make such charges. With some people they will carry weight and influence— as well as encourage the spirit of Socialism, which is abroad in our land, especially among many Ministers and College Professors. The latter have more or less influence in spreading a belief in Socialism among young students whose minds are in a formative stage.

I think the Attorney General of the United States, or someone in authority in his Department, should make a clear statement that would be understood by the average mind, as to the fundamental facts, laws and rules governing these deportations and justifying them as strongly as possible.

Judge Alton B. Parker has strongly resented this protest of the Bishops and in to-day's "Courant" there is an excellent open letter addressed to Bishop Brewster by Arthur O. Townsend, but an official statement is needed greatly and I hope on your request the Attorney General will make one, which will authoritatively set at rest these charges. Will you not take the matter up, and endeavor to have this done without delay?

I do not think we should allow the influence of this protest to go without reply, any more than the householder should

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226

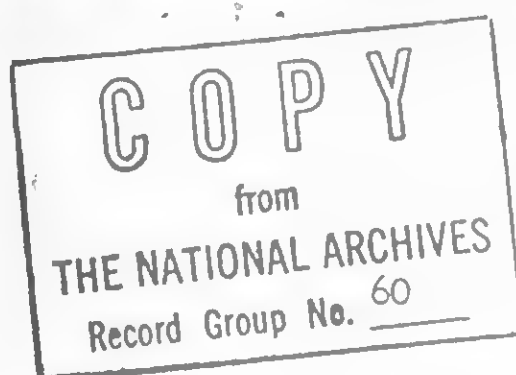
The Emma Goldman Papers

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General Records of the Department of Justice
D. J. Central Files — Straight Numerical Files
File Number 202600-65

Page 2-

neglect to put out a small fire in his house, on the ground that it is small. Such fires spread very rapidly sometimes, and we cannot afford to get into the world conflagration now threatening so many countries.

Yours faithfully,

C. E. Jackson

Hon. Frank B. Brandegee,
United States Senate,
Washington, D.C.

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227

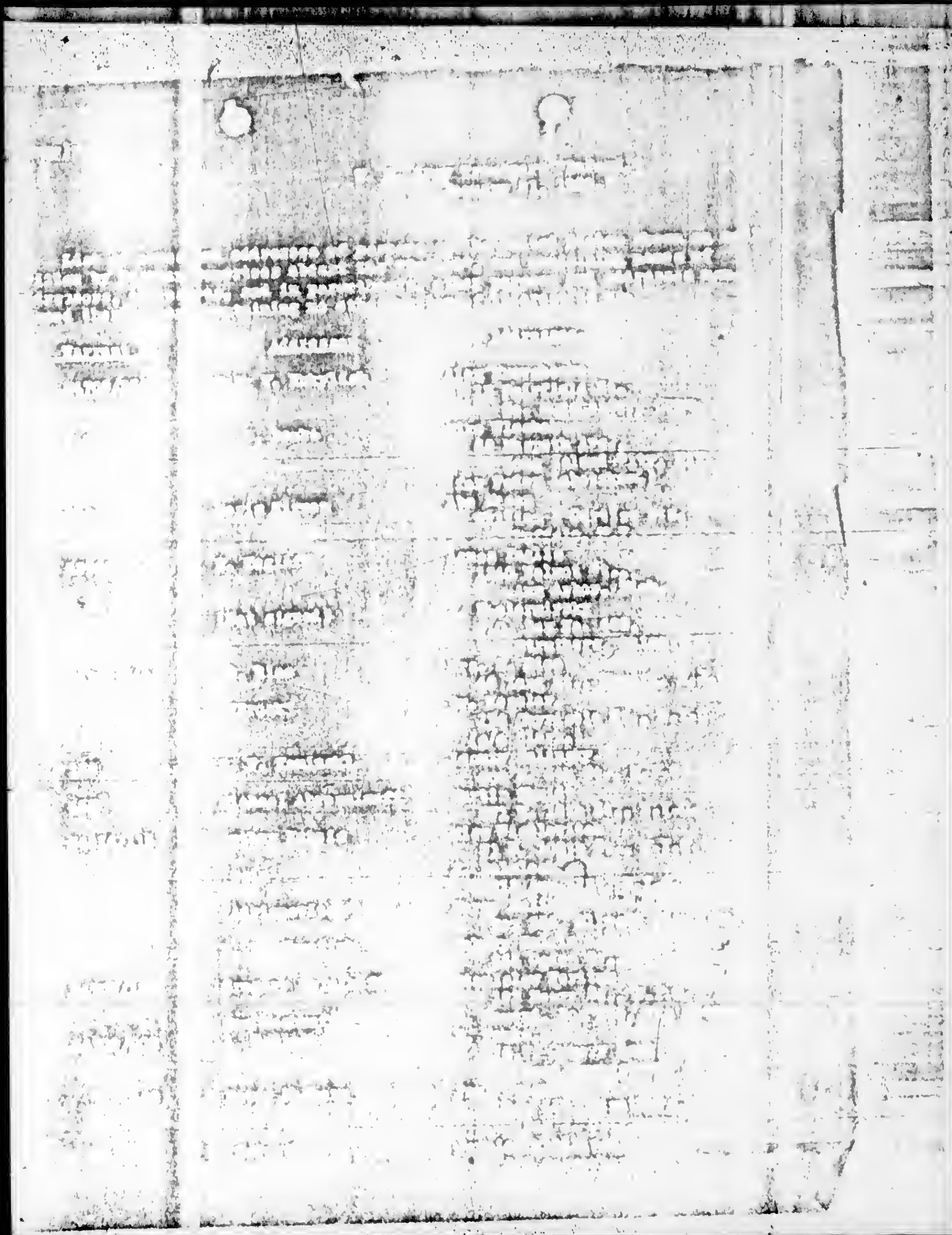
The Emma Goldman Papers

[List of Names and Addresses of Buford Deportees' Correspondents] 1920 Jan. 31 /
[Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. — 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: The Bureau of Immigration lists names and addresses of the people to whom the *Buford* deportees wrote, taken from their mail.

Notes: Light copy; portions illegible. Enclosed with 810807024.



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228

The Emma Goldman Papers

[List of Names and Addresses of Buford Deportees' Correspondents] 1920 Jan. 31 /
[Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].— 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: The Bureau of Immigration lists names and addresses of the people to whom the Buford deportees wrote, taken from their mail.

Notes: Light copy; portions illegible. Enclosed with 810807024.

| Number | Name | Address |
|--------|----------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 | John Smith | 123 Main St. New York |
| 2 | J. Doe | 456 Elm St. Boston |
| 3 | Andrew Johnson | 789 Oak St. Chicago |
| 4 | Wm. Brown | 101 Pine St. Philadelphia |
| 5 | John Wilson | 202 Cedar St. St. Louis |
| 6 | John Wilson | 303 Birch St. Portland |
| 7 | John Wilson | 404 Spruce St. Seattle |
| 8 | John Wilson | 505 Fir St. Denver |
| 9 | John Wilson | 606 Ash St. Salt Lake City |
| 10 | John Wilson | 707 Willow St. San Francisco |
| 11 | John Wilson | 808 Hickory St. Los Angeles |
| 12 | John Wilson | 909 Maple St. San Diego |
| 13 | John Wilson | 1010 Sycamore St. San Jose |
| 14 | John Wilson | 1111 Chestnut St. Sacramento |
| 15 | John Wilson | 1212 Walnut St. Fresno |
| 16 | John Wilson | 1313 Olive St. Bakersfield |
| 17 | John Wilson | 1414 Elm St. Modesto |
| 18 | John Wilson | 1515 Oak St. Stockton |
| 19 | John Wilson | 1616 Pine St. Merced |
| 20 | John Wilson | 1717 Cedar St. San Bernardino |
| 21 | John Wilson | 1818 Birch St. Orange |
| 22 | John Wilson | 1919 Spruce St. Santa Ana |
| 23 | John Wilson | 2020 Fir St. Tustin |
| 24 | John Wilson | 2121 Ash St. Newport Beach |
| 25 | John Wilson | 2222 Willow St. Irvine |
| 26 | John Wilson | 2323 Hickory St. San Clemente |
| 27 | John Wilson | 2424 Maple St. San Juan Capistrano |
| 28 | John Wilson | 2525 Sycamore St. San Marcos |
| 29 | John Wilson | 2626 Chestnut St. Escondido |
| 30 | John Wilson | 2727 Walnut St. Vista |
| 31 | John Wilson | 2828 Olive St. San Ramon |
| 32 | John Wilson | 2929 Elm St. Concord |
| 33 | John Wilson | 3030 Oak St. Martinez |
| 34 | John Wilson | 3131 Pine St. Orinda |
| 35 | John Wilson | 3232 Cedar St. Berkeley |
| 36 | John Wilson | 3333 Birch St. Alameda |
| 37 | John Wilson | 3434 Spruce St. Fremont |
| 38 | John Wilson | 3535 Fir St. Newark |
| 39 | John Wilson | 3636 Ash St. Union City |
| 40 | John Wilson | 3737 Willow St. Jersey City |
| 41 | John Wilson | 3838 Hickory St. Hoboken |
| 42 | John Wilson | 3939 Maple St. Paterson |
| 43 | John Wilson | 4040 Sycamore St. Passaic |
| 44 | John Wilson | 4141 Chestnut St. Fairview |
| 45 | John Wilson | 4242 Walnut St. Ridgefield Park |
| 46 | John Wilson | 4343 Olive St. Northvale |
| 47 | John Wilson | 4444 Elm St. Englewood Cliffs |
| 48 | John Wilson | 4545 Oak St. Glen Ridge |
| 49 | John Wilson | 4646 Pine St. Roseland |
| 50 | John Wilson | 4747 Cedar St. North Plainfield |
| 51 | John Wilson | 4848 Birch St. Springfield |
| 52 | John Wilson | 4949 Spruce St. Plainfield |
| 53 | John Wilson | 5050 Fir St. Elizabeth |
| 54 | John Wilson | 5151 Ash St. Newark |
| 55 | John Wilson | 5252 Willow St. Jersey City |
| 56 | John Wilson | 5353 Hickory St. Hoboken |
| 57 | John Wilson | 5454 Maple St. Paterson |
| 58 | John Wilson | 5555 Sycamore St. Passaic |
| 59 | John Wilson | 5656 Chestnut St. Fairview |
| 60 | John Wilson | 5757 Walnut St. Ridgefield Park |
| 61 | John Wilson | 5858 Olive St. Northvale |
| 62 | John Wilson | 5959 Elm St. Englewood Cliffs |
| 63 | John Wilson | 6060 Oak St. Glen Ridge |
| 64 | John Wilson | 6161 Pine St. Roseland |
| 65 | John Wilson | 6262 Cedar St. North Plainfield |
| 66 | John Wilson | 6363 Birch St. Springfield |
| 67 | John Wilson | 6464 Spruce St. Plainfield |
| 68 | John Wilson | 6565 Fir St. Elizabeth |
| 69 | John Wilson | 6666 Ash St. Newark |
| 70 | John Wilson | 6767 Willow St. Jersey City |
| 71 | John Wilson | 6868 Hickory St. Hoboken |
| 72 | John Wilson | 6969 Maple St. Paterson |
| 73 | John Wilson | 7070 Sycamore St. Passaic |
| 74 | John Wilson | 7171 Chestnut St. Fairview |
| 75 | John Wilson | 7272 Walnut St. Ridgefield Park |
| 76 | John Wilson | 7373 Olive St. Northvale |
| 77 | John Wilson | 7474 Elm St. Englewood Cliffs |
| 78 | John Wilson | 7575 Oak St. Glen Ridge |
| 79 | John Wilson | 7676 Pine St. Roseland |
| 80 | John Wilson | 7777 Cedar St. North Plainfield |
| 81 | John Wilson | 7878 Birch St. Springfield |
| 82 | John Wilson | 7979 Spruce St. Plainfield |
| 83 | John Wilson | 8080 Fir St. Elizabeth |
| 84 | John Wilson | 8181 Ash St. Newark |
| 85 | John Wilson | 8282 Willow St. Jersey City |
| 86 | John Wilson | 8383 Hickory St. Hoboken |
| 87 | John Wilson | 8484 Maple St. Paterson |
| 88 | John Wilson | 8585 Sycamore St. Passaic |
| 89 | John Wilson | 8686 Chestnut St. Fairview |
| 90 | John Wilson | 8787 Walnut St. Ridgefield Park |
| 91 | John Wilson | 8888 Olive St. Northvale |
| 92 | John Wilson | 8989 Elm St. Englewood Cliffs |
| 93 | John Wilson | 9090 Oak St. Glen Ridge |
| 94 | John Wilson | 9191 Pine St. Roseland |
| 95 | John Wilson | 9292 Cedar St. North Plainfield |
| 96 | John Wilson | 9393 Birch St. Springfield |
| 97 | John Wilson | 9494 Spruce St. Plainfield |
| 98 | John Wilson | 9595 Fir St. Elizabeth |
| 99 | John Wilson | 9696 Ash St. Newark |
| 100 | John Wilson | 9797 Willow St. Jersey City |

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The Emma Goldman Papers

800321001

[List of Deported Russian Radicals, 1920? Feb.?] / [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].— 10 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The Bureau of Immigration lists deported Russian radicals, classified according to place of prosecution.

Notes: Bleedthrough; broken type.

Names of Russian radicals ordered deported to Russia by the Department of Labor. The charge in each case was substantially as follows:

"That he is a member of or affiliated with an organization that advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States; that he is a member of or affiliated with an organization that teaches the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States; and that he is a member of or affiliated with an organization that teaches disbelief in all organized government."

Pittsburg cases.

| Name | Immigration No. |
|---|-----------------|
| BELUSOFF, BASIL, alias BIBUSOFF, BASIL | 54709/593 157 |
| BEROV, JACOB, alias BYRA, JACOB, alias DEMAIENOV, alias KARNECHK | " /479 130 |
| CHIGRAEFF, ANDY | " /478 145 |
| CHIKALUIK, LEON, alias CHIKALIUK, LEO | 516 131 |
| COLBUS, SAM, alias KOLBUN, SAM, alias COLBAS, SAM, alias COLBUN, SAM | 592 158 |
| DIETETIROW, MICHAEL, alias DIETETIROW, JOHN, alias DIETETIROW, JOHN, alias DECHTA-ROF, MIKE | 128 |
| ELMO, EVAN | " 217 |
| GAROSHEW, GEORGE, alias BALUI, IVAN | " 602 159 |
| GERAY, ANDREW | " 214 150 |
| KOZLOV, VASIL, or KOZLOW | " 477 149 |
| KRASSHOFF, TEBON, alias RASHOFF, T. | " 601 129 |
| KRISHTOP, THEODORE | " 625 135 |
| LIBED, ARHIP, or LEBED | " 598 148 |
| LOPITSKY, ANDREW | " 603 152 |
| LOSIOFF, PROHORY | " 591 143 |
| LOVONETSLY, ANTHONY | " 600 136 |
| MAUNDELOF, JAMES | " 474 132 |
| NIKOLAEFF, FRANK, or NIKALAEFF | " 431 147 |
| NOVIK, YAKIN, alias NOIK, YAKIN | " 520 161 |
| NOVOLOFF, PETER (OR PETE) | " 607 161 |
| ORLOFF, MIKE (OR MICHAEL) | " 590 127 |
| | " 608 125 |

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230

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WARRANT DEPORTATION OF ALIEN

✓ ORLOFF, SAM 54709/609 134

✓ PAULUK, ARTELY, alias PAVLUK, ARTELY 605 141

✓ PRANKA, ANDY 475 126

✓ ~~SAHXX~~ SAHTABNOG, ORTEOF, alias SAHTABNOG, ORTIOF 586 123

✓ SHALL, MIKE, alias SKINKORENKO, MATWEI GAW-RILOW, alias SCHINKORENKO, MATWEJ 28 153

✓ SKOROKOD, KOSTANTIM (OR KONSTANTIN) 588 141

✓ TABENKO, PARFEM, alias SILENKO, PORIFY 606 142

✓ TSUBRICK, ORTIUB 476 156

✓ VINIK, ALEX 584 144

✓ VOLESHYNNUK, MAYSEY 604 133

✓ VOLOH, GEORGE, or VOLOCH 589 141

✓ YANISH, MIKE 521 140

✓ YANEUM, WILLIAM, or YANKUN 594 155

✓ ZAYATS, THOMAS 518 154

✓ ZBOROMIRSLY, JACOB, alias VBOROMIRSKY? alias VBROMIRSKY 223 139

POTENKIN, EFREEM 519 not photographed

Connecticut cases

✓ ANISIMIA, ANTHONY, alias ANISINE, ANTON 391 21

✓ ARCHUK, WALDZIMAR 375 3

✓ BALASH, ANDREI, alias BALUCZ, ANDREW 320 4

✓ BALICK, WASILY, alias BILICKI 389 5

✓ BARLOWSKY, SAMION or SAMUEL 405 6

✓ BOGEN, ZENOW (ZINOV), alias BOGEN, F. 207 7

✓ BORISUK, VALDHIR, alias BORISUK, WALTER 151 8

✓ BUTZKEVICH, MICHAEL, DEMIANOVICH, alias BORATICH, MIKE 382 9

✓ DRACO, KONSTANTIN DEMIANOVICH, alias BEXARIENY DRACO, COSTANTIN 373 10

✓ DANILOVICH, IVAN, alias DANILOVICH, JOHN 390 11

✓ DENCZYK, JOHN, or DENCZUK, IVAN 325 12

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231

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

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Notes: Bleedthrough; broken type.

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| | |
|--|--------------|
| FESLOW, EGOI MATVEEVICH, alias FRIESKO, HARRY, alias FIESKO | 54709/524 13 |
| PEDYK, KIRIO | " 379 14 |
| FENGOL, KIRIL, or PINHOL, KIRIN | " 526 15 |
| GUSHCHIA, JOHN (OR GRISCHANY) | " 380 16 |
| KOWALEWICZ, JACOB, alias KOWALEVICH, JOHN | " 402 17 |
| KURSON, TONY, alias KIRSION | " 326 18 |
| KATCHANOV, LUKA, alias kachanow, LUKA | " 614 19 |
| KOTIAK, ANTON | " 386 20 |
| KOVALSKY, ILYA, alias KUZNETZ, alias KOWALAKY, LOUIS, alias KUZNETZ, LOUIS | " 496 21 |
| KULISH, MARK or KULISH, M. | " 256 22 |
| LOCHOVETZ, EFIM, alias BARISOFF, M. | " 161 23 |
| LEONOF, TEREINTIAS, alias LEONOFF, THOMAS | " 377 24 |
| LEGEZE, MIKE, alias LEGEA, MIKE | " 384 25 |
| MICHNEWITZ, GAVRILO, alias MICHNIEWICH, HAWRIL | " 421 26 |
| MIRINOVICH, PETER, alias MIRONOVICH, PETER IVANOVICH | " 527 27 |
| MARTINOWSKY, JOHN | " 260 28 |
| MLAVERANSKY, NICHOLAS (OR NICKOLAS) | " 376 29 |
| NABAGEZ, IVAN, alias NABAGIZ, JOHN, alias NABAJIZ, JOHN | " 397 30 |
| NAZARCHUK, ANANI, alias NAZARCHUK, ANNI | " 164 31 |
| NESTORUCK, PAUL, alias NESTRUM, PROLE | " 395 32 |
| PETRASHKA, KONSTANTIN, alias PETROSHAK, KOSTATIW | " 528 33 |
| PROKOPOWICH, STEVE, alias PRAKSPODUCH, STEVE | " 371 34 |
| PHILISOPH, JOHN, alias PHILOSOPH, IVAN | " 166 35 |
| ROMANCHUK, KONSTANTIN, alias ROMANCHUK, KOSTANTIN | " 396 36 |
| SHELEG, NESTOR MICHAELOVICH, alias SHELEG, NASTO | " 393 37 |
| SHOHIDKO, LUKOZ, alias SEDLKO, LOUIS | " 381 38 |
| SULAWKA, ESTAFY, alias DSTAFY, E. | " 322 39 |

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232

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WARRANT OF DEPORTATION OF ALIEN
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| | | |
|---|-----------|---------|
| SEREVENIY, ALEXANDER | 54709/411 | 40 |
| SUHOV, DAVID, or SUCHOV | " | 394 41 |
| SOLONEKI, FRED, alias SOLONIK, FEDOR FEDOROVICH | " | 241 42 |
| SHWEIKUS, MILE, alias SCHWEJKUS | " | 324 43 |
| XXX TARASIUK, WASILY IVANOVICH, alias TARASIUK, WASILY | " | 525 44 |
| XXXXX VSIKO, MIKE, alias WASEIKO, MICHAEL | " | 388 45 |
| VASEYKO, ZACHARY, alias WASKIKI, ZACK | " | 398 45 |
| WOLKOFF, GEORGE | " | 171 47 |
| WOROBIEV, IGNAC | " | 403 48 |
| WOROBIEV, MAXIM | " | 369 49 |
| WASSILENKO, JOE, alias WASILENKO, JOSEPH | " | 236 50 |
| YASINSKY, DIMITRY | " | 385 51 |
| ZDANOWICH, MIKE, alias SDANOWICH, MIKE | " | 378 52 |
| ZUBKO, NESTER or WALTER | " | 400 53 |
| OHIO CASES | | |
| BENDICK, WILLIAM | 54616/235 | |
| BORSUK, BORSES, (or BORORES) | 54709/500 | |
| BIACHARSKI, FRANK (FEDOR) | " | 208 |
| DOLGAY, PETER, alias DOLHAY, PETER | " | 543 |
| DEDIUSHKA, ANDREW, alias GIGUSKA, NETERANDY | " | 203 24 |
| GAZEYOG, FRED, or GAZEYER, FRED | " | 535 138 |
| GEWOOK, YAKOW, alias TSIWUK, YAKOW, alias GEWOOK | " | 540 |
| HERASEVICH, PETER | " | 513 137 |
| JACKOTONSKY, JACOB or JACKNOWSKY | " | 201 |
| JAROSEVICH, ANDREW, alias JAROSCOWICZ, ANDREW, alias YAROSEVICK, ANDREW | " | 178 |
| KALEANOFF, JOHN | " | 231 58 |
| KALTEJKA, GEORGE, alias KALTIHA, GREGOVIC | " | 199 |
| KOMAR, YERN JIM | " | 544 |

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233

The Emma Goldman Papers

[List of Deported Russian Radicals, 1920? Feb.?] / [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].— 10 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The Bureau of Immigration lists deported Russian radicals, classified according to place of prosecution.

Notes: Bleedthrough; broken type.

| | | | |
|--|--|-----------|-----|
| WARRANT FOR DEPORTATION OF ALIEN | | | 5 |
| ✓ KONIC, JOSEPH | in police report | 54709/545 | |
| ✓ KONIAKIN, VASIL, or KONIAHEN, VASIL | MITIN, VASIL | " | 227 |
| ✓ KOWALAWICH, FRANK (FEODOR) | | " | 534 |
| ✓ KUISH, SIMON OR SAM | | " | 193 |
| ✓ KRUPKA, PAUL OR KRUPKIO, PAUL | | " | 195 |
| ✓ LUKOW, WILLIAM, or VASIL, or LUKOE, or | LUKASHUK, WASYL | " | 539 |
| ✓ MAGYAR (OR MAGAR), PIOTR or PETER | | " | 498 |
| ✓ MALIEWSKY, WASSILY | | " | 536 |
| ✓ MOMOTUK, TROFIN, alias MORMOCHUK, alias | MAUMAT, THEODORE | " | 187 |
| ✓ ROZNUK, DEMIAN, alias ROSICOK, DEMETRI | | " | 186 |
| ✓ SANKO, IVAN (OR EVAN), or SINKO | | " | 184 |
| ✓ SERECK, ANEY, alias SIRIK, alias SAVICK | | " | 185 |
| ✓ SHEIKA, GORDEI | | " | 546 |
| ✓ SMAL, ANDY | | " | 512 |
| ✓ STARIKEVICH, EUGNI (OR EVGANU), or STARIKEVITZ | | " | 542 |
| ✓ STOLATCHUK, GORDIC | | " | 181 |
| ✓ SWENKO, EWSTIFE | | " | 225 |
| ✓ TELATITSKI, NIK | | " | 541 |
| ✓ TRAZPIOT, ANTON | | " | 222 |
| ✓ YAROSEVICH, MIHAL, alias YAROSEVICH, MICHAEL | | " | 177 |
| PHILADELPHIA CASES | | | |
| ✓ DEMISUK, YANKIN, alias DEMICHUK, JACKEM | | " | 451 |
| ✓ ESKILASHKO, NIKITA, alias IMMASKO, NIKITA | | " | 331 |
| ✓ IWANIUK, DIMITRI, alias Nouvak, JAMES, or FRANK | ALIAS VONOUCH, alias IVANENCE, DIMITRI | 54709/332 | 57 |
| ✓ KOZY, JOHN | | " | 210 |
| ✓ LESTCHUK, MICHAEL, alias LITSTCHUK, MIKE | | " | 220 |
| ✓ MOSICRUK, ROMAN, alias MOSUCSHOK, alias MOSICHOK | | " | 220 |

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234

The Emma Goldman Papers

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WARRANT DEPORTATION OF ALIEN

-- 6 --

| | |
|--|----------------|
| URNEVICH, PAUL, alias YURNEVICH, alias YORNEVICH | 54709/212 60 |
| EVITZ, JOHN | 330 61 |
| WASCHUK, WASULY, (or WASCHUK, alias WASCHUK) | 329 62 |
| JAKIMOV, PAUL | 317 63 |
| YAROVVOY, FRED, alias YAROVVOI | |
| BUFFALO CASES. | |
| ANDROUSUK, ANTON | 137 |
| CHIJESKY, LEO | 140 |
| CHIJESKY, STANISLAUS | 141 |
| JANSON, (or JOHNSON) JOHN, alias JENSEN, JOHAN, alias LAUKIVORS, EARNEST | 54379/534 114 |
| KIRSON, BARNET, alias KIRSON, BERIL, alias KIRSON BORIS, alias KIRZON, BARNETT | 54709/144 145 |
| KOROVIANSEY, GREGORY | 21 |
| LEVCHUK, DANIEL or LEVCHUK, or LEVCHUK, D. | 327 |
| OINSHENLO, PORFIERY, alias OSISHCEMKO, PORFIERY | 308 |
| STEPANOFF, ANTON, alias PERECHCHUK, ALEX | 309 |
| STEPANOFF, OSSIP or OSIF, or JOE, or JOSEPH | |
| NEW YORK CASES | |
| ABROSSEMOFF, MICHEL (or MICHAEL) | 453 87 |
| AFANASIEVITCH, BENJAMIN, alias pfashetchnik | 277 91 |
| ANDRIEUX, or ANDRIUK, ROMAN | 272 89 |
| ANTONCHICK, FREDOR or FRED | 94 91 |
| ANTANOFF, ALEX (or ALEXANDER) | 54616/135 113 |
| BECKER, MORRIS | 54235/ 32 |
| BELESTA, MICHAEL, or BELASKA, H. | 54616/134 118 |
| BERGER, FREDREICK HAROLD or BERGER, F.H. | 54407/ 17 92 |
| BERKMAN, ALEXANDER | 52410/43-A 93 |
| BAINLY, PETER alias BAINLE, PIETER | 54616/115-A 46 |
| BAIZER, JAMEL (or JACOB) alias BESSER, JANGEL | 53986/ 77 |
| BRAZELIA, MAX | 54616/ 25 104 |

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235

The Emma Goldman Papers

800321001

[List of Deported Russian Radicals, 1920? Feb.?] / [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].— 10 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The Bureau of Immigration lists deported Russian radicals, classified according to place of prosecution.

Notes: Bleedthrough; broken type.

WARRANT OF DEPORTATION OF ALIEN
-----7-----

| | | |
|--|-----------|------|
| ✓ BRODIA, FRANKLIN A. In, native of Ukraine | 54616/ 89 | 117 |
| BRODYABE or BROCK of DEPARTMENT | 54709/273 | 84 |
| BUKANOVA, THOMAS. P. NOT IN INDEX | " 647 | 69 |
| CANZOR, SEBASTIAN (or KANTZER) | 54547/ 2 | 67 |
| CHERNOFF, MAXIM | 54709/117 | 70 |
| CYZYK, GEORGE alias GIGALKO, PAUL | 54379/125 | 72 |
| DERKACH, ALEXANDER alias DERIEH, ALEXANDER | 54709/674 | 16 |
| DUBOFF, JOHN, or DUBOFF, E., or DUBOFF, IVAN | " 97 | 73 |
| ERMOLA, JOHN alias YARMOLA, JOHN | " 350 | 76 |
| FEDERACO, TONY | " 339 | 74 |
| FEDOSKY, IWAN (JOHN), or FEDOSKY, IVAN | 54616/170 | 75 |
| FELAK, DAVID, alias ELAK, DAVID | " 221 | 115 |
| FURS, THOMAS | 54709/365 | 75 |
| ✓ GERNET, MICHAEL, or GERNET, MICHAEL | 54616/172 | 112 |
| HAJDUK, ALFONS, alias HIEDUK, ALFONSE | 54709/357 | 65 |
| HASKEWICH, LEO | 54235/158 | 12 |
| HOSTILEA, ANDREW, alias HASTIALLA, ANDRE | 54709/353 | 11 |
| KAMINSKY, STEVE | " 158 | 53 |
| KANOWICH, SAMUEL | " 649 | 54 |
| KETZUS, ARTHUR | 54616/115 | 55 |
| KOLESHNIKOFF, EFIM, alias KOLESHNIKOFF, JOHN?
alias KOLESHNIKOFF, JOACHIM | 54709/454 | |
| KONON, ALEXANDER, alias KORNEN, ALEX | " 352 | 57 |
| KORSCHENIKOFF, TONY, or KORSCHNIKOFF | " 455 | 61 |
| KOZA, JOE | " 342 | 64 |
| KUDREYKO, MIKAL, or KRAVCHUK, MICHAEL | 54554/ 23 | 71 |
| HERETCHUK, BORIS | 54709/358 | (56) |
| KOVALENKO, EFGRAH or KOVALEKO | 54616/176 | 116 |

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236

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Notes: Bleedthrough; broken type.

WARGRAV 8
Form 204

| | |
|---|----------------|
| ROZDIL, IVAN, or KOZLIT, IVAN, alias COZLISH, JOHN | 54709/363 |
| KURINSKI, OSIP OFF, alias KUCZYNSKI, alias
KERENSKY, OSIP OFF | 54545/ 43 |
| KUROPATO, NIKOLAI alias koropotko, NICOLI | 54709/345 59 |
| KUSHNAREV, FEODOR, alias DALNEY, ALEXANDER | " 522 82 |
| LAWRINUL, MICHAEL | " 489 78 |
| LAWNA, WILLIAM, or LAUNA, alias SCHMIDT, AUGUST | " 103 17 |
| LAZEREWICH, ANDREW, alias LAZAROWITZ | " 347 79 |
| LEMBERG, SAMUEL (OR SAM), or LEMBURG | 53878/601 |
| LESIGA, ARTHUR | 54709/118 32 |
| LIPSKY, ANTON | " 456 30 |
| LISEOV, (OR LISKOW) DIONISY | 54649/146 |
| MASKALUNAS, LAZIS, alias MASKALJUNAS, KASIMER,
alias KASHILUNAS, LAZIZ | 54379/101 |
| MELNIKOFF, PAVEL (OR PAVAI OR PAUL), alias
MELNIK, PAVEL | 54616/123 111 |
| MESHLOV, SAM, alias MESHOFF, SAM, or MOSEOFF | 54709/ 34 119 |
| MOLKOWSKY, KETIA FEDROVICH, alias MARTEN, L.C.?
or MARTIN, LEO | " 68 |
| MARTZIN, VINCENT | " 276 45 |
| MIHAELOFF, NICHOLAS | 54616/106 47 |
| MUCHA, JOSEPH, alias WASA, JOE, alias MICHIA, JOE,
alias MOCHA, JOE | 54408/ 4 |
| NAZARUCK, ANDREW | 54709/627 50 |
| NEWAR, JOHN | " 338 52 |
| NISHANCOFF, ALEXAY | 54649/ 62 101 |
| NOVIKOFF, IVAN | 54709/111 86 |
| NOWICK, P., or NOVICK, PETER or PIOTR | " 119 51 |
| OCHRIMUK, NIKOLAI, or OCHRIMUK, NICK | " 337 27 |
| ORADOVSKY, MARCUS, or ORAZOSKY, or ORAXOSKY | 54616/115-A 28 |
| PARLO, DIMITRI, or PANKO, D. | 54709/112 29 |
| PERKUS, HYMAN | " 116 23 |

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237

The Emma Goldman Papers

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-- 8 --

POLULECK, JOSEPH, alias BALLUCK, alias BOLBUCH 54709/449 19

PROSKOVICH, THEODOR, alias PROSKOVICH, THEODORE 54616/152 54709/364 22

PAWLAS, PETE, or PAWALAS, PETER APUL 54616/ 16 26

PROSK, THOMAS, alias DROSK " 156 67

PODLIPSKY, MATHEW 54709/356 25

RICE, DANIEL or REISCH 340 27

RISTICK, LOUIS (OR LUKE) " 457 8

SAWICKI, MICHAIL, alias SEVITSKY, MICK 348 18

SEELOF, GRANT 54379/280

SCHATZ, BORIS 54709/278 Feb 9

SCHATZ, HARRY alias SCHATZ, ALEXANDER? alias SCHATZ, ALEX " 128 6

STELANUK, NAUM 54235/157 1

SHEILNUK, ALEXANDER, alias SZEILNIUK, ALEXANDER 54616/239

SEEGAN, MIKE alias SERON 54709/113 48

SCHNABEL, DELASS, ADOLPH, or SANABEL, ADOLPH 54616/ 29 10

SKOSHUK, HARRY, or SKOCHUK, GRIGORI 54709/447 7

✓ TAGIEFF, BUSSEIN (OR HUSSIEN), alias CAUCASIAN, alias CARSON, ALEXANDER or TAGIEV, GUSEIN 54616/ 82 108

TARASYK, JOHN, alias TARASJUK, IWAN, alias RASKY, JOHN. T., alias DIMSTRIUS or TRASKY, JOHN 54235/151 38

TOM, TURIA 54709/341 10

PETER URGAL 357 39

IVAN VEREMIUK " 117 14

NICHOLAS WASILIEFF " 99 77

NICOLAJ VOLOSUK " 696 43

HARRY WODNER 461 83

✓ KRONAGI WORKOLF 54616/183 112

NECITA ZAFRONIA 54709/284 35

EMMA GOLDMAN 52410/43-E 94

ETHEL BERNSTEIN 54616/115-A 63

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238

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WARRANT DEPORTATION OF ALIEN

100-11

--- 9 ---

DORA LAPKIN

Department of Justice

54709/265

20

BALTIMORE CASES
WASHINGTON

STEIPAN ZEDIK

54616/24

64

PAUL HOLOWAIN

54709/318

65

NIKIFOR ZHARZO

" 484

66

JOHN BRUNERT

" 109

67

MICHAEL ZATYN

" 485

68

YEFIN TADZIZIEG

" 328

69

MIKE SZERBA

" 305

70

SERGEI SAVCHUK

" 583

71

IVAN MORGOLENKOW

" 622

72

LOUIS KOSTEVICH

" 420

73

COPY

and may be deported in accordance therewith.

I, _____, Secretary of the Department of Justice, do hereby certify that the above named persons are

and authority vested in me by the laws of the United States, to hereby certify and you

return the said alien to _____ of _____ and _____

pages of the

For so doing, this shall be your official statement.

Witness my hand and seal this _____ day of _____

Secretary of Justice

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239

The Emma Goldman Papers

891120007

[Letter, 1920 Feb.? Moscow to] V.I. Lenin [Chairman of the Soviet Republic of People's Commissars, Moscow] / [Angelica] Balabanoff. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Moscow.

Summary: Having met with Goldman, Balabanoff explains to Lenin why Goldman and Berkman want to meet him. She believes it would be a good idea and urges a meeting soon.

Notes: In Russian.

10026. У. С. С. Р. *Уважаемый Владимир Ильич!*
НАРОДНЫЙ КОМИССАРИАТ
ИНОСТРАННЫХ ДЕЛ.
Член Коллегии.
У. С. Р. Р. *Мне очень приятно и интересно*
НАРОДНИЙ КОМИСАРИЯТ
ЗАКОРДОННИХ СПРАВ.
Член Колегії. *Д. И. И. Я с Вами*

дня 19. *Дорогой, иронично*
№ *и без меня мне нужна*
и ринкаменты "Совиет". Намини
и и Крайне и в России все
и ринкаменты и Крайне и ринкаменты
и были кандидатами на и ринкаменты
Решение: и ринкаменты и до расказа
1912 —

Вера и ринкаменты и ринкаменты
и ринкаменты и ринкаменты
и ринкаменты и ринкаменты
и ринкаменты и ринкаменты
и ринкаменты и ринкаменты

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Summary: Having met with Goldman, Balabanoff explains to Lenin why Goldman and Berkman want to meet him. She believes it would be a good idea and urges a meeting soon.

Notes: In Russian.

последнее. Я конечно не упоминала и не
знаю где и Д. Т. о нем, но я думаю, что
мне все же единственному, ввиду известия
из России. Я бы упростила свое письмо,
добавив "прав" и т.д. Но касаясь Вашей
речи, из Д. Т. она не показала себя речью
направленной к революционному
образованию времени и места, а общей
составной частью политической речи вообще.
Несчастна она с Вами по крайней мере
о смысле борьбы с "американцами".

Уже на беседе с Вами я указала
на Ваши ошибки в том, что вы упускаете
с Норманом Т. У. У. книгу описывающую движение
революционных массовых - в нем они в бой идут
сначала и правы. Затем они идут в бой
здесь, движение для освобождения Америки "идея
дому" книга в свое время была основана
для организации в России "при чем тут
издавать журнал и вообще все это революционное
движение. Америке, мне кажется, нужно
лучше всего от нас и мы много на весть, не
применяя и в великом Экономическом и
финансовом, давая им абсолютное и неограниченное
к себе. Америке же и неограниченное в Конгрессе
интернационалу. В характере публицистики, в
не шутно словоблудия - тем более что будет излагать
искусство на американском языке, посвящая в
Америку, тем не менее, я думаю, что работа на
массовые революционные выступления, дающая все,

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241

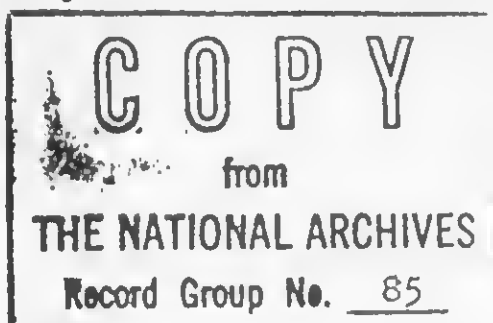
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 3, New York [to] Robert [A.] Lansing, Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Weinberger offers to supply a ship to carry people to Russia, both deportees and volunteers.

Notes: Enclosed with 811023001. For reply, see 811023003. For follow-up, see 811023014.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

(CORRECT COPY-ELS)

HARRY WEINBERGER

Counselor at Law

261 Broadway, New York

February 3, 1920.

Hon. Robert Lansing,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

I called at the State Department, to see you in reference to sending Russian aliens to Soviet Russia in a private ship, and in your absence and in the absence of Mr. Polk, I spoke to Mr. F. L. Belin.

One of the large causes of unrest in the country is the arresting, jailing and deporting of aliens, and the separating of husbands from their wives, and fathers from their children. The offer of Mr. L. Martens to have the Soviet Government supply a ship to deport Russians who desire to return, has never been refused or accepted. I understand that the reason for the same is that that would entail recognition of the Soviet Government.

I, therefore, offer to the Government, if it will permit, to supply a ship to take back to Russia those the Government desires to deport and all those who are desirous of leaving the country to go to Soviet Russia. It will eliminate any recognition of the Soviet Government. I merely desire that your Department send me large batches of application blanks to have same duly filled out, so that passports may be issued for them to leave the country.

I also desire that the State Department allow me to cable Tchicherin, Foreign Minister at Petrograd, or Litvinoff in Copenhagen or Stron in Stockholm, to deposit money in banks in Europe, so that I may make the financial arrangements with banks in New York, for the hiring, provisioning and shipping of goods and aliens.

I would appreciate if you would fix some time that I could come to Washington to discuss this matter, personally, with you.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) Harry Weinberger

HW/ICW

The Emma Goldman Papers

810618010

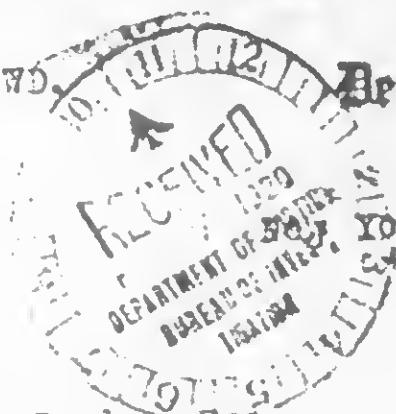
[Letter] 1920 Feb. 4, New York [to] Frank Burke, Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / George F. Lamb, Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p.; 25 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Lamb informs Burke that he will search Stella Ballantine's apartment for Goldman's letters if asked to do so.

Notes: For related document, see 811222055.

CJ3-JWD



Department of Justice.

Bureau of Investigation.

15446 5/
New York City, February 4, 1920.


Frank Burke, Esq.,
Assistant Director and Chief,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C..

Attention: Mr. Hoover.

Dear Sir:

Referring to your letter under date of January 31st, to which was attached a photostat copy of letter sent to Mr. J. E. Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, under date of January 27th, by William E. Cope of this city, it is respectfully requested that you advise this office at the earliest practicable time whether or not you deem it advisable to make efforts to obtain possession of the Goldman letters now said to be in the custody of Stella Ballantine. It does not appear that these letters will be of much interest inasmuch as the Goldman woman has been deported, but, however, if you are of the opinion that a search warrant should issue for same, immediate efforts will be made by this office to secure the papers in question.

Very truly yours,


GEORGE F. LAMB

Division Superintendent.

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243

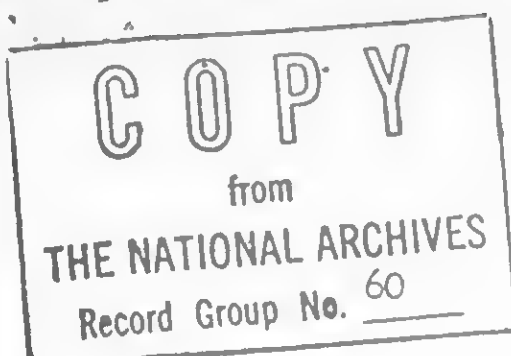
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 4 [Washington, D.C. to A. Mitchell Palmer] Attorney General
[Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Frank B. Brandegee [Senator].—
1 p. ; 34 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Senator Brandegee forwards a letter from a constituent, urging the attorney general to defend his program of deportations to the American public.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870724009. For reply, see 811027009.



General Records of the Department of Justice
D. J. Central Files - Straight Numerical Files
File Number 202600-65

HERRY CABOT LODGE, MASS., CHAIRMAN.
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MARCUS A. SMITH, ARIZ.
KEY PITTMAR, REV.
JOHN K. SHIELDS, TENN.

United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

February 4, 1920. R.

The Honorable,
The Attorney General,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I inclose a letter from Mr. Charles E. Jackson,
a prominent banker of Middleton, Connecticut. Will
you be kind enough to advise me whether you have in
contemplation the issuance of a statement along the
lines suggested by him? I have written Mr. Jackson that
I have brought the matter to your attention and would be
glad to advise him of your decision in the premises.

Very respectfully yours,

Frank B. Brandegee

FEB 16 1920

202600-65-5

FEB 7 1920

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244

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Affidavit] 1920 Feb. 5 [in re: Abraham Schneider] / Louis Loebel, Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 2 p. ; 22 x 15 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent Loebel swears as to his personal knowledge of Abraham Schneider's radical activities in St. Louis, including his meeting with Goldman when she traveled from Jefferson City to New York in 1919.

Notes: For other reports on Schneider, see 811222063 and 870722001 through 870722003.

STATE OF ILLINOIS)
COUNTY OF COOK) S S

LOUIS LOEBEL, of lawful age, being first duly sworn,
on oath deposes and says:

1. that I am a Special Agent of the Bureau of Investigation of the United States Department of Justice, working under the direct supervision of Edward J. Brennan, Division Superintendent of the Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Chicago, Illinois;
2. that I was assigned to the St. Louis office of the Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, between the period of September, 1917, and November, 1919, one of my particular duties being the investigating of radical activities in St. Louis and vicinity;
3. that in the course of my personal investigations I have observed one Abraham Schneider, having been a frequent attendant of the radical meetings held at the New Club Hall, 13th and Chouteau Avenues, and also at the Jewish Labor Lyceum, 1243 N. Garrison Avenue, St. Louis, Mo., under the auspices of the Socialist Party of St. Louis, and also of the Society of Technical Aid to Soviet Russia;
4. that I have also seen the said Abraham Schneider at a picnic held by the Socialist Party of St. Louis, at St. Louis, and that at these and other gatherings he was conspicuously catering to and in the company of several individuals who were known to me as being in sympathy with anarchistic principles;
5. that I met the said Abraham Schneider on the evening of October 9, 1919 in front of the Jewish Labor Lyceum, 1243 N. Garrison Avenue, St. Louis, Mo. who in the course of a conversation relative to the Society of Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, said Abraham Schneider told me that the primary requirements of every member of the Society of Technical Aid to Soviet Russia was that he must be a revolutionist and in sympathy with the principles upon which Soviet Russia was founded;
6. that at the time when Emma Goldman, anarchist, passed through St. Louis on her way to the East, after her definite release from the Missouri Penitentiary at Jefferson City, I saw the said Abraham Schneider, together with several other radicals, at the Union Station at St. Louis, greeting Emma Goldman upon her arrival and leading her into a waiting automobile;
7. that one of my confidential informants, who was known to the St. Louis office of the Bureau of Investigation as Confidential Informant No. 66, informed me, and I verily believe that he attended a meeting of the Society of Technical Aid for Soviet Russia as a member of the organization committee of the said Society on or about Oct. 2, 1919 at room No. 5 of the Jewish Labor Lyceum at St. Louis, Mo. and that at this meeting the said Abraham Schneider was present and was elected a member of the Executive Committee of the St. Louis branch of the Society for Technical Aid for Soviet Russia, and that at this meeting the by-laws of the Society of Technical Aid for Soviet Russia were read of which the main point was that only revolutionists and persons in absolute accord with the Soviet Government in Russia can become members of the organization.

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245

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Affidavit] 1920 Feb. 5 [in re: Abraham Schneider] / Louis Loebl, Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 2 p. ; 22 x 15 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent Loebl swears as to his personal knowledge of Abraham Schneider's radical activities in St. Louis, including his meeting with Goldman when she traveled from Jefferson City to New York in 1919.

Notes: For other reports on Schneider, see 811222063 and 870722001 through 870722003.

8. that on or about October 6, 1919, I had occasion to look over some original applications for membership in the Society for Technical Aid for Soviet Russia, and saw among them the application of the said Abraham Schneider filled out on the regular questionnaire blank used by the Society for Technical Aid for Soviet Russia for that purpose;
9. that in the course of my personal investigations of the activities of the members of the Communist Party of America and the Communist Labor Party of America at Chicago, Illinois, I had occasion to read affidavits made by members of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia to the effect that membership of, or affiliation with the Communist Party or the Communist Labor Party is a pre-requisite for membership in the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia;
10. further affidavit says not.

Louis Loebl
Special Agent.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 5th day of February, 1920 A.D.

Augustus H. [illegible]
[illegible]

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246

The Emma Goldman Papers

810618011

[Memorandum] 1920 Feb. 6 [Washington, D.C.? to] Trovillion [Washington, D.C.?] / [J. Edgar Hoover? Special Assistant to the Attorney General? Department of Justice?]. — 1 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Hoover returns Goldman's pamphlet, "Marriage and Love," to Miss Trovillion.

JKE-VJ

FILE BUREAU FILE

15446

February 6, 1920.

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS TROVILLION :

I am returning to you herewith the publication of Emma Goldman entitled "Marriage and Love," I am also forwarding to you a copy of the same written in Yiddish.

Very truly yours,

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247

The Emma Goldman Papers

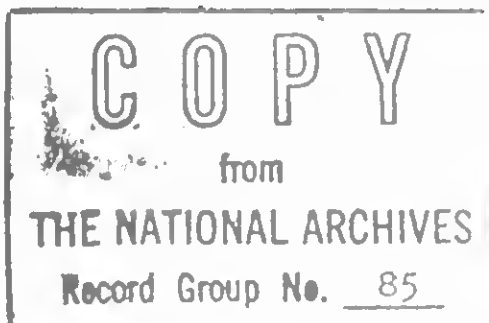
811023033

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 6, Washington [D.C. to Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Robert [A.] Lansing [Secretary of State] Department of State. — 1 p. ; 34 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Lansing forwards the Japanese ambassador's request for names of Buford deportees.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870727000. For reply, see 811023038 and 811023039.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
R 311.6124/34

February 6 1920.



The Honorable

The Secretary of Labor.

Attention of Commissioner General of
Immigration.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith a copy of a note from the Japanese Ambassador in which he requests the names of the Russian anarchists and other radical aliens recently deported from the United States on the S. S. BUFORD to Soviet Russia.

I see no objection to giving the Japanese Ambassador these names, provided you concur therein.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Enclosure:

Copy of note from the Japanese Ambassador
dated January 28, 1920.

The Emma Goldman Papers

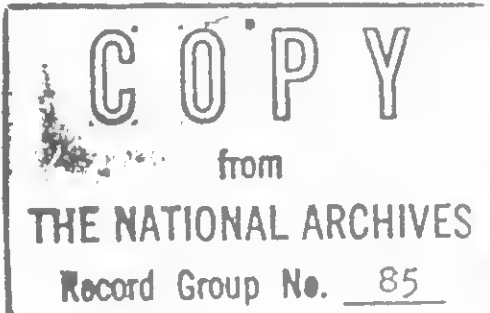
811023034

[Memorandum] 1920 Feb. 6 [Washington, D.C. to Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / W.J. Peters, Law Division, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].— 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Peters asks Caminetti for help drafting a reply to the State Department's request to pay Latvia for costs of transporting the Buford deportees.

Notes: For letter mentioned, see 811023028.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809

54809/Gen.

February 6, 1920.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE COMMISSIONER GENERAL:

At the marker in attached file is a letter from Acting Secretary of State Polk, reply to which I feel I am not in a position to draft. The question of whether or not payment can be made to the Latvian authorities, either in money or in flour, for permitting the aliens who were deported on the "Buford" to cross Latvia in order to reach the Soviet frontier, in which they incurred some expense, is a matter for the accounting officers of the Bureau and the Department to consider and decide, it seems to me.

WJP

WJP:REM

*Notes:
Jewell enters on Jan
only Feb 11/20*

*File
mfp*

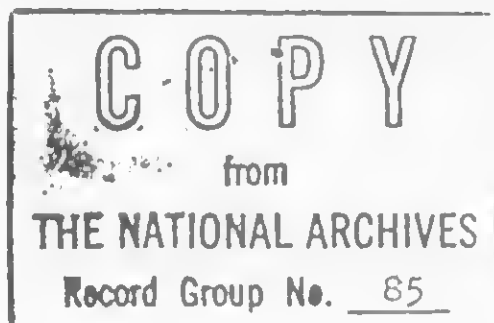
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 6 [Washington, D.C. to] Lillian Wald, New York / A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].— 1 p.; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Caminetti attempts to justify the Department of Labor's decision to deport radicals and not provide for their abandoned families.

Notes: Broken type. Reply to 811023030.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809

54809/Gen.

February 6, 1920

Lillian D. Wald,
265 Henry Street,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Madam:

The Bureau has received your letter of the 7th ultimo, asking whether or not there is any basis for the rumors "that the families of the deported and interned aliens are suffering." It is assumed that you have reference to aliens of the so-called "radical" class, some of whom were deported from the port of New York on a vessel sailing December 21, 1919, and some of whom are still detained at various places in the United States, pending the completion of the hearings in their cases. Of the latter class, a great many have, of course, been released temporarily on bonds -- a privilege which has been extended to all who have been arrested.

While certain representations have been made to the Bureau that the families of some of the men in question are in want, no concrete evidence of this fact has been placed before it. That such a condition could possibly prevail is quite easy to understand, however, unless they may be able to obtain relief from some other source. While the situation may be regarded as very unfortunate, indeed, it should be borne in mind that these men have deliberately placed themselves in a class rendering the institution of deportation proceedings against them a matter of necessity. Although it has been the policy of this Service to make the burden rest upon second parties who may be entirely innocent as lightly as possible, Congress has not provided it with funds which can be devoted to this purpose. The situation is somewhat analagous to that where a man is convicted of a crime and sentenced to serve a term of imprisonment. This naturally deprives his dependant family of his aid and support while he is serving his prison sentence. These men, although aliens enjoying the hospitality of this country, are unattached to American ideals and they seek by violent and unlawful means to undermine and overthrow our Government; in other words, they have committed one of the most serious crimes against our Government that it is possible to commit, and in applying the corrective measures which Congress has seen fit to prescribe in such cases it is necessary to take them into custody on Departmental warrants, to accord them hearings, and to effect their deportation from the country, where the facts, as developed, so warrant. During the interval between the serving of the warrant of arrest and the rendering of decision by the Department as to whether or not they shall or shall not be deported, they are entitled to liberty on bond in a sum to be determined upon by the Department.

Respectfully, EXACT COPY AS SIGNED BY A. CAMINETTI

MAILED FEB 11 1920 BY [initials]

Commissioner General.

WJP:REM

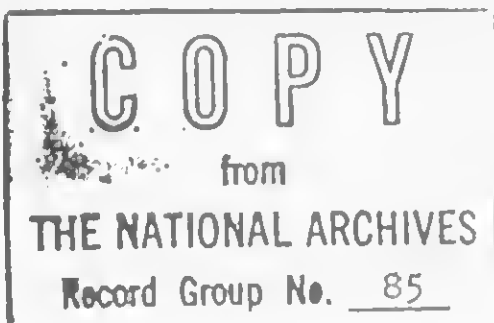
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Petition] 1920 Feb. 7, New York [to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General
[Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Bakery & Confectionery Workers Union. — 2 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: The Bakery & Confectionery Workers Union protests the deportations of its members and urges family reunification.

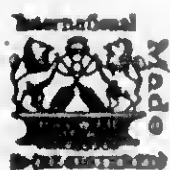
Notes: Petition is representative of many others in the files of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809

[This is representative of this type of communication in this file]

3-19



549
670

AFFILIATED WITH THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR



809

cal Union No. 1

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA

cretary

Paul Henry

dress

328 E. 86th St. New York

February 7th 1920

To Hon. A. Caminetti

Commissioner General of Immigration

Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen: -

Whereas,

Members of organized labor, coal miners, steel workers, rubber workers, automobile workers, and workers of other organizations, have been arrested and deported and are now being arrested and deported for the reason that they were dissatisfied with their present conditions; and

Whereas,

Many of those deported and many of those under arrest and subject to deportation were not members of any organization characterized as inimical to the government and institutions of the United States but were active in behalf of

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251

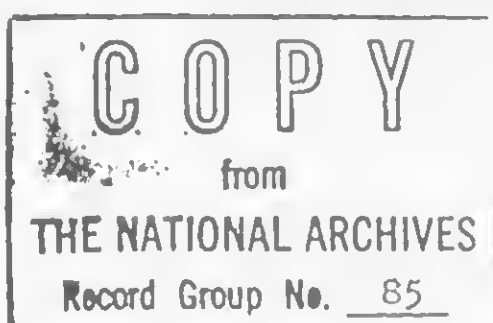
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Petition] 1920 Feb. 7, New York [to] A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General
[Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Bakery & Confectionery Workers Union. — 2 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: The Bakery & Confectionery Workers Union protests the deportations of its members and urges family reunification.

Notes: Petition is representative of many others in the files of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809

K-10-19



AFFILIATED WITH THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR



Local Union No. _____

Secretary _____

Address _____

19

the workers; and
Whereas, Some of those deported, and some in the jails
awaiting deportation were married men having
wives and children dependents upon them,
and no provision having been made for the support
of those wives and children of the deported men
and those awaiting deportation, causing misery
and suffering among the wives and children,
who are innocent of any wrongdoing;
therefore, be it
Resolved, That Local I. B. C. W. Int'l. U. of A. sent their protest
to Commissioner General A. Caminetti to urge
that the families of the already deported
men be sent to join their men as early
as possible and that there be no further
separations of families by deportation;
and it be further
That this resolution be sent to Commissioner
General A. Caminetti.



HOLD TO RIGHT AND NOTE WATERMARK

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252

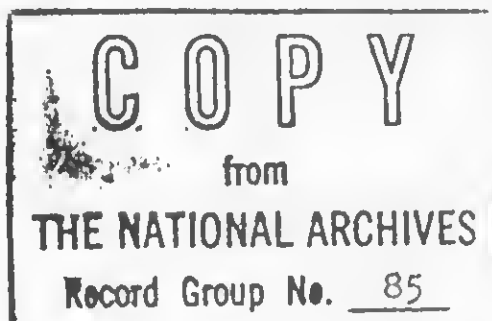
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 7, Washington, D.C. [to Robert A. Lansing] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / J.B. Hubrecht, Secretary of Legation [Dutch Embassy]. — 2 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: The Netherlands foreign minister asks Lansing for information on American deportations of Russians, because the Netherlands would like to follow suit.

Notes: Enclosed with 811023058.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

GET-SS

(Copy)

LEGATION ROYALE
DES PAYS-BAS

Washington, D. C.,

February 7th, 1920.

Sir,

I am in receipt of a communication from the Foreign Minister at The Hague in which Jonkheer van Karnebeek acquaints me with some information which he has received from the American Chargé D'Affaires at The Hague concerning the deportation from the United States to Soviet Russia of about two hundred and fifty citizens of that country who are considered undesirable in the United States.

This information is of very great interest to the Netherlands Government in view of the presence in Holland of a number of Russian subjects, who, being considered dangerous for public safety, have been either interned or else placed under special surveillance, and whom the Netherland Authorities would prefer to deport to Russia if such were possible.

With reference to the above, and acting upon instructions

The Honorable,
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

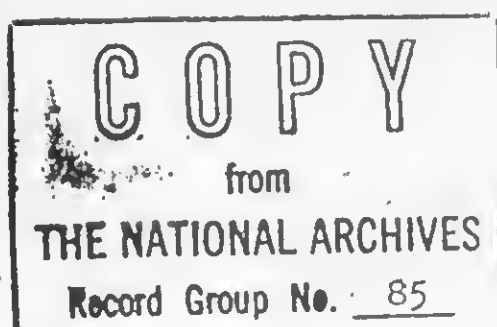
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 7, Washington, D.C. [to Robert A. Lansing] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / J.B. Hubrecht, Secretary of Legation [Dutch Embassy]. — 2 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: The Netherlands foreign minister asks Lansing for information on American deportations of Russians, because the Netherlands would like to follow suit.

Notes: Enclosed with 811023058.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office — Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

GET-SS. . . (Copy)

-2-

structions received from my Government, I have the honor to request you to be good enough to cause further information to be sent me with regard to the date of deportation of the above mentioned individuals, the manner in which it has been effectuated, and the harbor or harbors toward which they will be or have been dispatched.

Please accept, Sir, the renewed assurance of my highest consideration

For the Netherlands Minister,

(Signed) J. B. Hubrecht,
Secretary of Legation.

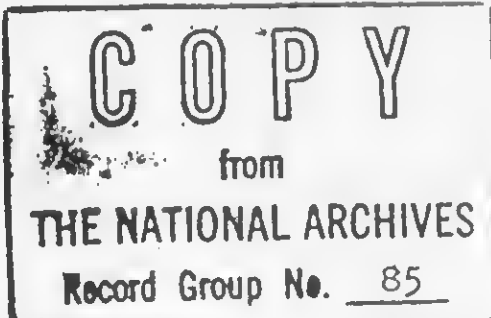
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 9, Washington [D.C. to William B. Wilson] Secretary of Labor
[Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Alvey A. Adey, Second Assistant Secretary,
Department of State. — 1 p. ; 32 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Adey asks Wilson to answer his previous request for a list of deported radicals.

Notes: Handwritten note by W.J. Peters in margin. For reply, see 811023038. Follow-up to 811023061.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
C-H - 311.6124/29

February 9, 1920.

The Honorable

The Secretary of Labor.

Sir:

Referring to the letter of the Department
of State of January 12, 1920, asking for a
complete list of the radicals recently deported,
with a descriptive personal record of each in-
dividual, I have the honor to say that the Depart-
ment would be very glad to be advised whether it
has been deemed expedient to comply with its re-
quest for the information above mentioned.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

For the Secretary of State:

*Mr. Rapp:
Can you give
me the list of
names of aliens deported
on the "Barford."
WJP*

Alvey A. Adey

Second Assistant Secretary.

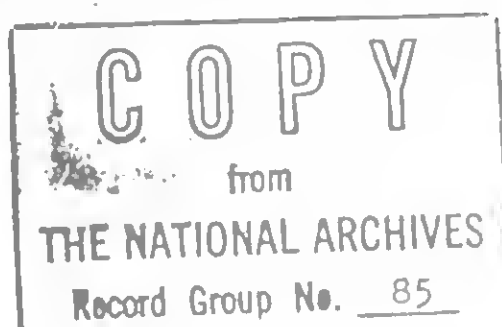
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1920 Feb. 10, Washington [D.C. to Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / S[amuel] J. Gompers, Chief Clerk, Department of Labor. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

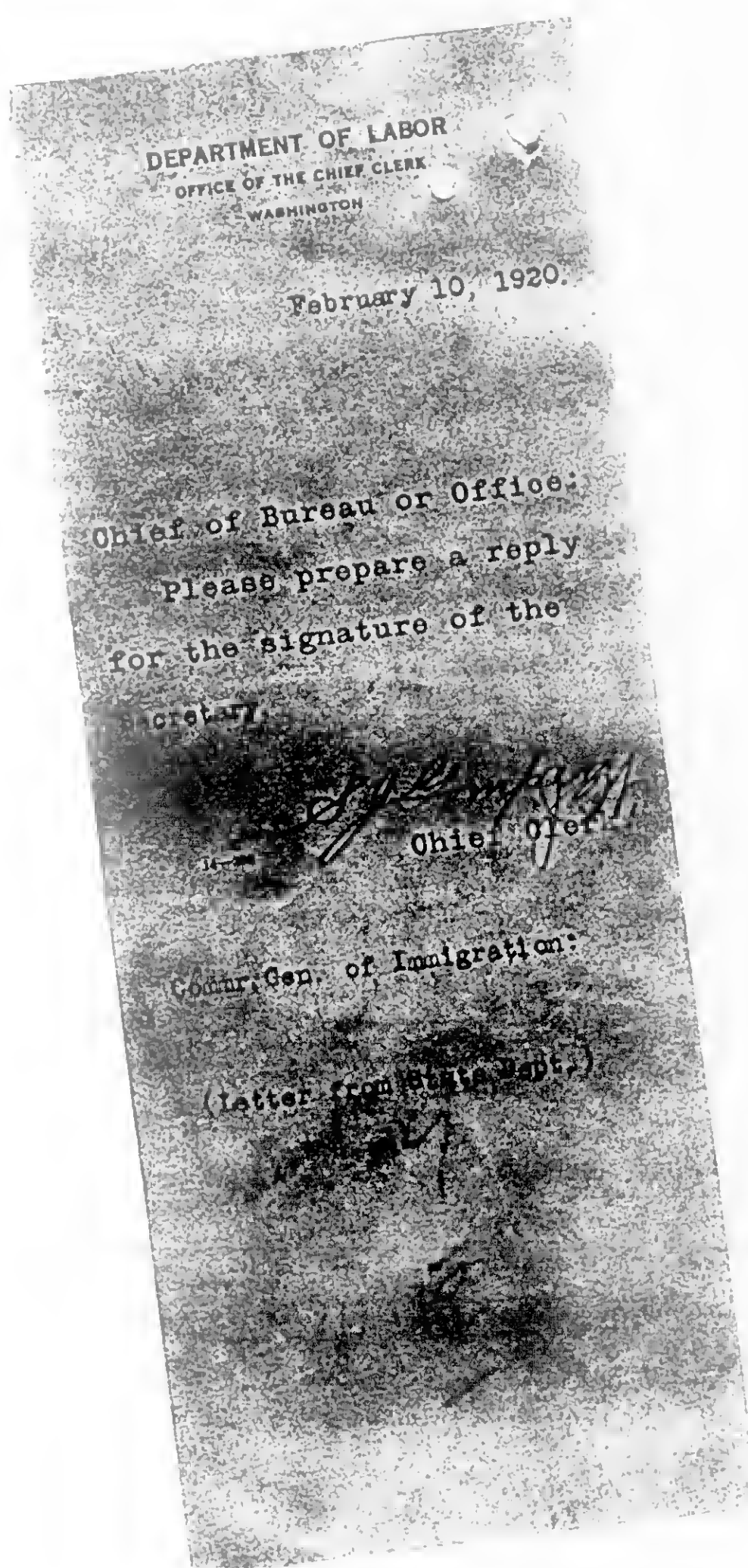
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Gompers asks Caminetti to answer the attached letter.

Notes: For enclosure, see 811023036. For reply, see 811023038 and 811023039.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809



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256

The Emma Goldman Papers

810807024

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 11, New York [to Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [F.W. Berkshire] Supervising Immigrant Inspector [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].— 9 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Berkshire, the Bureau of Immigration's representative on board the *Buford*, gives his official report of the trip, in detail.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870720008.

IMMIGRATION

SUPVISING IMMIGRANT INSPECTOR

OFFICE OF CHINESE INSPECTOR IN CHARGE
DISTRICT OF NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY
NO. 116 NASSAU STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.

TELEPHONE:
BEEKMAN 2312

IN ANSWERING REFER TO

File No. _____

February 11, 1920.

Commissioner General of Immigration,
Washington, D. C.

Pursuant to the instructions and authority contained in Department letter of December 16, 1919, No. 54235/36-E, directing me to take into custody at Ellis Island certain aliens and convey them to a point in Russia to be later named, I have the honor to report that in accordance with said instructions I proceeded to New York, arriving there during the morning of December 17th, and shortly thereafter had a conference with Colonel C. H. Hilton, designated by the War Department to command the troops detailed to guard the aliens while en route on the Army transport provided for the occasion. During the day I also connected with Acting Commissioner Uhl at Ellis Island and acquainted him with my instructions, and informed him that it was proposed to remove all alien radicals ready for deportation, among whom were the "famous" Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, from Ellis Island at 4:15 A. M. Sunday December 21st. During the intervening days various conferences were had with Colonel Hilton and Acting Commissioner Uhl relating to incidental details, but without further discussion it may be remarked that all plans were successfully carried out and the aliens were placed on the Army Transfer boat at Ellis Island at the exact time agreed upon. The transfer boat promptly proceeded down the bay, having on board, in addition to the aliens, the Commissioner-General and Mr. Peters of the Bureau, Congressman Johnson, Rowe and Siegel, and Messrs. Flynn and Hoover of the Department of Justice. The Army Transport "Buford", in accordance with previous plans, was in waiting in Gravesend Bay, and the aliens were transferred thereto at about six A. M. After an inspection of the vessel, particularly the quarters to be occupied by the aliens, we set sail for our then unknown destination.

Considerable unavoidable confusion occurred at Ellis Island during the day preceding the sailing, due to the fact that about half of the aliens intended for deportation were not delivered at the Island until noon or after, but it should be stated that the officials at Ellis Island accomplished the seemingly almost impos-

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THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 85

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54235/36

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257

The Emma Goldman Papers

810807024

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 11, New York [to Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [F.W. Berkshire] Supervising Immigrant Inspector [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].— 9 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Berkshire, the Bureau of Immigration's representative on board the *Buford*, gives his official report of the trip, in detail.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870720008.

DIVISION OF NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY
OFFICE OF CHINESE INSPECTION IN CHARGE

IMMIGRATION SERVICE

sible task, and had the aliens in readiness for the early sailing next day, and in a manner deserving of the highest commendation. Such of the aliens as required additional warm clothing were provided with same at Ellis Island, and I took a small supply with me in order to provide for any who may have been overlooked in the rush, and this was distributed en route.

Finally, when the number of aliens actually ready for deportation was ascertained, it was found that there were 246 males and 3 females, a total of 249, divided by classes as follows:

| | |
|---|------------|
| Anarchists, or those who do not believe in any form of government | 51 |
| Members of an organization which teaches the overthrow of government by force or violence | 184 |
| Convicted of a crime involving moral turpitude, within one year after entry | 3 |
| Likely to become a public charge at time of entry | 9 |
| Procured | 1 |
| Entered without inspection | 1 |
| TOTAL | 249 |

The original executed warrants, with the exception of a few which were not given me at Ellis Island but of which copies instead were handed me, together with a list of the names of the entire party, are transmitted herewith.

The guard provided for the occasion consisted of the following:

For the Army.

Colonel C. H. Hilton, Commanding
Lt. Col. E. J. Ely, Intelligence Officer.
Lieut. C. H. Stiles,
" J. W. Cunningham,
" R. D. Holran,
" E. H. Fay,
and 58 enlisted men.

For the Immigration Service.

F. W. Berkshire, Supervising Inspector, in charge.
A. B. Wiley, Inspector,
Jeff D. Milton, "

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THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 85

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54235/36

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258

The Emma Goldman Papers

810807024

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 11, New York [to Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General
[Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [F.W. Berkshire]
Supervising Immigrant Inspector [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].—
9 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives, Institutional Location, Record Group 85.

Summary: Berkshire, the Bureau of Immigration's representative on board the *Buford*, gives his official report of the trip, in detail.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870720008.

Geo. W. Webb, Inspector.
Lucien Daileader, Interpreter,
James P. Daly, Watchman,
George C. Graves, Guard
Edward Hart, Guard,
Randolph Hopkins, Guard.

During the first day out a permanent guard, to work in appropriate shifts, consisting of five enlisted men in charge of a lieutenant and one immigration employee, was stationed at the entrance to or within the quarters occupied by the aliens, for the purpose of keeping order. No unusual or untoward events occurred during the voyage, as the aliens complied without protest with the rules laid down to govern them. It is appropriate to say, however, that at all times such consideration was shown the aliens as the circumstances permitted. For health reasons, as well as for recreation, the aliens were allowed on deck three hours each day, weather permitting.

On one occasion the aliens, through their selected leader, Alexander Berkman, complained of the quality of the food served. Upon inquiry it was found that the main cause for complaint was due to the very unsatisfactory manner in which the bread was prepared, which concerned all on board; and upon further investigation it was ascertained that the ship's chief baker had been sent to the hospital because of illness and his assistants were not competent bakers. The situation was explained to Berkman and he offered to supply a baker or bakers from among the alien deportees; and after consulting with Colonel Hilton and the chief steward it was decided to accept the offer, with the distinct understanding, however, that any service rendered would have to be entirely voluntary and without compensation, as no funds were provided to pay for such service. I personally explained the conditions to Berkman, and advised him that if two bakers desired to volunteer, without pay, there would be no objection thereto. Two bakers did volunteer and assisted in the preparation of the bread until the return of the chief baker; and it may be said that they performed the service in a satisfactory manner. It is desired to add most emphatically that there was no cause for complaint as to the quality of the material supplied for making the bread, but simply that, due to the unavoidable illness of the chief baker, there was a short period when the bread served was very unsatisfactory. Under normal conditions it is believed the average individual would have considered the matter as one of the incidental annoyances to traveling.

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from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 85

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54235/36

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259

The Emma Goldman Papers

810807024

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 11, New York [to Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [E.W. Berkshire] Supervising Immigrant Inspector [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. - 9 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Berkshire, the Bureau of Immigration's representative on board the *Buford*, gives his official report of the trip, in detail.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870720008.

The matter of permitting interviews between Berkman and Goldman was promptly presented, as they requested the privilege the first day out, claiming they had many important business matters to discuss. After careful consideration, it was decided to grant their request, with the understanding, however, that such interviews should take place in the presence of an immigration employee. It was considered that such interviews would be of assistance in maintaining discipline among the other aliens, as it was soon realized that the two aliens named dominated the entire group. It will perhaps be of interest to remark that at no time did the discussions of Berkman and Goldman relate to their professed ideas of government, but were generally of a personal nature and of a more or less loving character.

We arrived at Kiel, the north entrance to the Kiel Canal, at about 5:00 P. M. on January 9th. It was found necessary to have the ship's boilers repaired, and for that purpose we remained at anchor in the harbor until 1:00 P. M. on January 13th, when we again set sail for our final destination, understood at that time to be Liban; but on the 14th Colonel Hilton informed me that he had received a wire definitely fixing our destination as Hango, Finland.

During our stay at Kiel representatives of the Associated and United Press came out to the vessel and asked permission to come aboard; and the officer of the day, Lieutenant Stiles, promptly granted same. After they boarded the vessel Colonel Hilton was called, and he took them to the Captain's cabin, where an extended interview took place. A day or so after I was informed by Colonel Hilton that the two press representatives, Messrs. Powers and Groat, would accompany us to our destination, as they had been invited to do so by the master of the "Buford", and that he, Hilton, had decided to permit them to proceed with us.

We arrived at Hango about 5:00 P. M. January 16th (27 days out), but because of a very heavy gale it was found impossible to dock the vessel; and finally, after several lines were broken in an attempt to tie up to the dock, the ship was blown aground within the slip, where we remained until about ten o'clock the following morning. During the evening of the 16th, however, Vice Consul B. B. Coulter and a Miss Erickson, both from the office of the American Commissioner at Helsingfors, came aboard, and after an exchange of credentials Colonel Hilton and I were informed that it was not then known when the aliens could and would be removed from the vessel, but that a representative of the Finnish Army, in charge of the

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Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
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260

The Emma Goldman Papers

810807024

[Letter] 1920 Feb 11, New York [to Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [F.W. Berkshire] Supervising Immigrant Inspector [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].— 9 p.; 33 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Berkshire, the Bureau of Immigration's representative on board the *Buford*, gives his official report of the trip, in detail.

Notes: For enclosure, see 8707201008.

troops along the Finland-Russian frontier, who had been conducting negotiations with the Soviet Government, was expected to arrive in Hango the following day, and it was expected he would be in possession of all necessary information pertaining to the disposition of the aliens. At this time the Vice Consul delivered to me the Bureau's instructions to proceed to the border for the purpose of securing any information obtainable regarding existing conditions in Russian territory adjacent to the line, with a view to deciding whether to grant the request of the families of some of the deportees to follow them. Vice Consul Coulter also acquainted me with the discussion at Helsingfors as to allowing those aliens who so desired to execute powers of attorney looking to the disposition of any business affairs which may have remained unsettled at the time they were removed from the United States. The aliens were promptly informed that they might execute powers of attorney before Vice Consul Coulter, and about one hundred of the number took advantage of the offer. It was necessary for Mr. Coulter to take the documents to Helsingfors in order that the seal might be placed thereon. It is understood he will forward same to the State Department for later transmittal to the Bureau. I also secured, while en route, a list of the names of those aliens who claimed to have unsettled affairs in the United States, and the list is attached hereto. It will be noted that the aliens named in the list claim that there is due them from various sources in the United States a total of \$45,470.39. When the powers of attorney are received it is suggested that our service lend its assistance toward settling up the affairs of the aliens. It is understood that for some time to come Alexander Berkman will, through a committee of which he is chairman, keep in touch with each deportee, and his address will be General Delivery, Petrograd, Russia. If in the meantime no other means of communication have become available, it is understood that arrangements can be made for communication with him through the Finnish Red Cross.

About noon on January 17th the Finnish officer above referred to, who was found to be a member of the general staff, together with a Mr. Erko, of the Foreign Office, came aboard the "Buford" for conference with Colonel Hilton and myself. The officer stated that he was prepared to take charge of the aliens and convey them to the frontier, and that a special train would be in readiness by about 2:00 P. M.; and further, that there was no occasion for an immigration employee to accompany the party to the border, as he did not anticipate that any difficulty would be ex-

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Obtained from the United States National Archives, Institutional Location Record Group 85.

Summary: Berkshire, the Bureau of Immigration's representative on board the *Buford*, gives his official report of the trip, in detail.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870720008.

Page 7.

perienced in connection with bringing them across the line, as he had been advised that if the aliens were subjects of Russia they would be accepted by the Soviet Government. The officer, however, did express a desire that some representative of the United States accompany the party to the frontier, not, as I understood, to render assistance in effecting the crossing, but simply to observe that the actual passing over the line had been accomplished. At luncheon later, on the "Buford", attended by the Army officer, Mr. Erko, Miss Erikson, and several other Finnish officials, further discussion was had concerning the matter of crossing the aliens over the line, but what was then said was only confirmatory of the previous understanding. I took occasion at this time to inquire as to the situation in Russia adjacent to the border, and was informed that practically no information on that subject could be secured at the frontier, and all present expressed the view that the staff officer was doubtless the best informed man on the subject who was available, as he was constantly in touch with border affairs by reason of his official duties. He stated, and his statements were confirmed by Mr. Erko, that there was very little fighting on the Finland-Russia frontier, but occasionally a few shots were exchanged; but these usually came from a small number of Finnish subjects who had fled to Russia, because of their belief in the Soviet form of government. When asked specifically about the families of the deportees following, he stated that he saw no objection thereto as far as Finland was concerned, and that he did not believe any difficulty would be experienced in connection with crossing them ever the border; but he advised, and in fact urged, that arrangements be made in advance for their reception through the Finnish Red Cross. He also urged that if further deportations were contemplated that all possible advance notice be given his Government, as it was at time somewhat difficult to perfect the necessary arrangements on short notice, due to the fact that the Finnish government does not deal officially with the Soviet Government, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~. Both the staff officer and Mr. Erko stated that so far as they were aware there was no objection to sending other deportees through Finland, but suggested, as a means of avoiding any possible embarrassment, that future parties might be landed at Reval, as Esthonia, in which Reval is located, recently signed an armistice with the Soviet and on that account doubtless has a more satisfactory means of communication. If the port of Reval is free from ice it might be well to give consideration to the suggestion.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

810807024

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 11, New York [to Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [F.W. Berkshire] Supervising Immigrant Inspector [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. - 9 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Berkshire, the Bureau of Immigration's representative on board the Buford, gives his official report of the trip, in detail.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870720008.

page 7.

At about 12:30 P.M. January 17th a special train was switched to the dock alongside the "Buford", and we were asked by the staff officer to unload the aliens from the steamer as quickly as possible. All concerned proceeded to act at once, and by 2:30 P.M. they were aboard the train, and at the same time five days rations for the aliens were loaded thereon. I had in the meantime decided that Inspector Wiley, Interpreter Dailender and myself would accompany the party to the border, but upon returning to the "Buford" I was informed by Colonel Hilton that as he was satisfied from his talk with the staff officer that the aliens would be passed over the line without difficulty, he had decided that the "Buford" would sail from Hango without fail on the following day, regardless of whether I was on board, explaining that it was urgently necessary that she sail at the earliest possible moment as her boilers were again leaking, and further, that the Destroyer "Ballard", which had joined us in the English Channel, was running short of fuel oil. As I was confronted with an indefinite delay and the possibility of finding myself ice-bound, I finally decided to present the situation to Vice Consul Coulter, and stated to him that unless he insisted I had concluded not to accompany the party to the border but instead would sail with the "Buford." As Mr. Coulter and Miss Erickson were under orders to go to the border in any event, he was agreeable, under the circumstances, to my departure, and promised to wire me when the aliens had actually passed over the line. Before the train departed from Hango I was advised through Miss Erickson that the Soviet Government had given further assurances that the aliens would be accepted. As my instructions permitted the delegation of this authority to any officer of the consular service, I had no hesitation in taking this step, particularly as the conditions warranted such action.

As a storm was raging, the captain of the "Buford" did not deem it safe to sail the following day, therefore we did not embark on our return journey until about 9:00 A.M. January 19th. During the day Colonel Hilton, at my request, wired the American Commissioner at Helsinki for information as to the time the aliens crossed the border, and the following reply was received:

"Hango, Finland, January 19, 1920.

Hilton, U.S.A.T. Buford.

Everything probably all right. Soviet answered satisfactory. Information received Soviet sending three of group to Durpat peace conference. Haynes."

No definite advices were received relative to the actual crossing at the time we arrived at Antwerp, due, it is thought, to the very poor

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Notes: For enclosure, see 870720008.

page 8

telegraph service in Europe at this time, and from there I again wired Commissioner Haynes, and the following was received from him:

"Antwerp, 1/28/20.

USAT Pocahontas, at sea Le Havre.
For Berkshire. Haynes at Helsingfors telegraphed me twenty sixth that aliens crossed nineteenth four afternoon.
Messersmith, Consul."

It should have been stated in its regular order that before leaving Vice Consul Coulter I delivered to him a list, in duplicate, containing the names of all the aliens, together with copy of the warrant of deportation covering each alien. One copy of the list of names was for delivery to the Finnish authorities.

In view of the instructions received from the Bureau through the State Department, directing me to telegraph any messages the aliens might wish to send their families concerning their future movements, I construed the same as sufficient justification for permitting the aliens to address letters to their friends or families to be mailed after my return to the United States, and the letters are still in my possession and I will mail them unless the Bureau deems it inadvisable. All the letters have been read by Interpreter Tailader, who states that with the exceptions noted they contain no objectionable matter. A list, in duplicate, of the addressees and addressors is enclosed herewith, as it is thought the same may be of future service in locating other radicals.

With reference to that part of Bureau letter directing me to make discreet inquiries as to the advisability of effecting further deportations to Russia, as well as for the general class of deportees, it is desired to say that the opportunities for conducting such inquiries were very limited, but the subject was quite fully discussed with the Finnish officials herein referred to, and their attitude seemed to be that of total indifference. I also discussed the general subject with the two press representatives who accompanied us to Hango, as they have been more or less in touch with European affairs for some time and have traveled through England and France and are now located in Berlin, Germany; and they stated they had never heard the matter referred to one way or the other. While my views are at this time perhaps of no great value, I am of the impression that in all cases where aliens are properly deportable to a country in Europe of which they are subject, there will be no objection to receiving them.

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File Number 54235/36

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Summary: Berkshire, the Bureau of Immigration's representative on board the *Buford*, gives his official report of the trip, in detail.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870720008.

page 9.

I trust that my failure to observe literally the Bureau's instructions to accompany the aliens from Hango to the border has not or will not cause it embarrassment, as I feel that in the circumstances I followed the advisable course.

At Antwerp, where we arrived at 8:00 P. M. January 24th, Colonel Hilton arranged for our transfer to the USAT "Pocahontas", and we sailed from that port at 2:00 P. M. January 27th and arrived in New York today, February 11th, the entire voyage having required fifty-two days.

The immigration employees conducted themselves in a very creditable manner and were at all times attentive and careful in the discharge of the duties required of them, but I would recommend that in future only seasoned immigration employees be selected for such an important assignment. It is believed that in any future deportations of like character it would be advisable to utilize a military guard, but it is not considered that the services of more than four immigration employees are necessary. These, however, should be seasoned inspectors.

The relations between the army officers and the immigration employees were most cordial, and it was a pleasure to be associated with two such agreeable and efficient officers as were Colonels Hilton and Ely; and it is due in no small measure to the rare good judgment of the former that the purposes of the journey were so successfully accomplished.

FWB/FJM

Supervising Immigrant Inspector.

WJP*REM

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 12 [Washington, D.C. to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 33 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Hoover returns Goldman and Berkman's immigration files to Caminetti.

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Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

JEH-WJ

February 12, 1920.

Hon. Anthony Caminetti,
Commissioner-General of Immigration,
Washington, D. C.

My dear General :

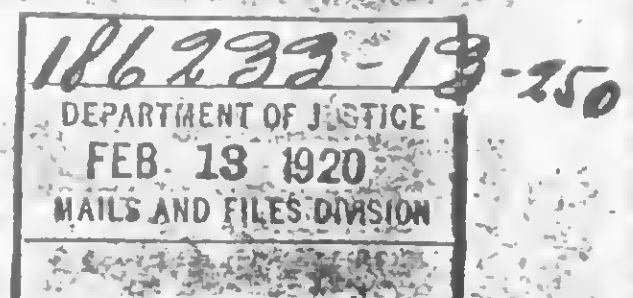
I am forwarding to you herewith
the records and papers in the Emma Goldman
and Alexander Berkman cases, which I have
finally received from the District Court
for the Southern District of New York.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. E. Hoover.

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

Encl. 25302



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266

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 12 [Washington, D.C. to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / [J. Edgar Hoover] Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 33 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Hoover sends Caminetti the rest of Goldman and Berkman's immigration files.

Notes: Follow-up to 810113042.

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from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

JRH-73

186233-13-251 February 12, 1920.

ad
Hon. Anthony Caminetti,
Commissioner-General of Immigration,
Washington, D. C.

My dear General :

Under even date I transmitted to you the court records and certain papers in the Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman cases.

I am transmitting herewith some additional papers which were received in this office in connection with the Emma Goldman case and which were not included in the collection of material which I forwarded to you today.

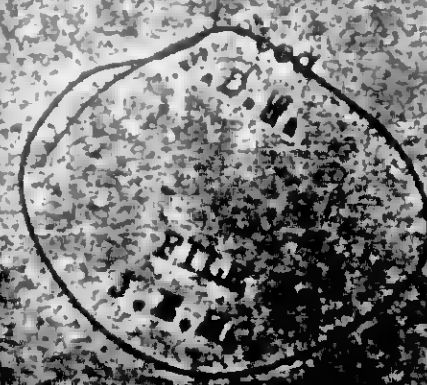
Very truly yours,

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

Encl. 29152.

msk

WR



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267

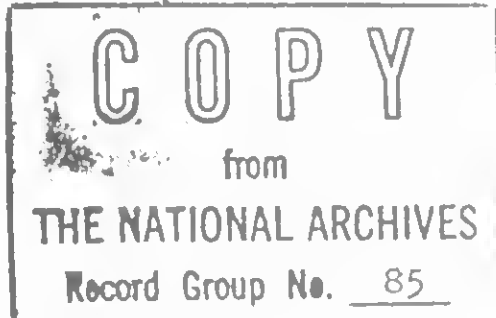
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 12, Washington [D.C. to Robert A. Lansing] Secretary of State
[Department of State, Washington, D.C.] / [William B. Wilson] Secretary [of Labor]
Department of Labor. — 1 p. ; 33 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Wilson sends Lansing a list of the Buford deportees, but cannot provide a description of each.

Notes: Handwritten margin notes by Anthony Caminetti and W.J. Peters, Bureau of Immigration. For enclosure, see 811023038. Reply to 811023036 and 811023033.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office — Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

54809/Gen

WASHINGTON

February 12, 1920.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State.

S i r:

Referring to your letter of the 9th instant, in which you call attention to one which you previously addressed to the Department asking that you be furnished with a complete list of the "radicals" who were recently deported from the United States, I have the honor to inclose, herewith, a list of the names of 249 Russian aliens who were deported from the port of New York on the U. S. Transport "Buford," on December 21, 1919.

The list in question, you will note, is furnished in duplicate, and I beg to call your attention, in this connection, to letter from your Department dated the 6th instant (R 311. 6124/34), transmitting a copy of a note from the Japanese Ambassador in which he requested that he be furnished with a list of these names. There will, of course, be no objection to your furnishing the Ambassador with the names in question.

With reference to your request that you be also furnished with a descriptive personal record of each alien so deported, I beg to state that the Department does not have a descriptive record of the aliens in question, but it is possible that the Department of Justice has. I would suggest, therefore, that you communicate with that Department.

Very truly yours,

Secretary.

*When people
not all
radicals -
have it a narrow
to disprove those not
of the class
Feb 13/20*

*Another letter
sent, with corrected
list. 2/13.
File
MPP*

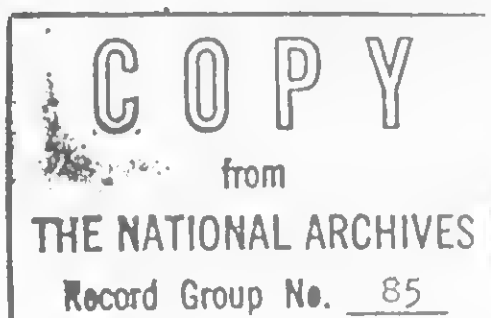
The Emma Goldman Papers

[List of Deportees on Board the Buford, 1920 Feb. 12?] / [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].— 6 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: The Bureau of Immigration prepares a list of people deported on the Buford.

Notes: Enclosed with 811023039. For another list of deportees in different format, see 800321001.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809

(1)

NAME OF ALIEN

ABROSSEMOFF, Michel, or Misoael
ANDRIEUK, Roman (Or Andriuk)
BROOK, Abe, or Brock, or Bruke
Chinejuko, Maxim
DERKACH, Alexander, alias, Derkchah,
Alexander
FEDERACO, TONY
HOSTILLA, Andres, alias, Hastialla,
Andre
KAMINSKY, Steve
KOLESHNIKOFF, John, or Efim, alias
LOLESNIKOFF, Jochim
KORSCHNIKOFF, Tony, or Korschikoff
KOZA, Joe
LAWRINUK, Michael
LAZAREWICH, Andrew, alias Lazarowitz
LIPSKI, Anton
MERTCIN, Vincent
MEWAR, John
OCHRYMUK, Nick, or Nikolai Ochrimuk
ERIKUS, Hyman
PODLIPSKY, Mathew
RICE, Daniel, or Reisch
SCHATZ, Bewis
SKEGAM, Mike, alias Semon
TURKA, Tom
VEREMIUK, Ivan, or Vermanuk, John
LIPKIN, Dora
BERNSTEIN, Ethel

NAME OF ALIEN

AFANASIEBITCH, Benjamin, alias Pfashetohmik
ANTONCHICK, Fredor, or Fred
BUHKANOV, Thomas P.
CEKYK, George, alias Gigalko, Paul
DUBOFF, John, or Duboff, E., or Duboff, Ivan.
FURS, Thomas
HAJDUK, Alfons, alias Hieduk, Alfonse
KANONOWICH, Samuel
KERETCHUK, Boris
KONON, Alexander, alias Kornen, Alex
KUDHEYKO, Mikal, or Kravohuk, Michail
LAUWA, William, alias Schmidt, August
LESIGA, Arthur
MELNIKOFF, Gregory, alias KUSHNEROFF
HAZARUK, Andrew
NOVIKOFF, Ivan
PANCKO, Dimitrie, or Panko, D.
POLULECK, Joseph, alias Balluch, alias
Bolluch
PROSKOWICH, Theodore, alias Proshkovich,
Theodor
RISTICK, Louis (or Luis)
Schatz, Harry, alias Schatz, Alexander,
alias Schatz, Alex
SKOCHUK, Harry or Skochuk, Grigori
URGEL, Peter, or Urgell, Peter
WASILIEFF, Nicholas
WODNER, Harry, or Wardner, Harry
Orloff, S

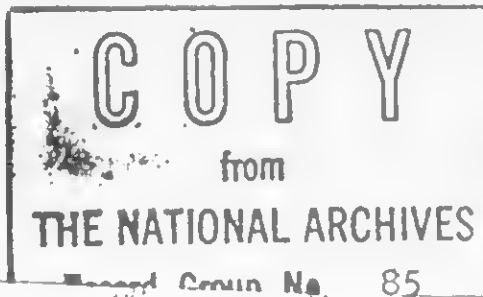
The Emma Goldman Papers

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Notes: Enclosed with 811023039. For another list of deportees in different format, see 800321001.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809

(2)

| | |
|--|---|
| JAROSSEVICH, Andrei alias Jaroscifcs,
Andrew, alias Yarosevick, Andrew | GEWOCK, Yakow, alias Tsiwuh, Yakow, alias
GEWOCK |
| JACKOTONSKY, Jacob, or Jacknowsky | KOTALAWICH, Frank (Feodor) |
| JOHAR, Jim | KONIK, John |
| KUISH, Simon, or Sam | PAUPKA, Paul, or Krupko, Paul |
| KONIAKIN, Vasil, or Konlahin, Vasil
Mitin, alias Mitin, Vasil | LOVONETSKY, Anthony |
| MALIEWSKY, Wassily | MAGYAR, Peter, or Piotr (or Mager) |
| MOMOTUK, Trofin, alias Mormochuk, alias
Mummat, Theodore | SHEECK, Andy, alias Sirik, alias Sabick |
| SHEIKA, Gordei | SMAL, Andy |
| SANKO, Ivan (or Evan) or Sinko | STOLATCHUK, Gordic |
| STARKEVICH, Eugni, (or Evgeni)
(or Starkevitz) | SWENKO, Ewstife |
| TELATITSKI, Nik | VOLESHYNYUK, Maysey |
| TRZPIOT, Anten | VINIK, Alex |
| YAROSEVICH, Mihai, alias Yarosevich
Michael. | ANDROUSUK, Anten |
| CHIJEFISKY, Leo | SHOHIDED, Lukes, alias SEDLKO, Louis |
| SHWEIKUS, Mike, alias SCHWEJKUS | SOLONEKI, Fred, alias Fedor Fedorovich
Solonika |
| SUHOV, David or Suchov | SULAWKA, Estafy, alias E. Dstafy |
| TARASIUK, Vasily, Ivanovich, alias
Tarasiuk, Wassily | VASEYKO, Zachery, alias Vasciki, Zach |
| VSIKO, Mike, alias WASEIKO, Michael | WASSILENKO, Joe, alias Wasilenko Joseph |
| WOLKOFF, George | WOROBREY, Maxim |
| WOROBIEH, Ignac | YASINSKY, Dimitry |
| ZDANOWICH, Mike, alias Sdanowich Mike | ZUBKO, Walter, or Nestor |
| DEITKTIROW, Michael alias Dietktirow,
John, alias Diaktarow, John, alias
Dechterof, Mike | ELKO, Evan |
| GAROSHEDW, George alias Balui, Ivan | GEREY, Andrew |

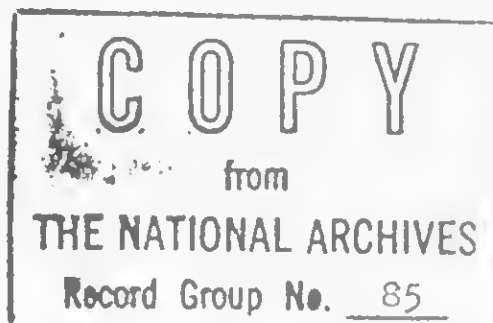
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Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809

(3)

| | |
|--|--|
| KOZLOV, Vasil, or Kozlow | KRASSNOFF, Tshon, alias Rasnorf, T. |
| KRISHTOP, Theodore | LIBED, Arhip, or Lebed |
| LOPITSKY, Andrew | LOSIOFF, Prokopy |
| MAUNDELOE, James | NIKOLAEFF, Frank, or Nikalaeff |
| NOVIK, Yakim, alias NOYK, Yakim | NOVOKOFF, Pete, or Peter |
| ORLOFF, Mike (or Michael) | PAULUK, Artemy, alias Pavlyk Artemy |
| PRANKA, Andy | SAHTABNOG, Orteof, alias Sahtabnog, Ortiof |
| SKOROKOD, Konstantin (or Konstantin) | TABENKO, Parfem, alias Porify Silenko |
| TSUBRICK, Ortiub | VOLOH, George, or Volooh |
| YANISH, Mike | YANKUM, William, or Yankum |
| ZBOROMIISKY, Jacob, alias Vboronirsky,
alias Vbromirsky | ZAYATS, Thomas |
| HENDICK, William | BORSUK, Boroes (or Borores) |
| BIACHARSKI, Frank (Fedor) | DOLGAY, Peter, alias Domhay, Peter |
| DEDIUSHKA, Andrew, alias Gignsky, Andy | GAZNYGG, Fred, or Ga seyek, Fred |
| HERASEVICH, Peter | Lukow, William (or Wasil, or Lukoe, or
Lukashuk, Wasyl) |
| KIRSON, Barnet, alias KIRSON, Beril, alias
KIRZON, Boris, alias KIRSON Barnett,
alias KIRSON Boris | KOROVIANSKY, Gregory |
| ONISHSENKO, Porfiery, alias OSISHCHENKO
Porfiery | STRPANOFF Ossip (or Ossip, or Joe or Joseph |
| HOLOWKIN, Paul | KOSTEVICH, alias KOSTEVICH, Lenchon
(or Logvin) |
| MORGOLENKOW, Ivan or John, alias
LOVAK, John | SAVCHUK, Sergei |
| SZERBA, Mike, or Szerba | TADZIZIEG, Yefin or Podziziej |
| ZATYH, Michael | DENISUK, Yakim alias Jackem Demichuk |
| ESKIMASHKO, Nikita, alias Domasko Nikita | KOZY John |
| LESTCHUK, Michael, alias Litstchuk, Mike | MOSICHUK, Roman, alias Mosicahuk, alias
Mosiohok |
| URKEVITCH, Peter, alias Turkewicz, alias
Jorkevitz, John | WASCHUK, Wasily (or Washmuh) |

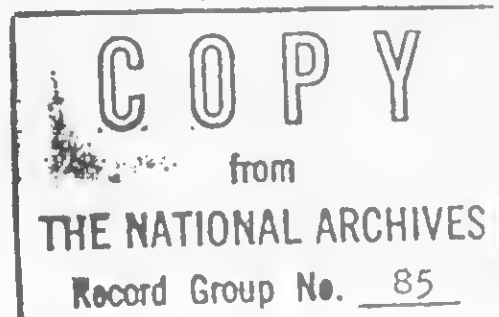
The Emma Goldman Papers

[List of Deportees on Board the Buford, 1920 Feb. 12?] / [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].— 6 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: The Bureau of Immigration prepares a list of people deported on the Buford.

Notes: Enclosed with 811023039. For another list of deportees in different format, see 800321001.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809

| | |
|---|---|
| YAROVY, Fred, alias Yarovi | ANISIENIA, Anthony, alias Anisine, Anton |
| ARCHUK, Waldzimar | BALICK, Wasily, alias Bilicki |
| BALASH, Andrei, alias Baluoz | BARKOWSKI, Samuel, or Samion |
| BOGEN, Zenow (Zinob) alias Bogen F. | BORISIUK, Valdimir, alias Borisuk, Walter |
| BUTZKEVICH, Michael, Demianobloh, alias
Bekarich, Mike | DANILOVICH, Ivan, alias Danilovich |
| DRAGO, Konstantin Demianovich, alias
DRACA, Costatin | DENCHZYK, John, or Densuk, Ivan |
| FEDYK, Kirio | FENGOL, Kiril, or Pinhol, Kirin |
| FESKOW, Egor Matveevich, alias Friesko
Harry, alias Fiesko | GUSHOHIA, John (or Grischany) |
| KACHANOV, Luka, alias Kachanow, Luka | KOCHOVETZ, Efim, alias Barisoff, M. |
| Kotiak, Anton | KOVALSKY, Ilya, Alias Kusletz, alias Louis
Kotalaky, alias Louis Kusnetz |
| KOWALEWICZ, Jacob, alias KOWALEVICH
John | KULISH, Mark, or Kulish, M. |
| KURSON, Tony, alias KIRSION | LEGEZE, Mike, alias Iegen, Mike |
| LEONOF, Terentias, alias Leonoff, Thomas | MARTINOWSKI, John |
| MICHNEWITZ, Gavriilo, alias Michniewich,
Hawril | MIRINOVICH, Peter, alias Mironovich,
Peter Ivanovich |
| MLAVERANSKY, Nicholas (or Nickolas) | NABAGEZ, Ivan, alias Nabagiz, John alias
Nabajiz, John |
| NAZAROV, Anani, alias Nazarchuk Anani | NESGORUCK, Paul, alias Nestrum Prole |
| PETRASHKA, Kostantin, alias Petroshek
Kostatiw | PHILISOPH, John, alias Philosoph, Ivan |
| PROKOPOWICH, Steve, alias Praksopoduch,
Steve | ROMANCHUK, Konstantin, alias ROMANCHUK
Kostanti |
| SHELEG, Nester Michaelobloh, alias
Sheleg, Nasto | SEREVETNIK, Alexander. |
| STEPANUK, Naum | Ketrus, Arthur |
| MASKALUNAS, Kasis, alias Maskaljunas,
Kasimir, alias Maskilunas, Kasiz | NOWICK, P. or NOVICK, Peter or Piotr |
| ZHARKO, ZARKO, Nikitor | BRUNET, John, alias Brunett, John alias
Brunert, Ivan Nicolavitch |
| JACINOFF, Paul, alias JAKINOV, Yakinov | POTENKIN, Efreem |
| BELUSOFF, Basil, alias Bibusoff, Basil | BEROV, Jacob, alias Byra, Jacob, alias
Demannov, alias Karnechk |

Notes: Enclosed with 811023039. For another list of deportees in different format, see 800321001.

(5)

KUSHNAREV, Feodor, alias Dalney Alexander

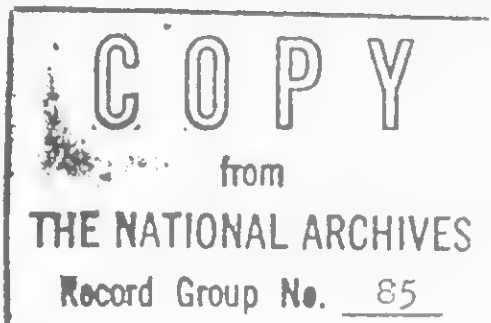
The Emma Goldman Papers

[List of Deportees on Board the Buford, 1920 Feb. 12?] / [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].— 6 p. ; 33 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: The Bureau of Immigration prepares a list of people deported on the *Buford*.

Notes: Enclosed with 811023039. For another list of deportees in different format, see 800321001.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809

(6)

KOVALENKO, or Kovaleko, Efgram

GERNET, Michail, or Michael

EELAK, David, alias Elak, David

FEDOSKO, Iwan (John) or Fedosky, Iwan

LEVCHUK, or Levchuk, Daniel, or
Levchuk, D

CHIJEVSKY, Stanislaus

MOLKOWSKY, Ketia Fedrovich alias
Marten, L.C. or MartinnLeo

KURINSKI, Osipoff, alias Kuczynski, Jozef
alias Kerenaky Osipoff

STEPANOFF, Anton, alias Porfenchik
Alex

The Emma Goldman Papers

811027009

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 14 [Washington, D.C. to] Frank B. Brandegee [Senator], Washington, D.C. / A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General [Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Palmer assures Senator Brandegee that he plans to speak on the issue of deportations soon.

Notes: Dark copy. Reply to 811027008 and 870724009.

COPY

from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 60

General Records of the Department of Justice
D. J. Central Files - Straight Numerical Files
File Number 202600-65

202 600-65-5.

FEB 16 1920

JTC-JEW

February 14, 1920.

Honorable Frank B. Brandegee,
United States Senate,
Washington, D.C.

My dear Senator:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of February 4, 1920, which by reason of my absence has just come to my personal attention.

In some addresses I am proposing shortly to make, I will cover the matters suggested by Mr. Jackson in his letter to you of January 31st, which letter you so kindly sent me for my information.

Respectfully,

(Signed) A. Mitchell Palmer
Attorney General.



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275

The Emma Goldman Papers

810618015

[Memorandum] 1920 Feb. 16, Washington, D.C. [to J. Edgar] Hoover [Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / G.F.R. [Office of the Attorney General] Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 25 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: G.F.R. informs Hoover that Anthony Caminetti wants one hundred photographs of Goldman, Berkman, and Peter Bianki. Caminetti will give the Justice Department copies of confiscated letters written by the Buford deportees.

Notes: Broken type. For related documents, see 870727001 through 870727003, 810113045, and 810113046.

ADDRESSED REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

GFR-MRP

February 16 1920.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HOOVER.

Mr. Caminetti called Saturday afternoon and requested a conference, he also asked me to secure a translator who could be present.

Mr. Caminetti, Mr. Berkshire, Mr. Perkins, (a translator) and myself were present at the conference. Mr. Berkshire brought with him several letters which were written by deportees on board the Buford. These letters were translated and four of them were found objectionable. Mr. Caminetti was of the opinion that we might desire to have our translator review these letters before returning same to them.

Mr. Caminetti desires to see you today, relative to giving out permission to Russians in this country to return to Russia. He also requested that our Department furnish him with at least one hundred(100) photographs of Goldman, Berkman and Bianki, in order that they might be distributed among the various Immigration Stations throughout the country.

Respectfully,

G.F.R.

Noted
F.L.W.

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276

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 17 [Washington, D.C. to] John W. Rainey [Representative], Washington, D.C. / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Hoover sends Congressman Rainey the immigration briefs on Goldman and Berkman.

Notes: Dark copy. Follow-up to 810113055 and 810618007.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

SPR-111

186233-13

February 17, 1920

Hon. John W. Rainey,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Congressman:

Enclosed herewith you will find,
briefs prepared by the Department of Justice
relative to the activities of Alexander
Berkman and Emma Goldman, which you have
requested.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. E. Hoover

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

Enc. 56828



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277

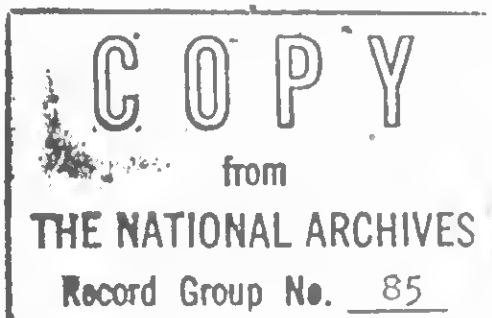
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 17, New York [to Byrne H. Uhl, Acting] Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Ellis Island, N.Y. / A.T. Henderson [General Representative] Compagnie Generale Transatlantique. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: A French steamship company official sends Uhl a letter advising him that France will only admit French political deportees.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870727005. For reply, see 811023066.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

COMPAGNIE GENERALE TRANSATLANTIQUE

FRENCH LINE MAIL STEAMERS

New York, Feb. 17, 1920

PASSENGER TRAFFIC DEPARTMENT

In your reply
refer to No. B-2015

Commissioner of Immigration
Ellis Island, N.Y.

Sir:

I beg to enclose you herewith translation of a letter which I have received from our Paris office under date of January 19th, 1920, relative to deported anarchists.

This for your information and I shall be pleased to communicate to our Home Office any comments you may have to make.

Respectfully,

(Signed) A. T. HENDERSON

ATH-DE

encl.

The Emma Goldman Papers

811027013

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 18, Washington [D.C. to] J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / M[arlborough] Churchill, Director, Military Intelligence [Division] War Department. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.
Summary: Churchill sends Hoover a list of Buford deportees whose photographs are missing.
Notes: For enclosure, see 870727004.

COPY

from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 60

General Records of the Department of Justice
D. J. Central Files - Straight Numerical Files
File Number 201092

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

In replying refer to

10110-1594

M.I.4-F.

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON

February 18, 1920.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Special Assistant to the Attorney General,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Noted
Feb. 18, 1920

My dear Mr. Hoover:

Pursuant to our telephone conversation of this date I am enclosing a list of persons deported on the "Buford" whose photographs were neither among those transmitted by you recently nor taken on board ship. We should be glad to have photograph of these individuals, if such are obtainable.

Very truly yours,

M. Churchill,
Brigadier General, General Staff,
Director of Military Intelligence,
Assistant Chief of Staff.

By:

E. J. Ely,
Lieut. Colonel, General Staff.

1 encl.
mws

AUG 9 1921

201092-2127
FILE
W.M.B.

279

The Emma Goldman Papers

List of Deportees Whose Photographs are Missing [1920 Feb. 18?] / [Military Intelligence Division, War Department]. — 3 p. ; 34 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Military Intelligence prepares a list of deported radicals whose photographs it does not have.

Notes: Enclosed with 811027013.

LIST OF DEPORTEES WHOSE PHOTOGRAPHS ARE MISSING.

| <u>Pittsburg cases.</u> | <u>Immigration No.</u> |
|---|------------------------|
| / Libed, Arhip, or Lebed | 54709/603 |
| Lopitsky, Andrew | " 591 |
| LoVonetsky, Anthony | " 474 |
| <u>Ohio cases.</u> | |
| Lukow, William or Wasil, or Lukoe, or Lukashuk, | |
| Wasył | " 539 |
| Mailewsky, Wassily | " 536 |
| <u>Buffalo cases.</u> | |
| Levouk, Daniel or Levchuk, or Levohuk, D. | " 21 |
| <u>New York cases.</u> | |
| ✓ Abrossemoff, Michel (or Micael) | " 453 |
| Afanasievitch, Benjamin, alias Pfashetchnik | " 277 |
| ✓ Andrieuk, or Andriuk, Roman | " 272 |
| . Antonchiok, Fredor or Fred | " 94 |
| ✓ Becker, Morris | 54235/32 |
| ✓ Berger, Frederick Harold, or Berger, F.H. | 54407/17 |
| ✓ Berkman, Alexander | 52410/43-A |
| ✓ Bainky, Peter, alias Bainke, Pieter | 54616/115-A |
| Baizer, Jankel (or Jacob) alias Besser, Jangel | 53986/77 |
| Brook, Abe, or Brook or Bruke | 54709/273 |
| ✓ Buhkanov, Thomas P. | " /647 |
| Canzor, Sebastian (or Kantzer) | 54547/2 |
| Chernoff, Maxim | 54709/117 |
| Czyzyk, George, alias Gigalko, Paul | 54379/125 |
| ✓ Derkach, Alexander, alias Derkheh, Alexander | 54709/674 |
| ✓ Duboff, John, or Duboff, E., or Duboff, Ivan | " /97 |
| Ermola, John, alias Yarmola, John | " /350 |
| ✓ Federaco, Tony | " /339 |
| Fedosky, Ivan (John), or Fedosky, Ivan | 54616/170 |
| Felak, David, alias Elak, David | " /221 |

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280

The Emma Goldman Papers

List of Deportees Whose Photographs are Missing [1920 Feb. 18?] / [Military Intelligence Division, War Department].— 3 p. ; 34 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Military Intelligence prepares a list of deported radicals whose photographs it does not have.

Notes: Enclosed with 811027013.

| 2. <u>New York Cases, continued.</u> | <u>Immigration No.</u> |
|--|------------------------|
| ✓ Furs, Thomas | 54709/365 |
| ✓ Hadjuk, Alfons, alias Hieduk, Alfonse | " /357 |
| ✓ Haskewich, Leo | 54235/158 |
| ✓ Hostilla, Andrew, alias Hastialla, Andre | 54709/353 |
| ✓ Kaminsky, Stava | " /158 |
| ✓ Kanowich, Samuel | " /649 |
| ✓ Ketzus, Arthur | 54616/115 |
| ✓ Kolesnikoff, Efim, alias Kolesnikoff, John
alias Kolesnikoff, Joachim | 54709/454 |
| Konon, Alexander, alias Kornen, Alex | " /352 |
| Korsoheikoff, Tony, or Korschikoff | " /455 |
| ✓ Koza, Joe | " /342 |
| Kudreyko, Mikal, or Kravchuk, Michail | 54554/ 23 |
| ✓ Heretchuk, Boris | 54709/358 |
| ✓ Kovalenko, Efgram or Kovaleko | 54616/176 |
| Kozlik, Ivan, or Kozlk, Iwan, alias Cozlich,
John | 54709/363 |
| Kurinski, Osipoff, alias Kuczynski, alias
Kerensky, Osipoff | 54545/ 43 |
| ✓ Kuropato, Nikolai, alias Koropotko, Niooli | 54709/345 |
| ✓ Kushnarev, Feodor, alias Dalney, Alexander | " /522 |
| ✓ Lawrinuk, Michael | " / 489 |
| Lawna, William, or Launa, alias Schmidt, August | " / 103 |
| ✓ Lazerewich, Andrew, alias Lazarowitz | " /347 |
| Lemberg, Samuel (or Sam), or Lenburg | 53678/601 |
| ✓ Lesiga, Arthur | 54709/118 |
| ✓ Lipsky, Anton | " /456 |
| Liskov, (or Liskow) Dionisy | 54649/146 |
| Molkowsky, Ketja Fedrovich, alias Marten, L.C.,
or Martin, Leo | 54709/ 68 |
| ✓ Martzin, Vincent | " /276 |
| ✓ Mihaeloff, Nicholas | 54616/106 |
| Nazaruck, Andrew | 54709/627 |
| ✓ Newar, John | " /338 |
| Novikoff, Ivan | " /111 |

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The Emma Goldman Papers

List of Deportees Whose Photographs are Missing [1920 Feb. 18?] / [Military Intelligence Division, War Department].— 3 p. ; 34 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Military Intelligence prepares a list of deported radicals whose photographs it does not have.

Notes: Enclosed with 811027013.

3. N. Y. cases, cont.

| | |
|---|-------------|
| ✓ Nowiok, P., or Nowiok, Peter or Piotr | 54709/119 |
| ✓ Ochrimuk, Nikolai, or Ochrimuk, Nick | " /337 |
| ✓ Obadovsky, Marcus, or Orazosky, or Orazosky ^{Wardowski} | 54616/115-A |
| ✓ Panko, Dimitri, or Panko, D. | 54709/112 |
| ✓ Perkus, Hyman | " /116 |
| ✓ Poluleck, Joseph, alias Balluck, alias Bolluch | " /449 |
| ✓ Proskovich, Theodor, alias Proskowich, Theodore | " /364 |
| Pawlas, Pete, or Pawalas, Peter Apul | 54616/ 16 |
| Prosk, Thomas, alias Drosk | " /156 |
| ✓ Podlipsky, Mathew | 54709/356 |
| ✓ Rice, Daniel or Reisch | " /340 |
| ✓ Ristiok, Louis (or Luke) | " /457 |
| ✓ Sawicki, Michail, alias Sevitsky, Mick | " /348 |
| Seelof, Grant | 54379/280 |
| ✓ Schatz, Boris | 54709/278 |
| ✓ Schatz, Harry, alias Schatz, Alexander, alias
Schatz, Alex | " /128 |
| ✓ Stekanuk, Naum | 54235/157 |
| Shkilnuk, Alexander, alias Szkilniuk, Alexander | 54616/239 |
| ✓ Seegan, Mike alias Samon | 54709/113 |
| Schnabel, Delass, Adolph, or Sanabel, Adolph | 54616/ 29 |
| ✓ Skoshuk, Harry, or Skochuk, Grigori | 54709/447 |
| ✓ Tarasyk, John, Alias Tarasjuk, Iwan, alias Rasky,
John T., alias Dimstrius or Trasky, John | 54235/151 |
| ✓ Tom, Turka | 54709/341 |
| Peter Urgal | " /357 |
| Veremiuk, Ivan | " /117 |
| ✓ Wasilieff, Nicholas | " / 99 |
| Volosuk, Nicola'j | " /696 |
| Wodner, Harry | " /461 |
| ✓ Zafronia, Necita | " /284 |
| ✓ Goldman, Emma | 52410/43-E |
| ✓ Bernstein, Ethel | 54616/115-A |
| ✓ Lapkin, Dora ^{Lapkin} | 54709/265 |

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282

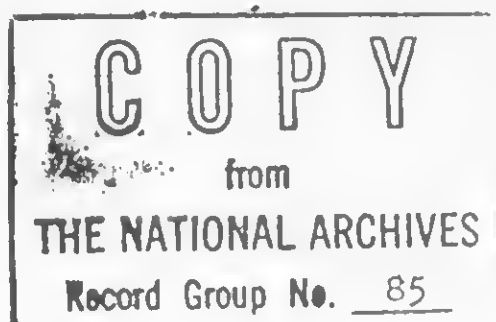
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 18, Ellis Island, N.Y. [to Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Byrne H. Uhl, Acting Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor.— 1 p.; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Uhl sends Caminetti correspondence regarding France's refusal to admit Bolshevik deportees.

Notes: For enclosures, see 811023065, 811023066, and 870727005.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

ADDRESS ANSWER TO
"COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION"
AND REFER TO NUMBER

98524/353

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
IMMIGRATION SERVICE

OFFICE OF
COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION
ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK HARBOR, N. Y.

February 18, 1920.

Commissioner-General of Immigration,
Washington, D.C.

I inclose herewith copy of a communication received by me today from the Compagnie Generale Transatlantique, and the inclosure therein referred to, from which you will note that the French Minister of the Interior has ruled that no aliens of the anarchistic class who may be deported by the United States will be permitted to enter France unless they are "of French nationality". I also inclose copy of my acknowledgement of the French Line's letter.

At the present time I do not know of any cases of the class referred to where deportation will be required under our law at the expense of the French Line, but it may be well for the Bureau to take such action as is deemed proper, possibly through the State Department, to eliminate any possible controversies likely to arise.

Byrne H. Uhl
Acting Commissioner.

U/LSB

Inclosures 3494.

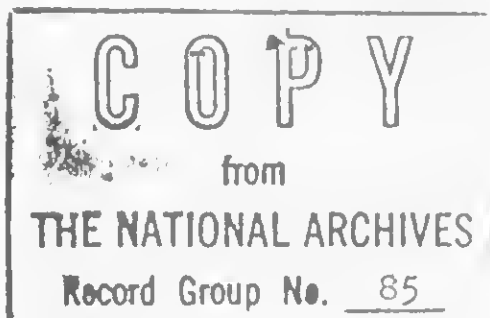
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 18, Ellis Island, N.Y. [to] Compagnie Generale Transatlantique, New York / [Byrne H. Uhl] Acting Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor. — 1 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Uhl informs the Compagnie Generale Transatlantique that the United States will only deport French nationals to France.

Notes: Enclosed with 811023064. Reply to 811023065 and 870727005.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

98524/353

IMMIGRATION SERVICE

OFFICE OF
COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION
ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK HARBOR, N. Y.

February 18, 1920.

Compagnie Generale Transatlantique,
19 State St.,
New York.

Gentlemen:

I acknowledge receipt of Mr. Henderson's letter of the 17th instant, B-2015, inclosing translation of a letter you have received from your Paris office relative to deported anarchists. I note that the French Minister of the Interior has stated that aliens of this class will not be permitted to land in France unless they are "of French nationality". I do not believe that any effort will be made by this Government to send to France any except French anarchists unless the facts are such as to call for deportation at the expense of your line, in accordance with the terms of the United States Immigration law. Should there be any such I have no doubt that the question of whether they will be deported or accepted by our respective governments will be settled through the usual diplomatic channels.

Respectfully,

U/LSB

Acting Commissioner.

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284

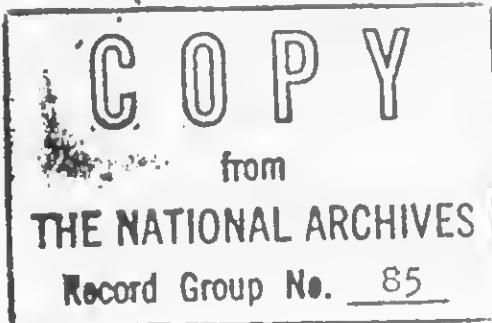
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 19, Washington [D.C. to William B. Wilson] Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Alvey A. Adey, Second Assistant Secretary, Department of State. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Adey asks the secretary of labor to answer Harry Weinberger's letter offering a ship to transport people to Russia.

Notes: For enclosure, see 811023002. For reply, see 811023003 and 811023004.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
R 311.6124/34

February 19, 1920.

The Honorable

The Secretary of Labor.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith copy of a letter dated February 3, 1920, from Harry Weinberger, in which he expresses a desire to supply a ship to take persons back to Russia who may so desire. This matter is referred to you for your information and for whatever action you may see fit to take in the premises.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

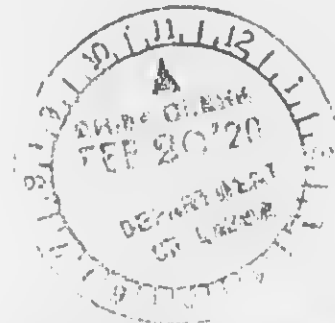
For the Acting Secretary of State:

Alvey A. Adey

Enclosure:

Second Assistant Secretary.

As above.



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on Radical Activities in New York City] 1920 Feb. 20 / [V. ? A. ?] Hajek
[Informant, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 22 x 15 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Informant Hajek submits bits of information on M.E. Fitzgerald, Mina Lowenson, Hypolite Havel, Ludwig Martens, and other activists. He reports that Goldman wired Stella Comyn (Ballantine) to expect three visitors from Russia shortly.

Notes: Dark copy; portions illegible. Enclosed with 880928053.

Report Form No. 2

February 20, 1920

383236
Fred Marloak has a department store in Mansville, Ohio. He used to be an anarchist himself and a member of the Omladine in Austria. Knows Havel intimately and Havel was one of the Omladine gang and served eighteen months. Mr. Marloak is a good citizen now, and will be glad to give any information he has on Havel as he knows him intimately. Another man, Charles Freisel, who has a barber shop at 22d St. & 1st Avenue, knows Havel very well from the Ferrer School, and also from Bohemia. Mr. Charles Warky, who can be located through Mr. Kraska, with whom an appointment can be made through Mr. Rykka, can be located at Rhineland 3886. Mr. Warky was in Paris at the time of the trial of the automobile bandits, of which band Havel was the head and subsequently escaped. Together with Havel there was a woman who is now his sweetheart, and with whom Havel is now going with. She boasted in front of me and Jewel that she is a terrorist. She is the former owner of the Greenwich Village Inn. Her name is Paula Holliday. Havel has all his things and effects at her place, and does most of his writing at her place. Mena Levenaga: census, Ben, arrived from Spain about three weeks ago. He brought some messages from the crowd in Spain to the crowd here, and is acting as a "go-between" between the European crowd and the crowd here. He expects to go to Italy this time. He is employed by the U. S. Shipping Board as a member of the crew on freight ships. Mena told me herself that he is making \$400 or \$500 on the side every month.

I will be with Mena, Ben, and Mena's sister, Frieda, who is about 20 years, next Saturday night at the concert in the Hippodrome.

Marie had a pamphlet printed on deportation, which Berkman wrote while on the Island, and this pamphlet will be inserted in the next issue of "Freedom", and mailed by Mena. Mena was helping Marie yesterday address the envelopes for the mailing of "Freedom". Mena's brother in law, Isaac Rapp, was released on bail in Boston last week. For a time he was his friends not to bail him out, as he lost a leg in the Russian revolution of 1905 on the barricade in Petersburg, and was anxious to go back to Russia and sacrifice the other half of his life. After having a talk with Mena he changed his mind and was persuaded by her to stay here if possible and help a revolution here.

A Mrs. Jankin is at present busily engaged organizing small anarchistic groups, each independent of the other, as she, together with others, believes that small secret groups can accomplish more than a large organization which is always broken up by the Government.

The Ferrer group is giving a dinner tonight at Italian restaurant at 8th St. & 8th Avenue, where I will present, together with Mena. Prominent speakers have been invited, and they expect a gathering of about 200 persons. I shall report on this.

Dr. Lohan, of 280 East 7th St., telephoned me that he was a passenger on the "Potterman", on which he first came to this country. Martens got very noisy on ship and traveled under the name of "Dr. Potterman". Martens was an account of Martens on the ship, as Dr. Potterman.

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286

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on Radical Activities in New York City] 1920 Feb. 20 / [V.? A.?] Hajek
[Informant, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 22 × 15 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Informant Hajek submits bits of information on M.E. Fitzgerald, Mina Lowenson, Hypolite Havel, Ludwig Martens, and other activists. He reports that Goldman wired Stella Comyn (Ballantine) to expect three visitors from Russia shortly.

Notes: Dark copy; portions illegible. Enclosed with 880928053.

-2-

protested against the pro-German utterances Martens and his crowd were making, and the Captain of the ship took a hand in the affair. Dr. Luhan still has the original first class passenger list of this ship, and will gladly furnish same, together with any other information. Martens came here as a German subject.

Stella Comyn, received another cablegram two weeks ago from Moscow. In which Goldman informed her that three emissaries from Moscow are on their way to the United States, and that they will report to her. I shall keep an eye on this and report developments.

Since I gave the last information to Mr. Green, I secured some documents from Havel, and my clients will be only too glad to give them to the Department upon request. Havel still is anxious to get him to Italy, as Malatesta has requested him to come there and help him.

HAIJK.

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287

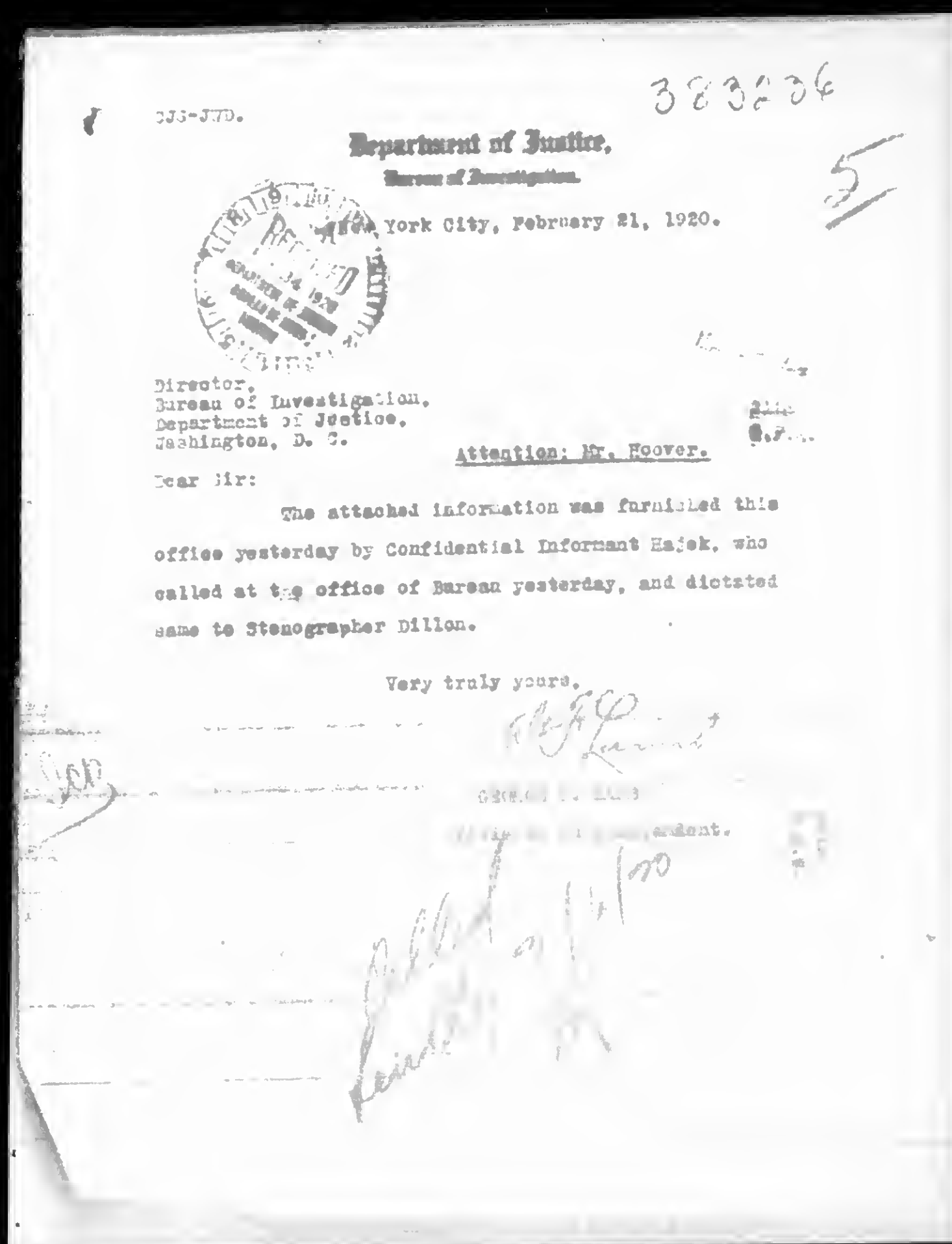
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 21, New York [to J. Edgar] Hoover [Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / George F. Lamb, Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 19 × 15 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Lamb sends a report by undercover agent Hajek to Hoover's attention.

Notes: Light copy; barely legible. For enclosure, see 880928054.



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288

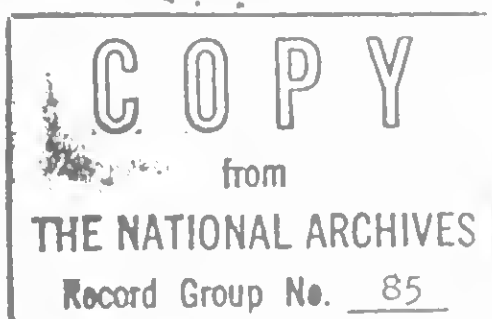
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 21 [Washington, D.C. to Robert A. Lansing] Secretary of State [Department of State, Washington, D.C.] / [John W. Abercrombie] Acting Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor].— 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Abercrombie informs Lansing that Harry Weinberger may transport Russians who wish to return to Russia, but that, legally, the government must provide transportation for all deportees.

Notes: For enclosure, see 811023003. Reply to 811023001 and 811023002.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

54809/*General*

February 21, 1920.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State.

Sir:

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 19th instant (R 311.6124/34), with which was transmitted copy of a letter, dated the 3rd instant, received by you from Mr. Harry Weinberger, an attorney of New York City, with reference to his desire to supply a ship to take back to Russia "those the Government desires to deport and all those who are desirous of leaving the country to go to Soviet Russia."

Speaking from an immigration standpoint, strictly, this Department will have no objection whatever to urge to Mr. Weinberger's supplying a vessel for the purpose of enabling Russians resident here to return to their native country, if that be their desire. Of course, it can not give its consent to the return of those who have been arrested, in deportation proceedings on anarchistic and similar charges, to Russia in this manner so long as their cases are pending before this Department. If such aliens are in the United States in violation of the Act of October 16, 1918, it is, of course, the duty of the Department to deport them, after the hearing, prescribed by the immigration laws, has been accorded them. The carrying of these cases to a final conclusion before the Department would appear to be necessary in view of the following provision, to be found in the Act above cited:

"That any alien who shall, after he has been excluded and deported or arrested and deported in pursuance of the provisions of this act, thereafter return to or enter the United States or attempt to return to or to enter the United States shall be deemed guilty of a felony, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by imprisonment for a term of not more than five years * * *"

A letter of the above purport is today being directed to Mr. Weinberger.

Very truly yours,

WJP:REM

Acting Secretary.

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289

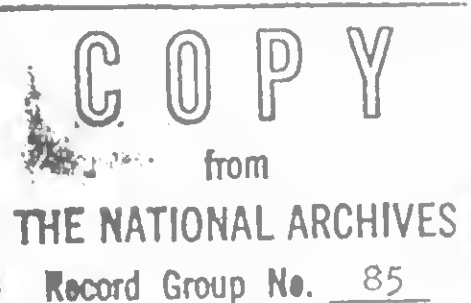
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 21 [Washington, D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / [John W. Abercrombie] Acting Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor]. — 1 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Abercrombie advises Weinberger that the Department of Labor cannot allow aliens in deportation proceedings to leave the United States before their cases are finally decided.

Notes: Broken type. Enclosed with 811023004. Reply to 811023002. For related document, see 870727006.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

54809/*General*

February 21, 1920.

Harry Weinberger, Esq.,
Attorney at Law,
261 Broadway,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

The Department has received, from the Assistant Secretary of State, a copy of your letter of the 3rd instant, addressed to the Secretary of State and having reference to your desire to supply a ship to take back to Russia "those the Government desires to deport and all those who are desirous of leaving the country to go to Soviet Russia." You state that this is a reiteration of an offer recently made through Mr. Ludwig C. A. K. Martens whereby the "Soviet" Government of Russia was to supply a ship for the purpose of assisting Russians in this country to return to that country, which offer "has never been refused or accepted."

This Department can reply to so much of your letter only as relates to the aliens whose cases are now receiving the consideration of this Department in deportation proceedings. The Department feels, in view of the language of Section 3 of the Act of October 16, 1918, that it would not be proper for it to consent to the return to Russia, or to the departure for any other country, so far as that is concerned, of any alien who has been arrested under the provisions of said law and whose case has not been finally disposed of, either by deportation (if found subject thereto) or by cancellation of the deportation proceedings on the ground that the warrant charges have not been sustained.

Respectfully,

WJP:REM

Acting Secretary.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870727006

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 21, New York [to] William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Weinberger argues that the government would save money on transportation, hearings, detention and detective expenses if it accepts his offer to transport people to Russia.

Notes: Margin notes by John Abercrombie and W.J. Peters. Enclosed with 811023040. For related document, see 811023003.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 85

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809

HARRY WEINBERGER

COUNSELOR AT LAW

261 BROADWAY, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE CONNECTION

February 21, 1920.

Hon. William B. Wilson,
Secretary of Labor,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:-

The Department of State wrote me on the 19th of February that my offer to transport to Russia all persons who desire to leave this country for Soviet Russia, and those about to be deported by the Department, has been turned over to you.

I cannot understand why there should be any hesitancy about the acceptance of this offer, which would save the United States thousands of dollars, if not even a hundred thousand or more, with the cost of maintenance of these arrested aliens at Ellis Island and other jails, and the cost of further transportation out of the country, while it would eliminate a great many of the unnecessary detectives who are kept out of productive industry by the alleged necessity of making continuous raids and arrests. Whereas, as a matter of fact, Russian aliens would go home at their own expense, if the doors were only opened.

Kindly advise me at as early a date as possible, as meanwhile wives and children of arrested aliens are suffering because of poverty and separation from their families.

Respectfully yours,

Harry Weinberger

HW/ICW

291

The Emma Goldman Papers

810331013

[Report on Avanti! Article] 1920 Feb. 21 / T. [Agent? Military Intelligence Division? War Department?]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Agent T reports that an Italian radical newspaper contains an interview with Goldman conducted on Ellis Island.

Notes: Light copy; barely legible. Enclosed with 810331012. For article mentioned, see 870805005.

(See Paragraph 4, Instructions of October 31, 1900)

EX-100-5-8-7-1

1920

2-1

2

SUBJECT NEW YORK CORRESPONDENT OF ITALIAN WAR DEPARTMENT
REVOLUTIONARY NEWSPAPER "L'AVANTI".

From T No. 28 Date 21 February, 1920

Replying to O. N. r No. = Date
Reference 2-575, December, 1919.

CONFIDENTIAL:

1. The attached copy of the "AVANTI", the very powerful Bolshevistic propaganda newspaper in Italy, contains an article from its New York correspondent, dated an interview with Emma Goldman while she was detained on Ellis Island. The correspondent P. CARACATERRA evidently writes from New York.

2. On account of the recent notable success of the extreme Socialist party in Italy, its official organ being the "Avanti", the value of this newspaper throughout Europe as a revolutionary agent is considerable.

Enclosure: 1.

Copies to:
O. N. I.
files

5✓
1.

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292

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re:] Dr. Ben Reitman—Anarchist Matter, Chicago, 1920 Feb. 23 / J. Spolansky [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 29 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Spolansky doubts the Bureau of Investigation's report that Reitman has radical friends in the Justice Department, but notes that Reitman is associated with Goldman and Mother Earth.

Notes: Light copy; portions illegible. For enclosures, see 870727007 through 870727010 and 870727013. Reply to 811222032. For original report, see 811222033.

Spolansky

Chicago, Ill.

REITMAN

Chicago, Ill. Feb. 23, 1920.
 Dr. Ben Reitman,
 1010 North Dearborn Street,
 Chicago, Ill.
 Dear Sir:
 I have received your letter of the 22nd inst. regarding the report of the Bureau of Investigation that you have radical friends in the Justice Department. I doubt the report, but note that you are associated with Goldman and Mother Earth.

Very truly yours,
 J. Spolansky

Enclosure

Very truly yours,
 J. Spolansky

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293

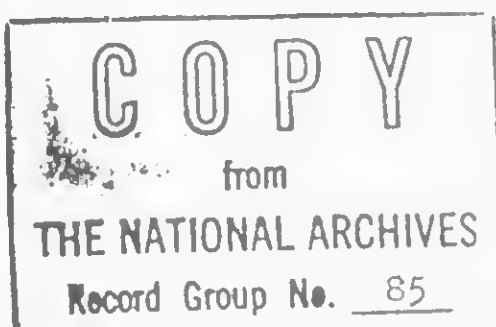
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1920 Feb. 24, Washington [D.C. to John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / S[amuel] J. Gompers, Chief Clerk, Department of Labor. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: The chief clerk routes the attached letter from the secretary of labor to the acting secretary and on to the commissioner general of immigration.

Notes: Lefthand document only. Handwritten note by John Abercrombie. For enclosure, see 870727006.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF CLERK
WASHINGTON

February 24, 1920.

ARRY WEINBERGER
COUNSELOR AT LAW
261 BROADWAY, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE CONNECTION

809
Jen

Respectfully referred to the
Acting Secretary for attention, by
direction of the Secretary.

February 21, 1920.

J. Gompers
Chief Clerk.

lson,
of Labor,
ngton, D.C.

*Referred to the Com-
missioner - General
Immigration, 2/24/20.
John W. A.*

Department of State wrote me on the
that my offer to transport to Russia all
to leave this country for Soviet Russia,
be deported by the Department, has been

cannot understand why there should be any
acceptance of this offer, which would
cost thousands of dollars, if not even a
more, with the cost of maintenance of
prisoners at Ellis Island and other jails, and
transportation out of the country, while
a great many of the unnecessary detectives
productive industry by the alleged neces-
sary raids and arrests. Whereas, as a
Russian aliens would go home at their own
expense were only opened.

Kindly advise me at as early a date as possible,
and children of arrested aliens are suffer-
ing because of poverty and separation of their families.

Respectfully yours,

Harry Weinberg

HW/ICW

*Rec- 3/4
I recall very distinctly
answering Harry
Weinberger's previous
letter.*

MM

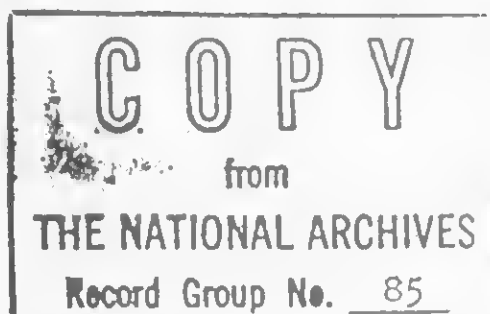
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 24, Washington [D.C. to William B. Wilson] Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Alvey A. Adey, Second Assistant Secretary, Department of State. — 1 p. ; 33 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Adey asks the secretary of labor how to reply to the Netherlands minister's request for information on the Buford deportations.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870727012.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

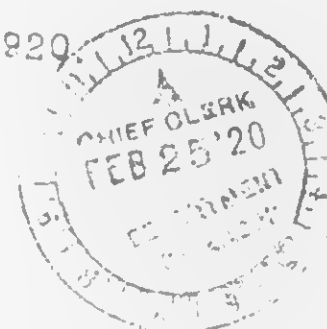
ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
DI-311.6124/36

February 24 1920



The Honorable

The Secretary of Labor.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith, for an indication of the nature of a reply, a copy of a note from the Minister of the Netherlands, in which, by direction of his Government, he requests to be informed of the date of deportation from the United States to Soviet Russia of about two hundred and fifty Russians, who were considered undesirable in the United States, the manner in which the deportation was accomplished, and the harbor or harbors toward which they were sent.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

For the Acting Secretary of State:

Alvey A. Adey

Second Assistant Secretary.

Enclosures:
From Netherlands Minister,
February 7, 1920.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on American Anarchist-Communist Party] Chicago, 1920 Feb. 24-26 /
[Agent, Military Intelligence Division, War Department]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: An unnamed agent reports that the English anarchists who are trying to organize an Anarchist-Communist Party in New York are suspected of being agents of either England or Russia. They have a list of anarchists as complete as that of Goldman.

(The Department Intelligence Office - Chicago)

February 24, 1920
102

An agitation for the organizing of an Anarchist-Communist party is being carried on in New York right now. The agitators have only recently arrived from England and are making their headquarters at the Connolly Club on W. 29th St. The address on the leaflets distributed by the propagandists bears the address of the "Anarchist Propaganda Group," 47 Crowndale Road, London, N. W. 1 England. While I saw a copy of the leaflet this evening, I was unable to get it, as the Anarchist who passed through Cleveland only had one leaflet and insisted on keeping it. Many of the anarchists are on their way to Los Angeles, Cal., to attend the secret meeting to be held there in the first week of March. The anarchists are to call at the home of W. I. Lerner, one of the oldest anarchists in America, who, if the delegate is known to him, will guide him or her to the meeting place.

The anarchist delegate who passed through Cleveland on his way to the Convention stated that the action of the English anarchists looked very funny to him, in fact they were so very anxious to "start something" in America and are "so willing" to spend the "coin", that even the anarchist delegate suspects them of being English secret agents who came here for a purpose which will benefit the English Government, or they may be agents of the Bolshevik Government, as the agents have the name and address of most all of the active anarchists in America and besides Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, not another human being in America had such a complete list, unless Berkman may have left the list with his "woman" E. E. Fitzgerald (Fitz), which I very much doubt, as both Goldman and Berkman were always afraid of giving the list to Fitz for fear that her office or home may be raided and the list found by the police.

The English anarchists are being chaperoned by Jim Larkin, but he has been careful in admitting adherence to their doctrine, in fact Larkin isn't adhering to any specific group right now; he has been talking about being anxious to go to Transvaal, South Africa, but he is still collecting funds for his defense fund.

The National headquarters of the Union of Russian Workers has been transferred to San Francisco, Cal. A woman by the name of Ellen or Helen Morten, one of the ex-wives of E. B. Morten, is acting as secretary for the Russians. Mrs. Morten is a Russian Jewess. She is being assisted by Miss Bluma Krauss, another Russian Jewess. All meetings of the Union of Russian Workers in Frisco are held in form of social affairs.

The Communist Labor Party in Frisco is now operating under the name "Workers Defense League."

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296

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on American Anarchist-Communist Party] Chicago, 1920 Feb. 24-26 /
[Agent, Military Intelligence Division, War Department]. - 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: An unnamed agent reports that the English anarchists who are trying to organize an Anarchist-Communist Party in New York are suspected of being agents of either England or Russia. They have a list of anarchists as complete as that of Goldman.

(The Department Intelligence Office - Chicago)

(C O P Y)

WAR DEPARTMENT

February 26, 1920.

102

The English speaking branches of the Communist Labor Party in New York City have accepted the name of The American Economic and Literary Society.

Ludwig Martens has organized the following organizations lately: Society for technical aid to Russia in New York City, with headquarters at Rand School; The Chicago Soviet Technical School - one of the teachers at that school is Mrs. Fanny Groozenberg (alias Berg), the wife of one of Martens' couriers who makes trips between the U. S. and Russia; The Russian musical and vocal society in Philadelphia, Pa., where Russian agents gather to formulate plans; The North Side League for Freedom in Chicago, to carry on Bolshevik propaganda, and the Russian Professional Unions in most every part of the U. S. The official organ of the Russians now is "Americanska Izvestia," published in New York City. The Francisco Ferrer Anarchist School has opened a branch in Los Angeles, Cal. A gathering of the so-called Pro Propaganda anarchists will soon take place in Philadelphia, Pa. Three of the international leaders are Jesus Paron, who is already in Philadelphia, Angelo Blanco Juez, who recently arrived from Europe and is still in New York, and Jesus Cabo, who is expected to arrive from Europe shortly. The anarchists and I. W. W. have opened a school for children at the People's House in Philadelphia. Chas. Erieger, an I. W. W. who was recently tried in Tulsa, Okla., is one of the teachers.

The largest I. W. W. branch in New York state is now located at Syracuse, N. Y.; a very strong propaganda is being carried on from there. Strong Bolshevik propaganda is being carried on from Hartford, Conn., by members of the Union of Russian Workers.

The next convention of the right wing Socialist Party will be held in New York City on May 1, 1920. The National Executive Board is expected to meet in Milwaukee within a week or so.

Lester P. Barlow, an organizer for the World War Veterans is in St. Paul, Minn., working in conjunction with the I. W. W. there.

Some of the radical literature in Chicago is now being printed at the Co-Operative Printing Co., 5405 Ridgewood Court, Chicago, Ill. Harvey P. Moyer is president and Mrs. Ella Carr secretary-treasurer.

There is an agitation for another May-Day demonstration. The Mooney Defense League has asked for a General Strike for May 1, 1920.

The Rev. C. P. Miller, a negro preacher of St. Augustine's colored P. E. church of New York, is carrying on a radical propaganda in his church.

MRS. FANNIE BERG OR
MRS. FANNIE GRUZEMBERG,
WIFE OF MIKHAIL GRUZEMBERG.

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297

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 26 [Washington, D.C. to] Patrick J. Ahern, Washington, D.C. / [J. Edgar Hoover] Acting Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].—
1 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: The acting chief of the Bureau of Investigation informs Patrick Ahern that Dudley Grant and Harry Rappaport, government employees, entertained Goldman and Berkman several months ago.

Notes: Light copy; portions illegible.

67-7-1

February 26, 1920.

Patrick J. Ahern, Esq.,
1550 P. Street, N.W.,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of information from T. Morris Fowler, an attorney of this city, to the effect that in taking evidence in a case in the Supreme Court of the District recently, it developed that Dudley M. Grant, employed in the Bureau of Investigation in this city, Harry Rappaport, employed in the Bureau of Standards, and his wife, Anna H. Rappaport, were employed under the name of Mrs. Fowler in the patent office. All three entertained Goldman and Berkman in this city some months ago.

Very truly yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on] Bolshevist Propaganda [Berne, Switzerland] 1920 Feb. 27 / [Military Attache, American Legation]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The military attache in Switzerland sends Military Intelligence a proclamation advocating world revolution, which was supposedly sent to Berkman and Goldman in the United States.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810331022. For Hoover letter mentioned, see 810331007. For related document, see 810331009.

COPY SENT TO FRANCE:

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF
Foreign Affairs
M.I. Branch

3-1
MAR 27 1920
10038-515
WAR DEPARTMENT
102

CAPTAIN SNOW
M. I. 4.

SUBJECT BOLSHEVIST PROPAGANDA.

From Wa. POLITICAL.

No. 2054. Date February 27th 1920. 19

Replying to No. Date 19

"68-Revolutionary"

SUMMARY:

A proclamation of the Executive Committee of the Russian Socialist Federative Republic advocating world-revolution.

REPORT:

(1) The attached is a paper handed to us by Serge PERSKY, (who is closely in touch with Bolshevist activities) a translation of which follows:

"The executive committee of the Council of Laborers and Deputies of the Peasants and Soldiers of the Russian Socialist Federative Republic:

Comrades, Laborers !

There is only one way of helping the Russian Revolution and at the same time of helping oneself. Cease being the slaves of the capitalists, of landed proprietors, of the government and of the men of law! With one blow destroy these damn classes. Do as we have done: get hold of the governmental machine. Do it at once. Take the first favorable opportunity that presents itself. Your exploiters, thinking you were imbeciles, have themselves given you arms so that you should help them in their criminal actions. Show them that you can use these arms for yourselves.

Down with the capitalists! Down with the exploiters! All power for the proletariat! Vive the proletariat! Vive the world revolution!

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF WORKMEN AND PEASANTS."

(2) Copies of this document were sent to the following leaders in the United States: NEW YORK: Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman(✓), Isaak Levine, Gomfriss/(?) William Sitowier ✓ WASHINGTON: Adolf Schnaberg, Pierre Blanka. ✓

(3) PERSKY informs us that between two and three million copies of this were printed.

Enclosure forwarded in letter to Mr. Hoover, 4/20/20--mws.

Binding Margin.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 28, Moscow [to Angelica] Balabanoff, [Moscow] / [V.I.] Lenin,
Chairman of the Soviet Republic of People's Commissars. — 2 p. ; 23 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Central Party Archives of the Institute of
Marxism-Leninism, Moscow.

Summary: Lenin assures Balabanoff that he will be able to meet with Goldman next week.

Notes: In Russian.

РОССИЙСКАЯ
ФЕДЕРАТИВНАЯ
СОВЕТСКАЯ РЕСПУБЛИКА.
ПРЕДСЕДАТЕЛЬ
СОВѢТА
НАРОДНЫХЪ КОМИССАРОВЪ.
— о —
Москва, Кремль.

28. II. 1920
№

М. Лу
Balabanoff

Д-р. Лавин!
"Согласно Ком-
мунистиче-"
скому ре-
шению от 28-
го февраля 1920-го
года.
Народный

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300

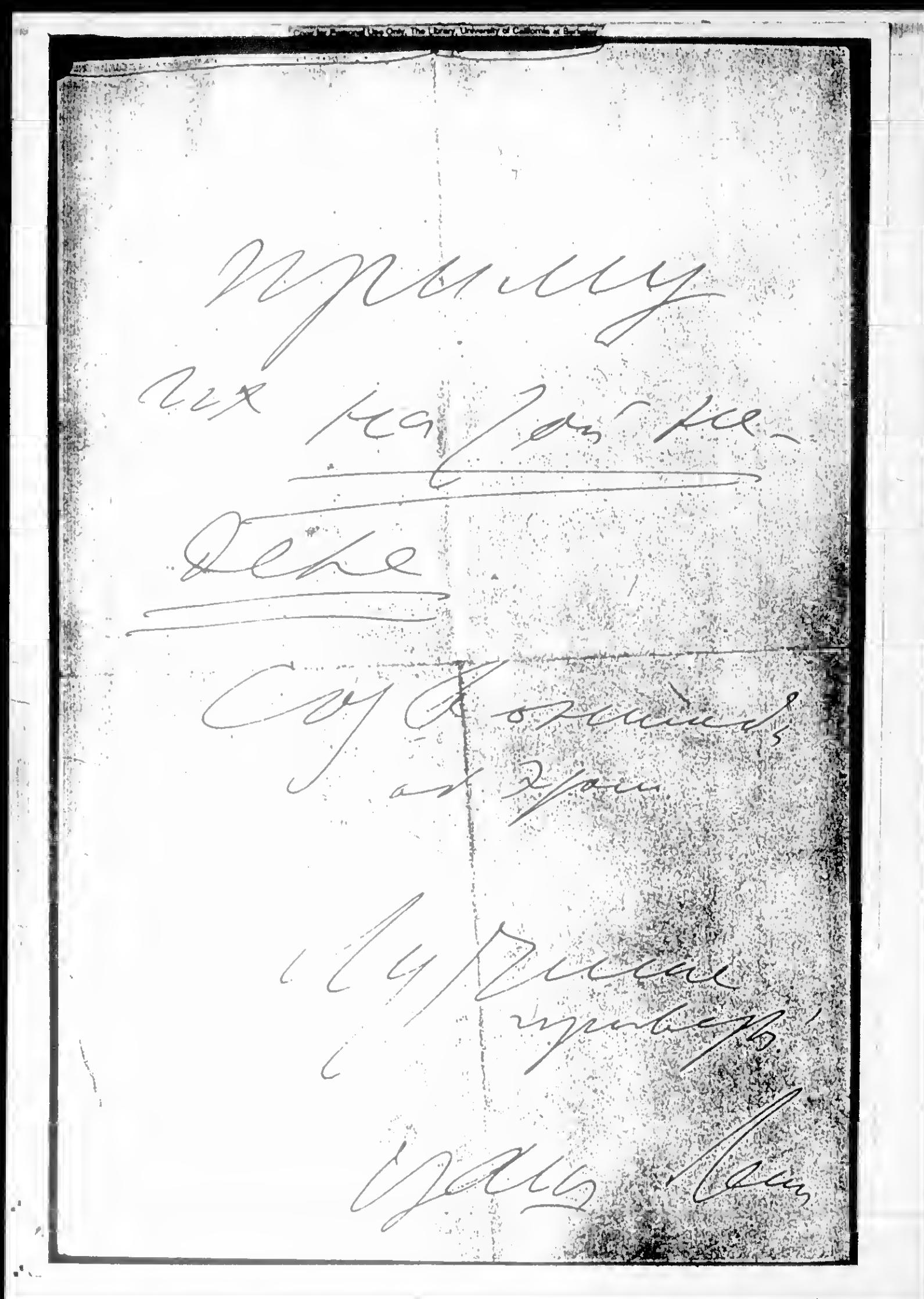
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Feb. 28, Moscow [to Angelica] Balabanoff, [Moscow] / [V.I.] Lenin,
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Marxism-Leninism, Moscow.

Summary: Lenin assures Balabanoff that he will be able to meet with Goldman next week.

Notes: In Russian.



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301

The Emma Goldman Papers

Bulletin of Radical Activities No. 8, March 1-13, 1920, Washington [D.C. (excerpt)] /
Radical Division, Dep[artmen]t of Justice. — 3 p. ; 31 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The Department of Justice summarizes the history of the L'Era Nuova Group of anarchists in New Jersey, including their participation, with Goldman, in the Paterson silk dyers strike of 1902.

Notes: Broken type.

10110-1683

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF
MAR 30 1920
WAR DEPARTMENT
102

C O N F I D E N T I A L

B U L L E T I N O F R A D I C A L A C T I V I T I E S

Number 8

March 1 to 13, 1920

I N D E X

ORGANIZATIONS

| | |
|-----------------------------|----|
| Communist Party | 1 |
| Communist Labor Party | 6 |
| I.W.W. | 8 |
| Socialist Party | 15 |
| Workers' Defense | 21 |
| Miscellaneous Organizations | 27 |
| Individuals | 34 |
| International | 43 |
| Counter Radical Activities | 44 |
| Strike Notes | 46 |
| Trade & Labor Unions | 55 |
| Negro Activities | 59 |
| Radical Press | 67 |
| Ex Service Men | 85 |
| Misc. | 88 |

Dept. of Justice
Radical Division
Washington.

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302

The Emma Goldman Papers

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first time recently, but not under the same name, nor was the old organization name ever mentioned. A great many of the members or recent arrivals in this country and are extreme in advocating assassination of officials who oppose the organization. The social was raided sometime ago and the leader, EDUARDO PAREDES, deported.

L'ERA NUOVA GROUP, (Paterson N.J.)

This organization was formed some twenty five years ago, thru the offices of Enrico Malatesta, who first came to the United States from Italy to spread his prooganda of "terrorist-individualist" anarchy. Malatesta highly educated came from a royal Italian family and renounced all of his interest in a large estate. He found Paterson a very fertile field for his ideas and soon had gathered about him a group which while always small in numbers was all powerful in wielding influential propoganda among the Italian born thru out the numerous industrial centers of the United States.

It was from the L'ERA NUOVA GROUP that Bresci, the assassin of the late King Humbert of Italy graduated and he was an active member before he left Paterson for Italy. Today on the bookshelves of the Modern Library, conducted by Fermino Gallo, there are booklets extolling the virtues of Bresci as a martyr to the "cause".

During the strike of the silk dyers in 1902 the anarchist advocacy of "physical action" was demonstrated by serious riots and disorders, which resulted in considerable blood shed. About this time Ludovico Caminetta a studious and apt pupil of Malatesta, together with William Mac Queen and English anarchist, Emma Goldman and Galleani, the latter since deported to Italy became the leaders for the strikers. All of this number were arrested at the time and later indicted, some serving prison terms.

The unseccessful termination of the silk dyers strike and the indictment and conviction of the leaders, destroyed the esteem of the leaders, as far as the workers were concerned. The L'Era Nuova Group still kept alive thru the acticity of a few members, three of whom are still actively identified with its well being, namely Fermino Gallo, Ludovico Caminetta and Alberto Guabello. In a measure the L'Era Nuova group did not spread rapidly by reason of the fact that all of the literature is printed in the Italian language and most of the members do not readily speak English, so that during the past twenty five years, it has been limited to Italians and has never appealed to English speaking workers. This account largely for the fact that it has not become a group of large membership.

During the administration of President Theodore Roosevelt their official organ, a monthly newspaper "The L'Era Nuova" was barred from the mails because of its anarchistic articles. It has however continued its publication sporadically, until 1919 when the "La Jacquerie" was published by the L'Era Nuova Group to replace it.

Ludovico Caminetta has always been the moving spirit in the publication of the "L'Era Nuova" and latterly the "La Jacquerie". He is a fluent vitriolic writer on anarchistic subjects and always

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Notes: Broken type.

typifies in his writings the principles and teachings of his fore-
 -ar in anarchy Malatesta. During the time that Malatesta was ban-
 ished from Italy and for the period that he lived in England Cam-
 inetta was his chief representative in the United States and was
 constant communication with him.

By a clever system the "L'Era Nuova Group" has printed and
 published their newspapers "under control". This has been much of
 the success of the movement which is far reaching in its entangle-
 ments and very powerful. After the newspaper had been printed, it
 was taken by various members to numerous cities other than Paterson
 and sent through the mails. Large bundles of the papers would be
 distributed in various mail boxes and thus eventually reach their
 destination.

Recent issue of the "la Jacquerie" which have been intercep-
 ted and seized disclose the fact that it is one of the most vicious
 and radical publications in the United States today.

During the war several members of the group were arrested at
 my direction for the circulation of "anti draft posters" and it was
 not until June 2, 1919 that my attention was again directed to this
 group, some of whom I strongly suspected of being implicated in the
 nation wide plot to destroy the lives and homes of a number of
 public officials and prominent citizens. On the night of June 2,
 1919 there was exploded in the City of Paterson a bomb which par-
 tially destroyed the home of one Klotz, president of the Suanaha
 Silk Co.. Upon investigation it has been disclosed that at least
 two active members of the L'Era Nuova Group were employed as weav-
 ers and as a result of labor troubles were discharged. These mem-
 bers are John Ferrara and Severo Grandi. The connection of these
 two men with Klotz, whose home was destroyed and the similarity of
 the characteristics of the explosion, strongly links up the L'Era
 Nuova Group with the nation wide bomb plot, by reason of the fact
 that copies of the pink circular found in other cities, was also
 present in this instance.

Within the L'Era Nuova Group there are men who are skilled
 mechanics capable of making a successful death dealing device -
 there are members who would not hesitate to commit a crime of this
 kind for the "cause". There is no direct evidence at this time
 that the L'Era Nuova Group were responsible for the nation-wide
 bomb plot of June 2, 1919, but it is within their means to carry
 out such an act.

MEMBERS OF THE L'ERA NUOVA GROUP

LUDOVICO CAMINETTA, 12 Planten Ave., Paterson N.J., Editor and
 principal writer for the "La Jacquerie", the official anarchist
 organ of the L'Era Nuova Group.

FERMINO GALLO, 278 Straight St., Paterson, N.J., Proprietor of the
 Modern Sociological Library 77 Ellison St., actively engaged in
 spreading anarchistic literature throughout the United States.
 One of the original members.

FRANZ WIDNER, 77 Ellison St., Proprietor of the "L'Era Nuova".

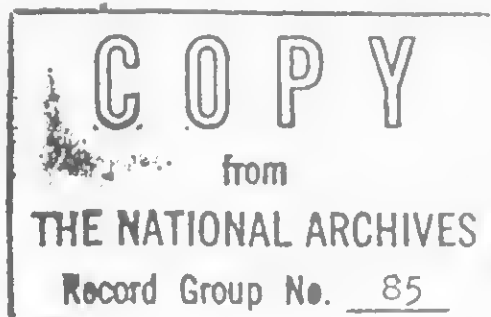
The Emma Goldman Papers

811023059

[Letter] 1920 March 2 [Washington, D.C. to] Charles Recht, New York / [Anthony Caminetti] Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].—
1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Caminetti explains to attorney Charles Recht the Bureau of Immigration's policy on deporting wives of aliens.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

54809/Gen.

March 2, 1920.

Charles Recht, Esq.,
47 West 42d Street,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Answering your letter of the 18th instant entitled "In re Deportations of Wives of Aliens," the Bureau has to advise you that the Secretary of Labor made no formal ruling on the subject matter of the deportation of aliens, of the anarchist and kindred classes, who may have wives and families residing in the United States. Doubtless the ruling you have in mind is the informal one made by him a few days in advance of the sailing of the "Buford," which had reference to the members of the Union of Russian Workers who were scheduled for return to Russia via that vessel. This ruling did not extend to any relatives of the aliens about to be deported other than the wives and children, or possibly to a statement, in answer to a correspondent, that the matter of permitting wives and children of deportees to Russia to accompany them would be given consideration. At the same time he stated that departure of such wives and children was a matter subject to their own decision -- in other words, purely voluntary.

With reference to the subject matter of the third paragraph of your letter, under acknowledgment, it is suggested that you communicate your wishes to the Department of Justice.

Respectfully,

EXACT COPY OF ORIGINAL
RECORDED
INDEXED

WJP:REM

Commissioner General.

mm

305

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 March 2 [Washington, D.C. to] George F. Lamb [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], New York / [J. Edgar Hoover] Acting Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 25 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: The acting chief of the Bureau of Investigation asks Lamb for the cost of one hundred photographs each of Goldman, Berkman, and Peter Bianki.

Notes: Barely legible. For reply, see 870727003. For related document, see 810113045.

JEB-QPO

March 2, 1920.

George F. Lamb, Esq.,
Box 241, City Hall Station,
New York City.

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of a request from the Commissioner-General of Immigration that he be supplied with one hundred (100) photographs of EMMA GOLDMAN, ALEXANDER BERKMAN and PETER BIANKI, in order that he might distribute the same among the various immigration stations throughout the country. Before taking any action on this request, I would appreciate your advising me as to the cost which would be incurred in obtaining these photographs.

Very truly yours,

Acting Chief.

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306

The Emma Goldman Papers

810113045

[Letter] 1920 March 2 [Washington, D.C. to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 33 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Hoover promises to send Caminetti the price of photographs of Goldman, Berkman, and Peter Bianki as soon as he receives it.

Notes: Dark copy Reply to 810618015. For follow-up, see 810113046.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

JKE-GPO

186233-13

March 2, 1920.

Honorable Anthony Caminetti,
Commissioner-General of Immigration,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Caminetti:

Referring to the request made by you on the 16th instant for one hundred (100) photographs of ALEXANDER BERKMAN, EMMA GOLDMAN and PETER BIANKI, I have to advise you that I have communicated with the New York photographers to ascertain the cost of obtaining this number of photographs. As soon as I receive this information, I will transmit the same to you, in order that you may decide whether you desire to make the expenditure necessary in order to procure these pictures.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. E. Hoover.

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.



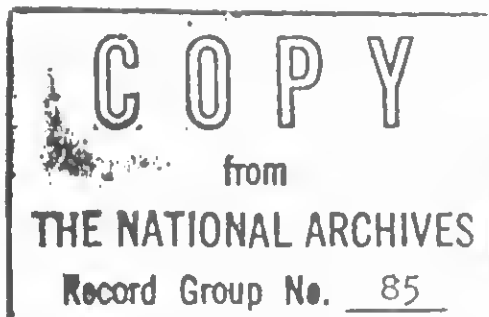
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307

The Emma Goldman Papers

811023005

[Letter] 1920 March 8, Washington [D.C. to William B. Wilson] Secretary of Labor
[Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Alvey A. Adece, Second Assistant Secretary,
Department of State. — 1 p. ; 34 x 21 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.
Summary: Adece asks the secretary of labor why he has not sent him the list of deported radicals he requested.
Notes: Handwritten margin note of explanation by W.J. Peters. For reply, see 811023006. Follow up to 811023061 and 811023036. For list mentioned, see 811023038.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
Di-

March 8, 1920.

The Honorable

The Secretary of Labor.

Sir:

Referring to this Department's letter of January 12, 1920, and subsequent letters, asking to be furnished with a complete list of radicals recently deported from the United States, with a descriptive personal record of each of them, I have the honor to say that the Department is very desirous of learning as soon as possible whether such information can be furnished.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

For the Acting Secretary of State:

Alvey A. Adece.

Second Assistant Secretary.

*Annexed
Rec. 3/9
mmp*
*I had all this data together in Jan'y. when it was removed from my desk by someone before a letter could be prepared. It just now comes back. mmp.
P.D. after word list was also pre-
pared*

308

The Emma Goldman Papers

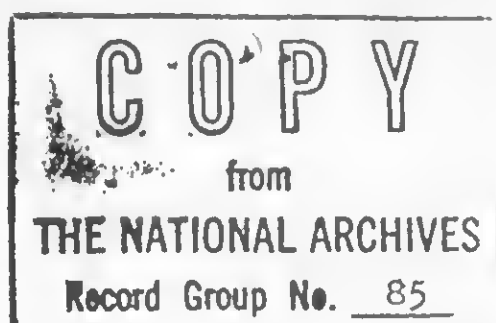
811024007

[Letter] 1920 March 11, Washington, D.C. [to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice.— 1 p.; 32 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Hoover asks Caminetti not to deliver the four enclosed censored letters from Buford deportees.

Notes: Handwritten margin note by W.J. Peters.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

Communications referred to not located

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

Bo 9: Dene
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, GFR-MMP
WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 11, 1920.

Honorable Anthony Caminetti,
Commissioner-General of Immigration,
Washington, D. C.



My dear Mr. Caminetti:

I am sending to you, under separate cover, communications written by various deportees on board the "Buford", to their friends in this country.

These communications have been covered by our translators, and it is suggested that the four letters with translations attached, be withheld from the addressees.

Very truly yours,

J. E. Hoover
Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

Inc. 28465

*Mr. Rapp;
Can you let me
have these letters
if they have
come in?
An Am Committee
dict 10
4/1/20*

309

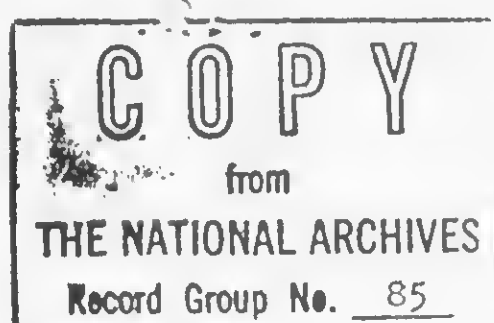
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 March 12 [Washington, D.C. to Robert A. Lansing] Secretary of State
[Department of State, Washington, D.C.] / Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary [of Labor,
Department of Labor]. — 1 p. ; 33 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Post sends the secretary of state a list of the radicals deported on the *Buford*.

Notes: Reply to 811023005. For original version of list mentioned, see 811023038.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

54809/*General*.

March 12, 1920.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State.

S i r:

Referring to your letter of the 8th instant (V1-),

I have the honor to inclose, herewith, two lists giving the
names of 249 aliens who were deported from the port of New
York, on the U. S. Transport "Buford", on December 21, 1919.

You will note that a line has been drawn through fourteen
of the names in question. These fourteen aliens were deported
on charges other than those growing out of the anarchy provisions
of the immigration law.

Very truly yours,

EXACT COPY AS SIGNED BY LOUIS F. POST
MAILED MAR 12 1920 BY
Assistant Secretary.

WJP:REM

Incl. 4670

310

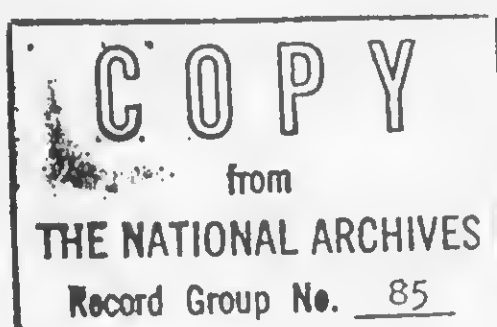
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 March 12, Washington [D.C. to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Alvey A. Ade, Second Assistant Secretary, Department of State. — 2 p. ; 33 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Ade sends Caminetti powers of attorney from persons deported on the *Buford* and encloses a list of those who could not pay the fees.

Notes: For instructions mentioned, see 811023062. For related documents, see 811023009 and 811027015.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



In reply refer to
R 31..6124/3



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

March 12 1920.



The Honorable

The Secretary of Labor.

Attention of Mr. Anthony Caminetti,
Commissioner of Immigration.

Sir:

With reference to the instructions transmitted to the American Commissioner at Helsingfors on January 10, 1920, with which you are familiar, the Department has received a despatch No. 295, dated January 20, 1920, enclosing powers of attorney executed by aliens deported to Russia on the U. S. Army Transport, *BUFORD*.

At the suggestion of Mr. Berkshire, who was in charge of the aliens for the Department of Labor, this Department is transmitting the package containing the powers of attorney, et cetera, which accompanied this despatch. Mr. Berkshire suggests that they be delivered, after being censored, to the addressees.

The American Vice Consul at Hango, Finland, was unable to collect the funds from some of the aliens to pay for the \$2.00 fee stamps which were attached in each case, and there is also enclosed a list of the names of the aliens who were unable to pay the fees.

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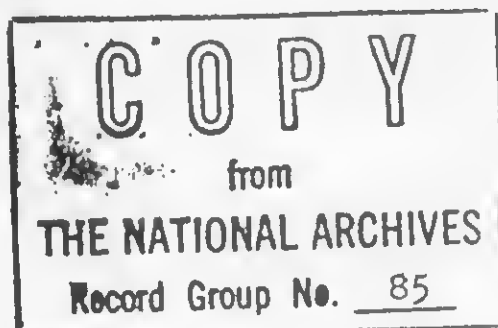
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Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

- 2 -

This Department would be pleased to be reimbursed by the Department of Labor therefor.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

For the Acting Secretary of State:

Second Assistant Secretary

Enclosures:

Powers of attorney executed by
deported aliens; list of names
of aliens who were unable to
pay for fee stamp

Not used
3/12/20
Rec'd above
3/18/20
R

312

The Emma Goldman Papers

[List of Buford Deportees Who Could Not Pay For the Fee Stamp, 1920 March 12?] /
[Department of State]. — 4 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: The State Department prepares a list of those aliens deported on the Buford who could not pay the fees for their powers of attorney.

Notes: Enclosed with 811023009 and 811027011. For related document, see 811023008.

List of aliens deported to Russia on the U. S. Army
Transport BUFORD who were unable to pay for the two dollar
fee stamps attached to the Powers of Attorney executed
by them.

- ✓ Osip POLULECH to John Polulech, 212 Ave. B, New York City;
- ✓ Gordey STOLAZOHUX to Mrs. J. Kazimirsky, Post Office 685,
Struthers, Ohio;
- no Roman ANDRIUK to J. Dzuba, 1261 Park Ave., New York City;
- no Michael BOLZKEWICH (Alias) Mike BUKAVOWITCH to A. Kosiol,
872 Hallet St., Bridgeport, Conn.;
- no Ivan DAUILOVICH to Ossip Kaladko, 710 Hallet St., Bridgeport,
Connecticut;
- no John CHALIN to Harry Omelianuk, P. O. Box 180, Derby, Conn.;
- ✓ Dmitry PANKO to Mrs. Anny Volchov, 68 Maspeth Ave., Maspeth,
Long Island;
- ✓ Louis SELUDKO to Paul Serogin, 163 Beach St., Bridgeport,
Connecticut;
- ✓ Steve PROKOPOVICH to Zachary Poshka, 6 Fourth St., Ansonia,
Connecticut;
- ✓ Nicolai OCHRIMUX to Senon Ochrimuk, 149 Curt St., Newark, N.J.;
- ✓ Nestor ZUBKO to Mike Zubko, 908 Hallet St., Bridgeport, Conn.;
- no Mark FEDYX to John Pisarevich, 696 Windsor St., Hartford,
Connecticut;
- ✓ Peter NOVECK to Anton Noveck, 311 East 14th St., New York City;
- ✓ M. ZDONOVICH to Sam Mesink of 697 Hallet St., Bridgeport,
Connecticut;
- ✓ Nestor SHELEG to Timofey Shelek, 808 Ogden St., Bridgeport,
Connecticut;
- ✓ Marcus ORADOVSKY, to Attorney Harry Weinberger, 261 Broadway,
New York City;
- ✓ Alex. NISHANCOFF to Alex Popoff, 205 Cottage Grove Ave.,
Highland Park, Detroit, Mich.;
- no Harry MEONEVITZ to Emil Britch, 5 Court Pleasant St.,
Hartford, Connecticut;
- no Pavel MELINKOFF to Isaac Melinkoff, 123 Beach St.,
Bridgeport, Connecticut;
- ✓ John YERMOLA to Stephen Pleskash, P. O. Box 66, Martineburg,
New York.

Josif

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[List of Buford Deportees Who Could Not Pay For the Fee Stamp, 1920 March 12?] /
[Department of State]. — 4 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: The State Department prepares a list of those aliens deported on the Buford who could not pay the fees for their powers of attorney.

Notes: Enclosed with 811023009 and 811027011. For related document, see 811023008.

- 2 -

- no Josif KOZAREZ to Vasily Yasnik, 65 Jackson St., Newark, N. J.;
- no Nick MOLINARSKY to H. Vodovosoff, 1912 Liawlaw Ave., Bridgeport, Connecticut;
- David SUCHOW to M. Sivirin, 866 Ogden St., Bridgeport, Conn.;
- ✓ M. PODLIPSKY to John Manic, 394 15th Ave., Newark, N. J.;
- ✓ Joe VASILENCO to Wassily Ancharak, P. O. Box 571, Ansonia, Connecticut;
- ✓ Kussien TAGIEFF to Miss Agnes Inglis, 1340 Walnut St., Ann-Arbor, Michigan;
- no Sam GUATIUK to Nick Charov, 485 Helen St., Bridgeport, Conn.;
- ✓ Zenow BOGEN to Alex. Sawosta of 50 Crown St., Waterbury, Conn.;
- no Jack DENISON to Adam Kravchuk, 629 Ferry Ave., Camden, N. J.;
- ✓ Terenty LEONOV to Andrew Leonoff, 32 South St., West New-Brighton, N. Y., Staten-Island;
- ✓ Feodor PROSHKOVICH to Alex Proshkovich, 8 Spruce St., New Haven, Connecticut;
- ✓ Jacob ZBOROMISKY to Mike Michalovsky, 1165 Schoonmaker Ave., Monessen, Pennsylvania;
- Gus ROMAN to Alex. Shablinsky, 458 Park Ave., Bridgeport, Conn.;
- ✓ Timofey FURS to Wasiley Sheroga, 490 Oak St., New Haven, Conn.;
- ✓ Michael WASEIKO to John Martosuk, 6 Wallnut St., Stamford, Connecticut;
- ✓ Paul KRUPKA to Denny Sokal, 927 E. Butler Ave., Youngstown, Ohio;
- ✓ Andrew LAZAREWICH to Mrs. Marry Lazarevich, 65 Jackson St., Newark, N. J.;
- ✓ Anton ANISENIA to Stepan Coliadoo, 710 Hallett St., Bridgeport, Connecticut;
- ✓ John KOZY to Pete Kozy, 1530 Carlton St., Philadelphia;
- ✓ Maxim BORISOF (Alias) E. KOCHORETZ to Isaac Shorr, 149 Broadway, New York City;
- begin
Adolph SCHNABEL to Mrs. Helen Schnabel, C/o N. Alexandry, 558 East 191th St., Bronx, N. Y.;
- no Mike LEGESA to Pete Shemansky, 707 Hallett St., Bridgeport, Connecticut;
- no Audrey BALASH to John Koshko, 285 Matland St., New Britain, Connecticut;

Mike

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314

The Emma Goldman Papers

[List of Buford Deportees Who Could Not Pay For the Fee Stamp, 1920 March 12?] /
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Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: The State Department prepares a list of those aliens deported on the Buford who could not pay the fees for their powers of attorney.

Notes: Enclosed with 811023009 and 811027011. For related document, see 811023008.

- 3 -

- ✓ Mike GERNET, to Tony Evtuch, 45 Home St., Detroit, Mich.;
- ✓ Gregory MELNIKOFF to Stanislaw Weretuk, 192 Henry St.,
New York City;
- ✓ Feodor KUSHNAREV to Mrs. Etta Casher, 965 State St., New
Haven, Connecticut;
- ✓ Wasily KONIKIN to Isaac Shorr, 149 Broadway, New York City;
- ✓ Frank KOWALOWICH to Wm. Kovalovich, 420 Campbell St.,
Akron, Ohio;
- ✓ Samuel BARKOVSKY to John Senuk, 54 Walnut St., Stamford,
Connecticut;
- ✓ Jacob JAKOTANSKY to Steve Medinech, Box 685 Struthers, Ohio;
- ✓ John NABAGEZ to Andrew Kozel, 872 Hallett St., Bridgeport,
Connecticut;
- ✓ Sam KVISH to John Livanuk, 927½ Bentley Ave., Youngstown, Ohio;
- ✓ E. SULAVKA to Ilia Olesuk, 166 Jersey St., Ansonia, Conn.;
- ✓ Ignas WOROBY to Max Zarick, 668 Stillman St., Bridgeport,
Connecticut;
- ✓ Michael YANOCHKIN to John Yanick, Mine No. 1, Cleveland,
Morgentown Coal Co., Morgentown, W. Va.;
- ✓ Zaohri WASEIKO to John Mortisuk, 6 Wollnoth St., Stamford,
Connecticut;
- ✓ Michael SHWEIKUS to Kiprian Shweikus, 81 Jersey St., Ansonia,
Connecticut;
- ✓ Andrew HOSTELLO to Alex Kuchko, 117 Box, P. O. Orangeburg,
New York;
- ✓ Feodor SOLONIMKA to Mrs. Donna Zaderey, P. O. Box 131, Roch-
dale, Massachusetts;
- ✓ Wasily TARASUK to Gregory Tarasuk, 50 Hudson St., Hartford,
Connecticut;
- ✓ Luka KACHAN (Alias) Lucka KACHANOF to Karp Gladky, 6 Wood St.,
Waterbury, Connecticut;
- ✓ M. D. LAVRENUK to George Jasinsky, 8-4 Hallett St., Bridgeport,
Connecticut;
- ✓ Dimitry YASINSKY to Grigory Yasinsky, 804 Hallett St., Bridge-
port, Connecticut;
- ✓ Constantin DRACO to Fedot Draco, 72 Douglas St., New London,
Connecticut;
- ✓ Archib. LEBEAD to Alex Huck, Box 464, Mine Decoda, Fairmonth,
W. Va.;

M. TURKO

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315

The Emma Goldman Papers

[List of Buford Deportees Who Could Not Pay For the Fee Stamp, 1920 March 12?] /
[Department of State]. — 4 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: The State Department prepares a list of those aliens deported on the Buford who could not pay the fees for their powers of attorney.

Notes: Enclosed with 811023009 and 811027011. For related document, see 811023008.

- 4 -

no M. TURKO to W. Bieniek, 8 Fleminge Ave., Newark, N. J.;

✓ Paul NESTORUK to G. Treeshonuk, 892 Hallett St., Bridgeport, Connecticut;

✓ Fred YAROVY to L. Mamaly, 420 Hoffman St., Philadelphia, Pa.;

✓ Wasily E. LUKASHUX (otherwise known as William LUKOW) to
Nicolai Lukashux, 425-7 Flushing Ave.,
Brooklyn, N. Y., c/o Daniel Weremick.

✓ William LUKOW (otherwise known as Wasily E. LUKASHUX) to
Nicolai Lukashux, 425-7 Flushing Ave.,
Brooklyn, N. Y., c/o Daniel Weremick.

mv ✓ Harry SCOUCKUK to Wasily Solovich, Box 400 Neonta, N. Y.

✓ John YERMOLAI

Bridgeport

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316

The Emma Goldman Papers

[List of Questions, 1920 March 13? Moscow? to V.I. Lenin, Chairman of the Soviet Republic of People's Commissars, Moscow] / [Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Moscow.

Summary: Goldman and Berkman submit to Lenin a list of questions on the Soviet government's position regarding anarchists.

QUESTIONS

1

1. What is the present official attitude of the Soviet Government to the Anarchists?

- a) Persecution of Anarchists, as such, especially in the Provinces.
- b) Denial of free speech and free press.
- c) Literature legalized in Moscow confiscated in the Provinces.
- d) Arrests and imprisonment of Anarchists without specific accusation --- indeterminate stay in the prisons, exposed to disease and death -- liberated without explanation or redress -- deprived of their positions, contrary to Soviet law, as for instance in the City of Soozdal, Vladimirskaya Gubernia, etc.

2. Will the 2 Resolutions presented by the Federation of Anarchists-Communists to the Central Committee, per Krestinsky (on March 3, 1920) be acted upon, and how?

- a) Release of the Anarchists now confined in prisons and concentration camps.
- b) Legalization of Anarchists and Anarchist Groups that accept the platform of the Federation of Anarchists-Communists to the effect that only work of a cultural character be carried on by Anarchists within Soviet Russia.

3. What is to be the definite attitude of the Soviet Government toward the Anarchists?

- a) Guarantees for the safety of the person.
- b) No arrests or "oblava" without specific accusation.
- c) No search of person or premises without warrant clearly defining the forbidden objects sought.
- d) Full freedom of speech and press throughout Soviet territory.
- e) Court of Appeal.

4. In re Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman:

- a) General Pass for Travel, to enable them to study the conditions and become acquainted with the life of the country.
- b) The establishment of an American Political Deportees Immigration Bureau, to receive, aid, distribute, etc., the coming groups of exiles from America.
- c) The founding of the Russian Friends of American Freedom, to aid the cause of Liberty in America.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 March 13, Moscow [to V.I.] Lenin [Chairman of the Soviet Republic of People's Commissars, Moscow] / Emma Goldman [and] Alexander Berkman. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Moscow.

Summary: Goldman and Berkman submit a list of follow-up suggestions to Lenin, including the establishment of the Russian Friends of American Freedom and an American Deportees' Immigration Bureau.

F O R C O M R A D E L E N I N

Dear Comrade:

According to your request at our recent interview, we submit the following suggestions:

1. The establishment of an American Deportees' Immigration Bureau, supplied with the necessary authority and facilities to receive, give first aid, and distribute the coming groups of American exiles. The distribution to take place according to the inclinations and abilities of those concerned, and in relation to the industrial, cultural, etc., requirements of the country.

In this connection we hereby offer our time and best efforts to organize and manage the Bureau.

2. The founding of a League to be known as the Russian Friends of American Freedom, to aid the cause of Revolution in America.

This League should be analogous in its fundamental character with the similar American organization known as the American Friends of Russian Freedom, which has - especially since the Revolution of 1905 - rendered most valuable services to Russia, in a moral, financial, and revolutionary sense. (Incidentally, the refusal of the American Government to extradite to Russia the revolutionists Hartman, Pouren, etc., was mainly due to the efforts of the American Friends of Russian Freedom.)

THE RUSSIAN FRIENDS OF AMERICAN FREEDOM should be a non-partisan organization, in no way connected with any official or semi-official body of Soviet Russia. Familiar with the conditions in the U.S. and knowing the psychology of the American people, we consider it a sine non quo condition that the RUSSIAN FRIENDS OF AMERICAN FREEDOM be free from all affiliation with any existing political organization in Russia or elsewhere. Having in view the great possibilities of such a League as the RUSSIAN FRIENDS OF AMERICAN FREEDOM, and the revolutionary influence it could exert on the workers and the proletarian intelligentsia of America, we think it absolutely necessary that the contemplated organization be entirely free and independent from any other body.

We urge the special consideration of the great effect the organization of the proposed League would have in America, and even in Western Europe. Especially would be significant the fact that the RUSSIAN FRIENDS OF AMERICAN FREEDOM was organized by the political refugees deported by America to

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318

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 March 13, Moscow [to V.I.] Lenin [Chairman of the Soviet Republic of People's Commissars, Moscow] / Emma Goldman [and] Alexander Berkman.—
2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Moscow.

Summary: Goldman and Berkman submit a list of follow-up suggestions to Lenin, including the establishment of the Russian Friends of American Freedom and an American Deportees' Immigration Bureau.

-- 2 --

Russia. In this regard we should be very glad to take charge of the work, organize the League, and put it in a good working condition. For this purpose is required a suitable building, with a typographical establishment, including English type, presses, and paper stock. The necessary compositors and pressmen can be selected from the American deportees who came to Russia with us. It will also be necessary to have the services of a courier for the work of the RUSSIAN FRIENDS OF AMERICAN FREEDOM.

We hope that the above suggestions will receive your early attention, and that they will be acted upon without unnecessary loss of time.

Fraternally,

Emma Goldman

Alexander Berkman

Moscow, March 13, 1920.

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319

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Baughman summarizes the Bureau of Investigation's files on M. Eleanor Fitzgerald and recommends that the Bureau grant her request for a passport.

Notes: Light copy; barely legible. Handwritten margin note of approval by Hoover. For related document, see 811222089.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

MEMO AND TO MR. ROOVER

M. ELMORE FITZGERALD

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions in the State of New York, for the year 1900, by the Governor, under the provisions of the Constitution of the State.

[illegible]

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1920 March 13, Washington, D.C. [to J. Edgar] Hoover [Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / T.F. Baughman, Department of Justice. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Baughman summarizes the Bureau of Investigation's files on M. Eleanor Fitzgerald and recommends that the Bureau grant her request for a passport.

Notes: Light copy; barely legible. Handwritten margin note of approval by Hoover. For related document, see 811222089.

Mr. Hoover

22

3/13/20

77-5

Re: M. Eleanor Fitzgerald, (letter, dated 6-13-19)

Subject is a citizen of the United States.

It is the presence of agents of the New York Office

and that she has an excellent record in good standing.

Her mother, M. M. Fitzgerald, 6-22-18

In view of the fact that the subject claims to

be the wife of Alexander Berthman, believe that if she

is granted a passport that she would not return to

the country. For this reason it is recommended that

her application for passport be granted.

Respectfully,

T. F. Baughman

Recommended by Mr. Baughman to Mr. Hoover
 3/13/20

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1920 March 16 [Washington, D.C. to Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Department of State. — 1 p.; 31 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: The Department of State forwards a list of Buford deportees, which was omitted from a prior letter to the Department of Labor.

Notes: Left-hand document only. For enclosure, see 870727015. For letter mentioned, see 811023008.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
CORRESPONDENCE BUREAU

MEMORANDUM

March 16, 1920.

Attached list inadvertently omitted from letter from Department of State to the Secretary of Labor dated March 12, 1920.

deported to Russia on the U. S. Army
were unable to pay for the two dollar
to the Powers of Attorney executed



bn Polulech, 212 Ave. B, New York City;

o Mrs. J. Kazimirsky, Post Office 685,
Struthers, Ohio;

Dzuba, 1261 Park Ave., New York City;

(Alias) Mike BUKAVOWITCH to A. Kosiol,
872 Hallet St., Bridgeport, Conn.;

Ossip Kaladko, 710 Hallet St., Bridgeport,
Connecticut;

by Omelianuk, P. O. Box 180, Derby, Conn.;

l. Amny Volchov, 68 Maspeth Ave., Maspeth,
Long Island;

Louis SELUDKO to Paul Serogin, 163 Beach St., Bridgeport,
Connecticut;

Steve PROKOPOVICH to Zachary Pooshka, 6 Fourth St., Ansonia,
Connecticut;

Nicolai OCHRIMUX to Senon Ochrimuk, 149 Curt St., Newark, N.J.;

Nestor ZUBKO to Mike Zubko, 906 Hallet St., Bridgeport, Conn.;

Clark FEDYX to John Pisarevich, 696 Windsor St., Hartford,
Connecticut;

Peter NOVECK to Anton Noveck, 311 East 14th St., New York City;

M. ZDONOVICH to Sam Mosiuk of 697 Hallet St., Bridgeport,
Connecticut;

Nestor SHELEG to Timofey Shelek, 808 Ogden St., Bridgeport,
Connecticut;

Marcus ORADOVSKY, to Attorney Harry Weinberger, 261 Broadway,
New York City;

Alex. NISHANCOFF to Alex Popoff, 205 Cottage Grove Ave.,
Highland Park, Detroit, Mich.;

Harry MECNEVITZ to Emil Britch, 5 Court Pleasant St.,
Hartford, Connecticut;

1 MELINKOFF to Isidor Melnickoff, 224 Deacon St.,
Bridgeport, Connecticut;

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322

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 March 16, New York [to] S. d'Halevy, Consul General of France, New York / George F. Lamb, Division Superintendent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 19 x 15 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Lamb sends the French consul-general information about publications barred from the mail, including *Mother Earth*.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible.



Box 511, City Hall Station, New York,
March 16, 1920.

S. d'Halevy, Esq.,
Consul General of France,
10 Pine Street,
New York City.

MAR 17 1920

Dear Sir:

Referring to your letter under date of March 4th, requesting information concerning certain papers, which papers were barred from France during the war, you are hereby advised as follows:

" Vaterland ". This paper was run by George Sylvester Meyer, an American citizen, of strong pro-German tendencies. This publication supported Germany until it ceased publication shortly after the entry of the United States into the war. Meyer now edits a publication called "Meyer's Weekly".

" Issues and Events ". A strong pro-German publication edited by Paul Fick, Leopold and Frederick. This publication was sent out of business at the time of the entry of the United States into the war.

" Gaelic American ". The headquarters for this publication is located on Millis Street, New York City, and the paper is edited by John Devoy, an American citizen with marked anti-British tendencies.

" Mother Earth ". This publication was an-anistic and was edited by Emma Goldman. It has not been published for the past year, and Miss Goldman was recently deported from the United States as an undesirable.

" Weekly People ". This publication is a socialist paper, and heretofore it has dealt chiefly with the activities of the socialist party, though of late in a sense, it has become radical and is still being published.

Very truly yours,

GEORGE F. LAMB
Division Superintendent.

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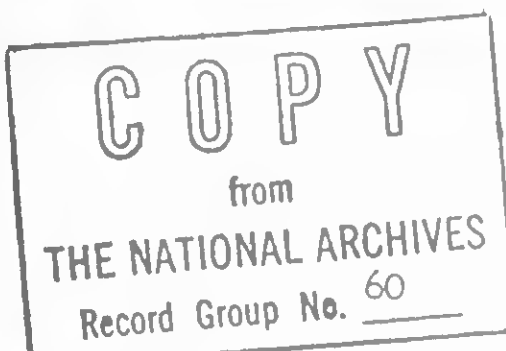
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 March 17, Washington [D.C. to] J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to [the] Attorney General [Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / Alvey A. Ade, Second Assistant Secretary, Department of State. — 1 p. ; 32 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Ade sends Hoover a list of the Buford deportees who could not pay the fees on their powers of attorney.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870727015.



General Records of the Department of Justice
D. J. Central Files - Straight Numerical Files
File Number 202600-65

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
R 311.6124/43

March 17 1920.

The Honorable

The Attorney General.

Sir:

Attention of Mr. J. E. Hoover,
Special Assistant to Attorney General.

I have the honor to transmit herewith for your information
a list of the names of the aliens deported on the United States
Army Transport BUFORD, who were unable to pay for the \$2.00 fee
stamp attached to the power of attorney executed by them.

This list was recently received from the American Commissioner
at Helsingfors, Finland.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

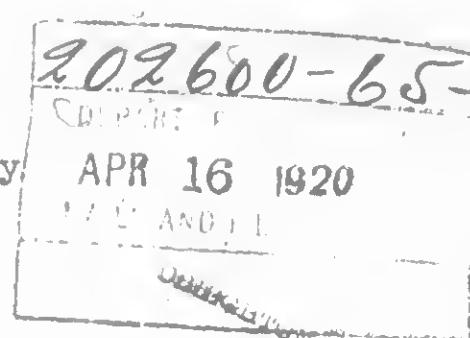
Your obedient servant,

Alvey A. Ade

Second Assistant Secretary

Enclosure:

List of names of deportees
on the BUFORD, unable to pay
for fee stamp.



Noted
R.D.W.

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324

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1920 March 18, Washington, D.C. [to John T.] Suter [Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / J. Edgar Hoover [Special Assistant to the Attorney General] Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Hoover recommends that M.E. Fitzgerald's application for a passport be granted because of her relationship with Berkman, despite her radical activities.

Notes: Light copy; barely legible. For related document, see 811222083.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE WASHINGTON, D.C.

I am returning herewith the file upon MARY FITZGERALD, who I understand has made application for a passport to leave the United States.

The activities of Miss Fitzgerald clearly have been most actively identified with the Radicals in the United States, having been a classmate of ALEXANDER BERKMAN and EMMA GOLDMAN. Miss Fitzgerald is reported from time to time to have been married to Alexander Berkman, and I believe there is no doubt that there exists a common-law marriage in this case. In view of the deportation of Alexander Berkman, I have made every effort to be reported with him, and I feel that it is not possible to exist a strong attachment between the two. I feel that the passport of Miss Fitzgerald should not be granted, not only because of her radical activities, but also because she is a known agitator, and as such cannot be permitted to leave the United States.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 March 20 [Washington, D.C. to] George F. Lamb [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], New York / [J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Hoover asks Lamb to answer his letter requesting the cost of one hundred photographs of Goldman, Berkman, and Peter Bianki.

Notes: Barely legible. For reply, see 880727003. Follow-up to 870727001.

JEN-070

March 20, 1920.

George F. Lamb, Esq.,
Box 241, City Hall Station,
New York City.

Dear Sir:

I desire to refer to my communication of March 2, 1920, in which I requested to be advised as to the approximate cost of obtaining one hundred (100) photographs of EMMA GOLDMAN, ALEXANDER BERKMAN, and PETER BLANKI. To date I fail to locate a reply to this communication and would appreciate your advising me whether the same has been sent, and if so, under what date.

Very truly yours,

Assistant Director and Chief.

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326

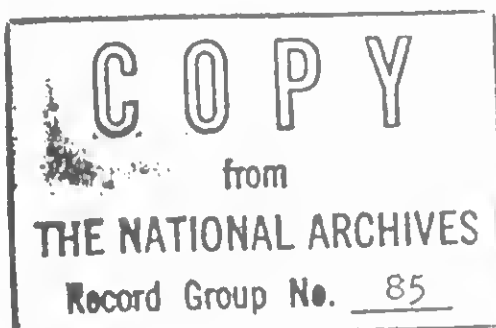
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 March 22, Washington [D.C. to William B. Wilson] Secretary of Labor
[Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Frank L. Polk, Undersecretary of State,
Department of State. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Polk asks the secretary of labor to send him the list of deported radicals he requested earlier.

Notes: Enclosed with 811023011. For reply, see 811023012. Follow-up to 811023061, 811023036, and 811023005.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



In reply refer to
U-H 311.6124/29

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

March 22, 1920



The Honorable

The Secretary of Labor.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to this Department's letters of January 23 and February 9, last, requesting to be furnished with a complete list of the radicals deported on the BUTORD, with a descriptive personal record of each individual.

I should be greatly obliged if your Department finds it possible to comply, at an early date, with this Department's request, first made on January 23 last, as it is a matter of great importance that this Department should receive the information.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Ans. 3/24

Frank L. Polk

Under Secretary of State.

✓

327

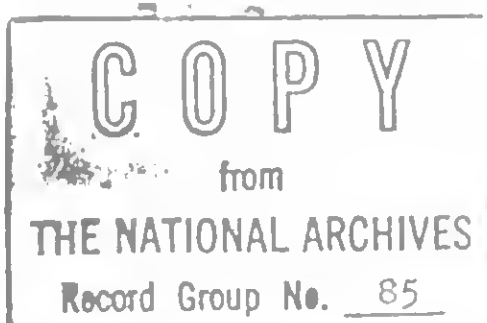
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1920 March 23, Washington [D.C. to Anthony Caminetti] Comm[is-
sione]r General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] /
S[amuel] J. Gompers, Chief Clerk, Department of Labor. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Gompers asks Caminetti to prepare a response to the attached letter for Louis Post to sign.

Notes: For enclosure, see 811023010. For reply, see 811023012.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office — Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*



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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 March 23, New York [to J. Edgar] Hoover [Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / George F. Lamb, Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Lamb sends Hoover the price for one hundred photographs of Goldman, Berkman, and Peter Bianki.

Notes: Broken type; light copy. Reply to 870727001 and 870727002.

CJS-JMD

15446
5
Department of Justice.

Bureau of Investigation.

New York City, March 23, 1920.

RECEIVED
MAR 24 1920
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

NOTED
G.F.L.

Attention: Mr. Hoover.

Dear Sir:

Referring to your letter under date of March 20th, in which you request to be advised as to the approximate cost of obtaining one hundred photographs of EMMA GOLDMAN, ALEXANDER BERKMAN and PETER BIANKI, you are hereby advised that Agent TRAUB of the New York Office states that exclusive of his labor, the photographs can be made up at a cost of about seven cents each, or about \$21.00 for the 300 photographs desired.

I am informed that the price demanded by an outside photographer would be fifteen cents or more per picture.

Very truly yours,

G. F. Lamb

GEORGE F. LAMB

Division Superintendent.

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329

The Emma Goldman Papers

810402082

[Telegram, 1920] March 23; Berlin [to] Chicago Tribune, [Chicago] / Brown.—
1 p.; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Brown transmits Goldman's reply to his request for her impressions of Soviet Russia.

Notes: Handwritten margin note by Navy Department. For Bureau of Investigation's response, see 811222059.

OFFICE CHIEF
Federal Bureau
of Investigation
MAR 26 1920
10110-154
55
WAR DEPARTMENT
Berlin, March 23, 1920

Tribune, Chicago

J. J. Neville
ML4-JF

Response wireless asking her impressions conditions
Russia her present activities and plans. Emma Goldman
wirelessed from Moscow as follows "Russian people bearing
up heroically against inhuman blockade. Am studying
conditions renewing acquaintances with people and country
revolutionary life dramatic art. Planning organization
bureau to receive and assist political exiles. Con-
templating league Russian friends American freedom aid
revolution America. Tell American people blockade
most barbarous crime against women and children. Had no
news my niece Stelia Ballantine thirty six Grove street
New York since December will appreciate your enabling
her wireless me through Tribune 22193

Brown

Copy for Mil Intelligence

Received by Radio

Comm. aff.

Navy Dept

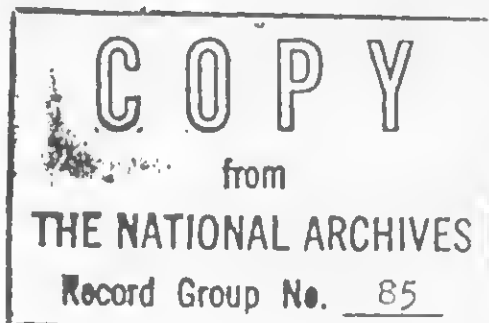
330

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 March 23, Pittsburgh, Pa. [to] Louis F. Post, Ass[istan]t Sec[retary] of Labor, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / Jacob Margolis. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

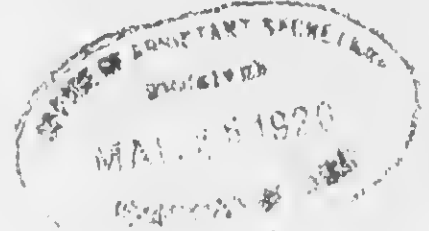
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Margolis asks for the Department of Labor's assurances that it will not send his clients, Russian deportees, to Danzig or any other part of Poland.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

Jacob Margolis
Attorney at Law
507 Union Arcade, Pittsburgh, Pa.



Mar. 23rd, 1920.

Hon. Louis F. Post,
Ass't. Sec'y. of Labor,
Department of Labor,
Washington, D. C.



Honorable Sir:-

As Attorney of record for the list of aliens hereto appended and for the aliens, now confined in Detroit, Michigan, who are charged with being members of the Union of Russian Workers and the aliens confined at Youngstown, Ohio, who are charged with being members of the Union of Russian Workers and the Communist Party of America, I desire to make the following representations:-

All these men, at their hearings, claimed that they were citizens of Russia. They came to the United States prior to 1914 at which time all of the Baltic Provinces, Poland and Finland were parts of Russia. These men never became citizens of the United States and never swore allegiance to any of the Baltic States and they are therefore citizens and subjects of Russia. Some of these men came from Provinces, now claimed by Poland and Lithuania, together with the Provinces of Grodno, Kovno and Minsk.

When at Ellis Island on Saturday I was informed that it was the intention of the Department to ship aliens, who are charged with being anarchists and who came from the above mentioned Provinces or other Provinces, now belonging to the independent state of Poland, to Danzig, which port was given to Poland by the Peace Treaty.

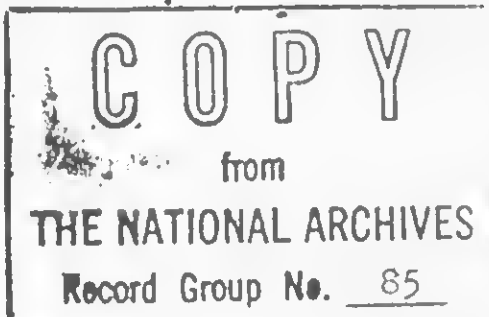
All of these men who are classed as Poles are very much opposed to being sent to Danzig as they are unable in the first place to speak the Polish language, but speak Russian, and they are further opposed to being sent to Danzig or Poland because of the attitude of the Polish Government to any person charged with radical tendencies or ideas.

The case of these men is similar to the case

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 March 23, Pittsburgh, Pa. [to] Louis F. Post, Ass[istan]t Sec[retar]y of Labor, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / Jacob Margolis. — 2 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Margolis asks for the Department of Labor's assurances that it will not send his clients, Russian deportees, to Danzig or any other part of Poland.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

Jacob Margolis
Attorney at Law
507 Union Arcade, Pittsburgh, Pa.

of the Russians sent on the Buford. There was considerable discussion prior to their deportation that they would be sent to either Kolchak or Denikin and that would have meant the death of these men, had they been sent to the above mentioned.

I am reliably informed that if these men are sent to Danzig or any place outside of Soviet Russia that they would be either executed or put in prison for an indefinite time or forced to join the White Army, opposed to "Bolsheviks".

It is no doubt the policy of your Department to do nothing that would jeopardize the lives of any of these men or cause their imprisonment or endanger them in any way. It would furthermore cause unpleasant complications with the Russian Government of which Government they are subjects and citizens.

You will therefore give this matter the consideration that it merits.

I repeat that under no circumstances should these men be sent to Danzig but some other route can undoubtedly be found that would enable them to reach Soviet Russia.

I suggested to Mr. Caminetti that these men be shipped to Constanza, a port in Roumania, and from there to trans-ship to Odessa, which I am reliably informed is in the hands of the Soviet Government.

Thanking you for your kindness and consideration of this matter while in Washington and for your present consideration, I beg to remain

Very truly yours,

JM:AP

Jacob Margolis

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 March 23, Memphis, Tenn. [to] C.B. Ames, Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / J.M. Pritchard. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Pritchard sends the Justice Department two of Goldman and Berkman's pamphlets for their attention.

Notes: For reply, see 891216016.

COPY
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

R. M. CARRIER,
PRESIDENT

M. W. ST.
1st VICE-PRE

J. W. MCCLURE,
2nd VICE-PRESIDENT

DARNELL,
TREASURER

J. M. PRITCHARD
SECRETARY-MANAGER

AMERICAN HARDWOOD MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION

OFFICE OF THE
SECRETARY-MANAGER

MEMPHIS, TENN.

March 23, 1920.

Judge C. B. Ames,
Assistant to the Attorney General,
U. S. Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir,-

We are enclosing herewith three booklets, entitled,

"A Fragment of the Prison Experiences of
Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman."

"Deportation - Its Meaning and Menace", by
Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman.

"Sentenced to Twenty Years Prison", published
by the Political Prisoners Defense and Relief
Committee, New York City.

which were sent to the writer by one of the members of
the American Hardwood Manufacturers Ass'n.

These booklets plainly speak for themselves,
and in our opinion are very dangerous to the welfare of
our country.

It may be that you already know of this an-
archistic propaganda, but the writer feels it his duty,
as a citizen, to forward these pamphlets to you, so that
the Department of Justice may take such action as they
think proper under the circumstances.

If it will be of any assistance to you we will
gladly give you the name of the member who forwarded these
pamphlets to us.

Yours very truly,

AMERICAN HARDWOOD MANUFACTURERS ASS'N

JMP:AAL

J. M. Pritchard
Secretary-Manager.

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333

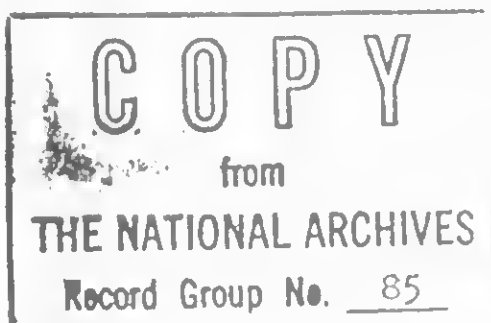
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 March 26 [Washington, D.C. to Robert A. Lansing] Secretary of State [Department of State, Washington, D.C.] / Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor].— 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Post informs the secretary of state that he recently sent him a list of deported radicals and he does not have further personal information to send.

Notes: Reply to 811023010. For letter mentioned, see 811023006.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

54809/*General*.

March 26, 1920.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State.

S i r:

Replying to your letter of the 22d instant (U-H 311.6124/29), I have the honor to advise you that, under date of the 12th instant, the Department forwarded to you two lists containing the names of the aliens who were deported from the port of New York, N. Y., on December 21, last, on the U. S. A. Transport "Buford."

Referring to your request that you be provided with a descriptive personal record of each individual deported on the "Buford," I beg to advise you that the Department does not have descriptive data covering these aliens. It was the intention to photograph all of them before their departure from New York, but conditions which developed at the last moment prevented this being done.

Respectfully,

EXACT COPY OF ORIGINAL
MAILED 1000 20 1920 BY
LOUIS F. POST

Assistant Secretary.

WJP:REM

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Stella Comyn Ballantine—Emma Goldman—Chicago Tribune
[1920 March 30 (cover page)] / [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].—
1 p. ; 28 × 20 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Notes: Light copy; barely legible. For enclosure, see 811222059.

218 765



5/21:8/28

51920

SPECIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

In re: Stella Comyn Ballantine
Emma Goldman
Chicago Tribune

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335

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Stella Comyn Ballantine - Emma Goldman - Chicago Tribune, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1920 March 30 / [Agent] 836 [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. - 2 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent 836 reports that Goldman is in touch with Stella Ballantine through the Chicago Tribune. Goldman condemns the blockade of Russia and predicts the spread of revolution.

Notes: Light copy; barely legible. Two shots of one page. Enclosed with 811222029. For original report, see 810402082.

4824 Pittsburgh, Pa. March 30, 1920 3/31-3/30
 1920
 In re - Stella Comyn Ballantine - Emma Goldman - Chicago Tribune.

New York, N. Y.

NOTED
 W.V.G.

SPECIAL

Stella Comyn Ballantine, niece of Emma Goldman, has received no direct word from her aunt since she arrived in Russia. She has however received indirect word through the Chicago Tribune.

The Chicago Tribune's representative in Germany succeeded in establishing wireless communication with Emma Goldman. He recently interviewed her; this interview was in turn given to Stella by a New York representative of the paper.

In this interview Goldman stated she was busy working on plans for a revolution in the United States. She condemned the allied blockade of Russia and predicted a revolution in the allied countries as a result. She said that she herself was going to Russia. She asked to hear from Stella.

The Chicago Tribune representative agreed to pass word back from Stella, which was very nice, only discussing subjects relative to her own family.

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336

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Stella Comyn Ballantine - Emma Goldman - Chicago Tribune, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1920 March 30 / [Agent] 836 [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. - 2 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

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836

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mar. 30, 1920

3/21-3/28

1920

Stella Comyn Ballantine - Emma Goldman - Chicago Tribune

New York, N. Y.

SPECIAL

Stella Comyn Ballantine, niece of Emma Goldman, has received no direct word from her aunt since she arrived in Russia. She has however received indirect word through the Chicago Tribune.

The Chicago Tribune's representative in Germany succeeded in establishing wireless communication with Emma Goldman. He briefly interviewed her; this interview was in turn given to Stella by a New York representative of the paper.

In this interview Goldman stated she was now working on plans for a Revolution in the United States. She condemned the allied blockade of Russia and predicted a revolution in the allied countries as a result. She said that she herself was old and hungry. She asked for word from Stella.

The Chicago Tribune representative agreed to send word back from Stella, which was very brief, only mentioning subject relatively to her own family.

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337

The Emma Goldman Papers

810113046

[Letter] 1920 March 30 [Washington, D.C. to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Hoover sends Caminetti the price of one hundred photographs of Goldman, Berkman, and Peter Bianki.

Notes: Reply to 810618015. Follow-up to 810113045. For copy, see 830214025.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

JM-670

186233-13

March 30, 1920.

Honorable Anthony Caminetti,
Commissioner-General of Immigration,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Caminetti:

Referring to the request made by you some time ago to obtain one hundred (100) photographs each of EMMA GOLDMAN, ALEXANDER BERKMAN and PETER BIANKI, which you might send to various immigration stations throughout the country, I have to advise you that the New York office of the Bureau of Investigation informs me to the effect that the photographs can be obtained for \$21.00. If you are desirous of procuring these photographs and will forward to me an official request for the same, I will be very glad to take the necessary steps to procure the same.

Very truly yours,

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

186233-13-255

| |
|--------------------------|
| DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE |
| MAR 30 1920 |
| MAILS AND FILES DIVISION |

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338

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 March 30, Washington, D.C. [to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 22 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Notes: Handwritten margin notes by W.J. Peters. Copy of 810113046.

March 30, 1920.

Honorable Anthony Caminetti,
Commissioner-General of Immigration,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Caminetti:

Referring to the request made by you some time ago to obtain one hundred (100) photographs each of EMMA GOLDMAN, ALEXANDER BERKMAN and PETER BIANKI, which you might send to various immigration stations throughout the country, I have to advise you that the New York office of the Bureau of Investigation informs me to the effect that the photographs can be obtained for \$21.00. If you are desirous of procuring these photographs and will forward to me an official request for the same, I will be very glad to take the necessary steps to procure the same.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
Special Assistant to the Attorney General.



4/16
Mr. Wagner:
Will it be possible to pay the
this out of the
anarchy fund?
WJP

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339

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Deportation] Hearing of [Ludwig] Martens, 1920 March 31, Washington, D.C. [excerpt] / [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. — 5 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The government submits the December 15, 1919, letter from Martens to Goldman as part of its evidence supporting his deportation.

Notes: Dark copy; portions illegible.

11-640

818

²⁶
MARTENS HEARING
before
Immigration Inspector.

Mar. 31 - Oct. '13,
1920.

61-640-69

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340

The Emma Goldman Papers

890414125

[Deportation] Hearing of [Ludwig] Martens, 1920 March 31, Washington, D.C. [excerpt] / [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].— 5 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The government submits the December 15, 1919, letter from Martens to Goldman as part of its evidence supporting his deportation.

Notes: Dark copy; portions illegible.

98759/477

54709/629

March 31
no. 1

PRESENT ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT:

Mr. Louis F. Post,
Assistant Secretary of Labor Department.

Mr. William J. Peters,

Law Officer, Bureau of Immigration.

Mr. A. F. Small,

Inspector, Immigration Service.

Mr. J. E. Hoover,

Special Assistant to the Attorney-General,
Department of Justice.

PRESENT ON BEHALF OF THE ALIEN:

Mr. Thomas W. Hardwick.

Mr. James A. Hourigan.

Mr. Charles R. Recht.

The alien was present in person.

Secretary, Alice J. Buckley.

My before yesterday Mr. Martens came to my office with his counsel, ex-Senator Hardwick. I showed him the warrant that was in my hands in this case, issued by the Department of Labor, signed by the Acting Secretary, and arranged on the record, as I had previously arranged off the record with ex-Senator Hardwick, to parole Mr. Martens to his counsel, Mr. Hardwick, pending these hearings and pending deportation. That order will stand until it is otherwise ordered, which will only be done in case reason is shown and application made.

I want to make a statement of two before the examination is taken up. I directed that this meeting be held as a preliminary hearing. After this meeting, the hearings will continue in a full court which will be shown you when the time comes.

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341

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Deportation] Hearing of [Ludwig] Martens, 1920 March 31, Washington, D.C. [excerpt] / [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. — 5 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The government submits the December 15, 1919, letter from Martens to Goldman as part of its evidence supporting his deportation.

Notes: Dark copy; portions illegible.

(Continuation of Mr. Martens's testimony before the Sub-Committee on Foreign Relations on January 15th, 1920, Page 12 of "Exhibit 9")

Mr. Martens:
Q. Now, say what?

A. You were also placed in the editorial board of the "New York Evening World" as shown by your statement at Page 1 of "Exhibit 9".

Q. Mr. Martens, I read to you from "Exhibit 9", pages 284 and 285 of your hearing before the Sub-Committee on Foreign Relations, February 25th, 1920, as follows:

Mr. Killa:
You would like to see the rule of the dictatorship of the proletariat established in the United States?
Mr. Martens:
I would like to see it established everywhere.

Mr. Killa:
Including the United States?
Mr. Martens:
Yes, sir. But that has nothing to do with my activities in the United States.

Mr. Killa:
That has nothing to do with your activities, you say? You would simply like to see it established?

Mr. Martens:
Well, I may express my wish or opinion about several things, but that does not refer to my activities at all.

Q. You gave the testimony I have just read to you, did you not?
A. I decline to answer.

Q. You also testified, as recorded on Page 285 of "Exhibit 9" that you wrote a letter to Emma Goldman while she was detained at Ellis Island awaiting deportation to Russia on the ground that she was an anarchist, did you not?
A. I decline to answer.

Q. I read to you the following letter addressed by you to Emma Goldman dated December 15th, 1919, and ask you if you wrote the same?
A. I decline to answer.

(Note: The letter is to be found at Pages 271, 272, 274 and 275 of "Exhibit 9" which is part of this record.)

"Miss Emma Goldman,
Ellis Island, New York.
Madam:

December 15, 1919.

New York morning papers, Sunday, December 14,

87

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Deportation] Hearing of [Ludwig] Martens, 1920 March 31, Washington, D.C. [excerpt] / [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. — 5 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The government submits the December 15, 1919, letter from Martens to Goldman as part of its evidence supporting his deportation.

Notes: Dark copy; portions illegible.

published an alleged interview with me regarding your enforced departure to Russia, I was maliciously represented as having said that you and other refugees will not be welcome in Soviet Russia, and that you may be punished by death if you "plot" here as you plotted here. While I have never had the pleasure of meeting you personally, I am confident that you understood that I have said no such thing, and I am writing this now to correct the record.

For your coming to the Russian Revolution, I am sure of which are the errors which I am sure to correct, and many other incidents to which you, your comrades in exile, and thousands of other men and women of Russian birth, have been subjected in the United States. I wish on behalf of my country to state that the Workers' Republic of Russia will be glad to offer an asylum to the first group of political refugees from the United States.

Everybody, be he a bourgeois, an anarchist, a socialist or a communist, is in free Russia at liberty to express his opinions and to advocate his beliefs as long as he does not engage himself in active cooperation with the enemies of the Russian workers — especially at this crucial time, when Soviet Russia is fighting for her existence against an avalanche of unity and conspiracy.

Whether he be a bourgeois, an anarchist, a socialist or an unfaithful communist, he must observe punishment in Russia, if he is found actively violating the interests of the Russian workers.

I have no reason whatever to believe that you and your comrades in exile will not find yourselves in Russia wholeheartedly working for the strengthening of the ideals of the Russian Soviet Republic. I am confident that you therefore will be as welcome there as any other workmen or women who are interested in the liberation of the working class.

I regret very much that the committee of the present situation proved so far from personally arranging for your security and comfort during your journey to Russia.

It is a matter of the fact that I, on behalf of my country, will offer to the Government of the United States to provide, at the cost of Soviet Russia, free transportation to my country of all Russians in America who want to return there, or whose presence in the United States is not desired by the authorities here. This proposition so far has led to no results. If realized, it would have saved you unnecessary humiliation and privation, and it would have saved the authorities here unnecessary excitement.

83

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Deportation] Hearing of [Ludwig] Martens, 1920 March 31, Washington, D.C. [excerpt] / [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].— 5 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The government submits the December 15, 1919, letter from Martens to Goldman as part of its evidence supporting his deportation.

Notes: Dark copy; portions illegible.

Please accept my best wishes and convey them to all the other refugees. Tell them that Russia, liberated from the yoke which drove them out of their native land, is welcoming them back, confident that they will find there an opportunity to work for the development of the Soviet Republic of Russia.

L. I. MERTENS,

Representative in the United States of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republics.

Q. You know at the time that this letter was written that Emma Goldman was being deported from the United States for having violated the laws of this country, did you not?

A. I decline to answer.

Q. You testified, did you not, before the Sub-Committee on Foreign Relations, February 21st last, as shown on Page 248 of "Exhibit 9", that you joined the American Socialist Party in the Bronx, New York, sometime in 1918?

A. I decline to answer.

Q. You submitted a list of names of your former employees to the Sub-Committee on Foreign Relations on February 22, 1920, as shown at Page 245 of "Exhibit 9", did you not?

A. I decline to answer.

Q. The list contains the names of Arthur Saltzman and Theodore Fedotoff employed from April 15 to December 4, 1919, does it not?

A. I decline to answer.

Q. You testified before the Sub-Committee on Foreign Relations on February 21st, as shown at Page 248 of "Exhibit 9", that these two men had, shortly before you employed them, been convicted and sentenced on the charge of sedition, did you not?

A. I decline to answer.

Q. I read to you from "Exhibit 9", being your hearing before the Sub-Committee on Foreign Relations, February 21st, 1920, as recorded at Pages 248, 249 and 250, as follows:

"Mr. Eliot:

Did you say you did, or did you say you did not send a telegram to the Russian Federation?

Mr. Martens:

I did.

Mr. Eliot:

Did you say in this telegram:

"Dear Americans:

In the name of the

48

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The Emma Goldman Papers

850205120

[Report on Ludwig Martens, Washington, D.C.?, 1920? April? (excerpt)] / [Military Intelligence Division, War Department].— 3 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Military Intelligence compiles its information on Ludwig Martens, including connections between Martens and Goldman's associates such as M.E. Fitzgerald and Pauline Turkel.

Notes: Light copy; portions illegible.

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF
Executive Division
MR. L. B. BROWN

CV
10110-1194

1920

Martens' counter-espionage

Intelligence Officer, Chicago, January

Organization: (10110-1194)
(Page 214-)

6, reports "M— has list of names and

code numbers of D. OF J. agents active

in radical organizations.

Martens accuses Louis

In Chicago, Assistant State Attorney

C. Fraina of being United

Michaels, thru Mr. Appel, Manager of

States Government Agent—man

"Northside Turnhall," visits the latter

who framed the Communist man—and does so confidential talking in

resto.

Appel's office, directly in the rear

of the floor, next to the Kitchen.

Michael and Appel are

I.O. Chicago, 1-11
(10110-1194-1)

reported

conscious

(a) Charles ...
Professor, ...
University, ...

(b) Dr. ...
...

(c) Rev. ...

(d) De ...

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345

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Military Intelligence compiles its information on Ludwig Martens, including connections between Martens and Goldman's associates such as M.E. Fitzgerald and Pauline Turkel.

Notes: Light copy; portions illegible.

The connection of the Mar- L. Fremont Alder, editor San Francisco
tens' Mission with purely Call, alleged to have a paid agent working
American people organizations.in the D. of J., Washington.

F. Frank Walsh, Attorney, formerly with War-Labor board, now a member of the M c money Defense League, alleged to have informant in Washington, D. C. Office of the O. R. I.

Information
and
Information, and
Military
not

Martens connection
the Mooney Defense.

7, reportin Oct. 28, 1944. [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] re-
ceive [redacted] [redacted] from Martens.
[redacted] the
Secretary, National [redacted] [redacted] source of
Eugene Goldman,
~~Immediate money~~ contributed to "Flyer". Alex-
ander Berham in the first appointment he made

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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Summary: Military Intelligence compiles its information on Ludwig Martens, including connections between Martens and Goldman's associates such as M.E. Fitzgerald and Pauline Turkel.

Notes: Light copy; portions illegible.

3

after he succeeded ()

as Secretary of Mooney Defense was Eleanor Fitzpatrick, as the Agent of the League in New York City, #32 Union Square, Room 10015. Miss Fitzpatrick's secretary was Pauline Turkel, also anarchist, at one time secretary to Emma Goldman. The official cartoonist of the Mooney Defense League is Robert Minor, Cartoonist for Berkmen's "Blast"; returned from France after questionable activity in the American Lines, whose character is closely connected with that of Senator France, of Maryland, who has shown a deep interest in the subject. Nolan in Frisco said that the bolsheviks will see the Mooney Defense League thru, through this man.

I. O., Chicago reports, Dec.

29, 1920 thru No. (

as follows:-----

Communist Labor Party, N.Y.
Meeting.

Underground from a meeting
noted in Chicago.

Below

Jim L.

under

used by the [illegible] purpose
they could [illegible] or reds
NOT known as radicals. [illegible] could
furnish about 50 or 40 who could lend their names
for such.

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347

The Emma Goldman Papers

871102004

Bulletin of Radical Activities No. 11, week ending April 3, 1920 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] / [Radical Division, Department of Justice]. — 4 p. ; 30 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The Justice Department's Bulletin of Radical Activities describes the history of the Francisco Ferrer Modern School movement, including Goldman's participation.

Notes: Enclosed with 871102006.

CONFIDENTIAL

BULLETIN OF RADICAL ACTIVITIES

No: 11
Copy 6

Week ending April 3, 1920.

Index

| <u>Organizations:</u> | <u>Page</u> |
|--|-------------|
| Communist Party | 1 |
| Communist Labor Party | 3 |
| I. W. W. | 6 |
| " (Press Organization) | 8 |
| One Big Union | 14 |
| Russian Professional Unions | 15 |
| Socialist Party | 17 |
| Committee of 48 | 22 |
| Miscellaneous Organizations | 43 |
| <u>Individuals</u> | 23 |
| <u>International</u> | 24 |
| <u>Strikes</u> | 25 |
| Strike notes | 26 |
| Sinn Fein | 32 |
| Negro activities | 37 |
| Ex Service men | 40 |
| General | 42 |
| Radical meetings (Miscellaneous) | 47 |
| <u>Press</u> | 48 |

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348

The Emma Goldman Papers

871102004

Bulletin of Radical Activities No. 11, week ending April 3, 1920 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] / [Radical Division, Department of Justice].— 4 p. ; 30 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The Justice Department's Bulletin of Radical Activities describes the history of the Francisco Ferrer Modern School movement, including Goldman's participation.

Notes: Enclosed with 871102006.

N O N P A R T I S A N L E A G U E .

St. PAUL

Since the convention of the Non Partisan League and the convention of the Working People's Non Partisan Political League which were held simultaneously, matters have been very quiet in these organizations. This is due to the fact that they are now getting ready to launch a state campaign and are confining themselves mostly to preparations.

The only change in the situation regarding the Non Partisan League is the fact that candidates are coming out every day for the Republican ticket, which is the ticket upon which the Non Partisan League candidate will be nominated if at all. There are now nine regular Republicans seeking nomination against the Non Partisan League candidate. The Republicans are to hold an elimination convention this week with the hopes of centering on one man to run against the Non Partisan League candidate. It is very improbable that they will be able to do this as several of the candidates have already announced that they would not be bound by the action of such a convention.

HISTORY OF THE FRANCISCO FERRER ASSOCIATION AND THE MODERN SCHOOL.

Francisco Ferrer, anarchist and anti-clerical, was executed in Spain in 1910. His last words were "LONG LIVE THE MODERN SCHOOL."

Shortly after his death several persons came together and planned to perpetuate his name and to establish a school for the purpose of carrying out his ideas of revolutionary education.

About 1911 the Modern School, or the Francisco Ferrer School was founded. It was located on East 14th Street and was, I believe, known at that time only as the Francisco Ferrer school. Later the school was moved to East 107th St., New York City, (The number was 103 East). A sign was displayed on this building which read, "THE FRANCISCO FERRER ASSOCIATION".

There was a restaurant in the basement; the school room was on the second floor; there was an art school on the third floor and some living rooms on the fourth floor.

In 1915 (and at this time the "board of directors" consisted of LEONARD D. ABBOTT, HIPPOLYTE HAVEL, JOE COHEN and ALEC BERKMAN) some land was purchased near Stelton, N. J., and the school removed there. The land at Stelton was purchased by

The Emma Goldman Papers

871102004

Bulletin of Radical Activities No. 11, week ending April 3, 1920 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] / [Radical Division, Department of Justice].— 4 p. ; 30 x 22 cm.

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Summary: The Justice Department's Bulletin of Radical Activities describes the history of the Francisco Ferrer Modern School movement, including Goldman's participation.

Notes: Enclosed with 871102006.

a syndicate (understood to be 160 acres) and sold in lots to members of the Francisco Ferrer Association, to be paid for in installments or as they would.

Among those present at the first meeting after the execution of Francisco Ferrer were LEONARD D. ABBOTT; HARRY KELLY; HIPPOLYTE HAVEL; EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

These, and some few others, are referred to as "the old guard" by anarchists. Since its incipience the Ferrer Association and school has been the headquarters in the United States for anarchists and a rendezvous for all radicals. It was a propaganda station for teaching and dissemination of the idea that all our schools and colleges are "a farce"...that "capitalists are wicked and tyrants and a menace to society, and governments were only to oppress the poor and protect the rich".

The library was made up almost entirely of prohibited literature and books of instruction in the ideas and principles of anarchism. A number of these books give advice on direct action, such as the killing of an official or other individuals, and on "demonstrations against the social system".

Anyone having served a term in prison for "political offences" was feted and spoken of as a hero. The majority of the members were lazy sentimentalists and ignorant devotees of the leaders.

It is the boast of the leading anarchists that the school at Stelton is the headquarters for education in anarchism, and they claim that the minds of the children are imbued with the ideas of communism.

The games of the children in the school at Stelton consist of playing "little Soviets" and little councils."

LEONARD D. ABBOTT: extolled the virtues and doctrines of Carl Berg, Carl Hanson and Arthur Caron, at the burial of the latter after they had been blown to pieces in an explosion of dynamite in their apartment on Lexington Avenue, New York City, July 4th, 1915. At a mass meeting held "in memoriam" at Union Square, Abbott propounded the theories of "violence" and justified the attempt of Berg, Hanson and Caron to "fight oppression with force" (or words to that effect.) Berg, Hanson, and Caron were manufacturing an explosive machine and it is the opinion of those in charge of the N. Y. Police Department at the time, and the confidential opinion of all good anarchists that the infernal machine was intended for use against John D. Rockefeller, Sr. at his Tarrytown, N. Y. home on July 4th, 1915. It is further gossiped among anarchists "in the know" that one J. J. MURPHY, who miraculously escaped death when the infernal machine exploded in Caron's apartment, secured his "getaway", money from Leonard D. Abbott and one hundred dollars was given to Murphy by Abbott in the presence of Alexander Berkman and two other people to enable Murphy to "disappear".

HARRY KELLY: active in the councils of the Ferrer Association; close associate and intimate of both Abbott and Havel and associated in many ventures with Goldman and Berkman; in 1901 mentioned in connection with the drive against anarchists

The Emma Goldman Papers

871102004

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Notes: Enclosed with 871102006.

shortly after the assassination of President McKinley and generally credited with knowledge of the plans preceding the assassination. Name is fictitious but correct name has not been secured

HIPPOLYTE HAVEL: (correct name GEORGE HENRY FECHNER or FECHTNER) Bohemian; formerly of "THE REVOLT", contributor to "FREE SOCIETY" - anarchist publication conducted by JAY FOX in Washington State and suppressed after the assassination of McKinley. Editor of "REVOLUTION ALMANAC - 1914" printed by the Rabelais Press in N. Y. City in 1915. Associate of Caron, Hanson and Berg and credited by anarchists throughout the country with the indiscretion of "too much talk" in connection with the Los Angeles Time Building Blowup, his verbosity resulting in the arrest of the McNamaras in connection with affair. Contributor to "FREEDOM", anarchist publication printed in New Brunswick, N. J. Claims to have been the "power behind Emma Goldman" and to have written most of her lectures. Was arrested in Chicago shortly after September 6, 1901, in connection with the assassination of President McKinley and Chicago police at that time showed his attendance at a meeting at which were present ABRAHAM ISAACS, his two children, MARIE FOX, EMMA GOLDMAN and LEON CZOLGOSZ. Said recently that he "has written against the government, does write against the government, and will continue to write against the Government". Is educated, possesses initiative has literary ability and is a man who can "lead" except for his weakness for liquor which weakness is made much of by those who use his knowledge to their own advantage and assume all credit as their own.

MISCELLANEOUS RADICAL ORGANIZATIONS.

HARVARD STUDENT LIBERAL CLUB. In the living room of the HARVARD UNION, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, there is to be given a course on the "ANALYSIS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION", in six lectures, the intent of which is to "inspire a scientific interest in the portentous experiment now being made in Russia," and to "open the way to a searching analysis of the theories and experiences of New Russia, thereby inculcating the same scientific attitude towards contemporary events, which history courses now seek to develop towards past events." On Thursday, April 1st, BARON S. A. KORFF, Assistant Governor-General of Finland under Prince Lvoff and Kerensky, who served with the Russian Peace Delegation at Paris, will have as his theme "The History of the Russian Revolution", which will deal with Liberalism and Socialism in the 19th century, the failure of the revolutionary attempt in 1905, and so on down to the revolution of March, 1917, and the advent of the bolsheviki in November, 1917, Dr. SAMUEL E. MORISON, who was with the American Peace Delegation, will sit as chairman. On April 9th, GREGORY HANKIN, during the war period in the service of the Kerensky government, will speak on the "PHILOSOPHICAL PRINCIPLES ON BOLSHEVISM", analyzing the terms "bolshevism" and "soviet government". He will deal with Bolshevism implying the introduction of a Marxian Socialist

The Emma Goldman Papers

810331009

[Letter] 1920 April 3 [Washington, D.C. to] W[illiam] L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State, Washington, D.C. / M[arlborough] Churchill, Director, Military Intelligence [Division, War Department].— 1 p.; 34 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Churchill sends Hurley a translated proclamation advocating world revolution, supposedly sent to Goldman and Berkman in the United States.

Notes: For related documents, see 810331006 through 810331008, 810331010, 810331022 and 810331023. For copy, sent to Bureau of Investigation, see 830331010.

10058-515
M.I.4-E

April 3, 1920.

Mr. W. L. Hurley,
Office of the Under Secretary,
Department of State, Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Hurley:-

I quote for your information a translation of a proclamation of the Executive Committee of the Russian Socialist Federative Republic, advocating a world revolution, which was furnished this office by the Military Attache, Switzerland, under date of February 27, 1920:-

" The executive committee of the Council of Laborers and Deputies of the Peasants and Soldiers of the Russian Socialist Federative Republic:

Comrades, Laborers!

There is only one way of helping the Russian Revolution and at the same time of helping oneself. Cease being the slaves of the capitalists, of landed proprietors, of the government, and of the men of law! With one blow destroy these damn classes. Do as we have done: get hold of the governmental machine. Do it at once. Take the first favorable opportunity that presents itself. Your exploiters thinking you were imbeciles, have themselves given you arms so that you should help them in their criminal actions. Show them that you can use these arms for yourselves.

Down with the capitalist! Down with the exploiters! All power for the proletariat! Vive the proletariat! Vive the world revolution! "

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF WORKMEN AND PEASANTS. "

Copies of this document were sent to the following persons in the United States: Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman, Isaac Don Levine, Samuel Gompers, William Sitowief, Adolph Schnabel and Peter Bianci. It is stated that between two and three million copies of this proclamation were printed and distributed.

Very truly yours,

M. Churchill,
Brigadier General, General Staff,
Director of Military Intelligence,
Assistant Chief of Staff.

By:

Robert T. Snow
Robert T. Snow,
Captain, Infantry.

(Copy to I.O.C.D.)

APR - 3 1920 (772)

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE
Executive Division
Mr. L. B. Beach
1005-8-5/5-1920
APR 19
WAR DEPARTMENT
102

The Emma Goldman Papers

830331010

[Letter] 1920 April 3 [Washington, D.C. to] Frank Burke, Assistant Director and Chief, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, [Washington, D.C.] / M[arlborough] Churchill, Director, Military Intelligence [Division] War Department. — 1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Notes: For reply, see 810331008. Copy of 810331009.

100589515
K.I.4-E

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
Division of Intelligence
Mr. E. A. Tamm
1520
APR 10 1920
1005-8-575-2
WAR DEPARTMENT
102

April 3, 1920.

Mr. Frank Burke,
Assistant Director and Chief,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice.

Attention- Mr. J. E. Hoover.

My dear Mr. Burke:

I quote for your information a translation of a proclamation of the Executive Committee of the Russian Socialist Federative Republic, advocating a world revolution, which was furnished this office by the Military Attache, Switzerland, under date of February 27, 1920:-

" The executive committee of the Council of Laborers and Deputies of the Peasants and Soldiers of the Russian Socialist Federative Republic:

Comrades, Laborers!

There is only one way of helping the Russian Revolution and at the same time of helping oneself. Cease being the slaves of the capitalists, of landed proprietors, of the government and of the men of law! With one blow destroy these damn classes. Do as we have done: get hold of the governmental machine. Do it at once. Take the first favorable opportunity that presents itself. Your exploiters thinking you were isbeilles, have themselves given you arms so that you should help them in their criminal actions. Show them that you can use these arms for yourselves.

Down with the capitalists! Down with the exploiters! All power for the proletariat! Vive the proletariat! Vive the world revolution!

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DELIVERED TO DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Very truly yours,

M. Churchill,
Brigadier General, General Staff,
Director of Military Intelligence,
Assistant Chief of Staff.

By:

Robert J. Snow
Robert J. Snow,
captain, Infantry.

Copy to I.O.E.D.

EMS

APR 3 1920

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353

The Emma Goldman Papers

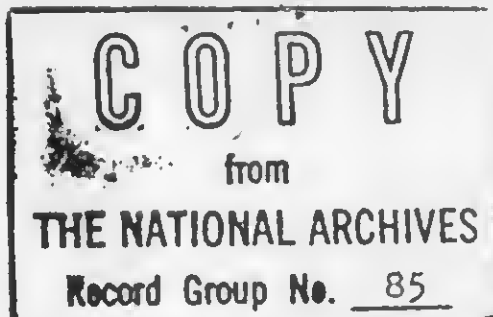
811023014

[Letter] 1920 April 6, New York [to] Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger. — 1 p. ; 32 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Weinberger renews his offer to supply a ship to transport deportees and volunteers to Russia.

Notes: Enclosed with 811023015. Follow-up to 811023002.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

COPY LSS

HARRY WEINBERGER

Counselor at Law

261 Broadway,

New York.

April 6th, 1920.

Hon. Bainbridge Colby,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:-

You will find from the records of your Department that I offered to supply a ship to take Russians ordered deported, back to Soviet Russia, as well as others who may desire to go, but the only decision from the State Department was that the matter has been turned over to the Secretary of Labor.

The supplying of a ship by me, as per the conditions of my previous letters, would eliminate the necessity for the recognition of the Russian Soviet Government, if the Department is still not desirous of recognizing it. You will further note in my correspondence, that this arrangement would save the United States thousands upon thousands of dollars, and I think ought to be accepted.

Hoping that you will be able to give this your immediate attention, and thanking you for an early reply, I am

Very truly yours,

(signed) HARRY WEINBERGER

HW/ICW

354

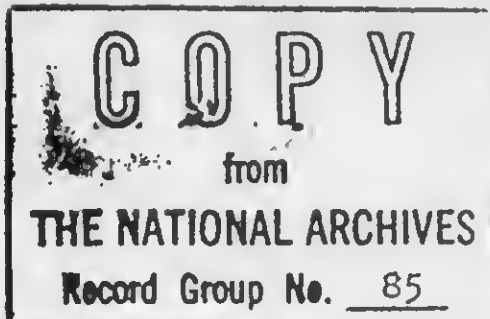
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 April 9, Washington [D.C. to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner [General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / Alvey A. Adee, Second Assistant Secretary, Department of State.— 1 p. ; 32 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Adee sends Caminetti Harry Weinberger's offer to transport people to Russia for the Department of Labor's attention.

Notes: For enclosure, see 811023014. For reply, see 811023043. For letter mentioned, see 811023001.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
R 311.6124/50

April 9, 1920,

The Honorable

The Secretary of Labor.

Sir: Attention of Mr. Anthony Caminetti,
Commissioner of Immigration.

In connection with a letter from this Department dated February 19, 1920, I have the honor to enclose herewith a copy of a letter dated April 6, 1920 from Harry Weinberger, in which he renews his desire to furnish a ship to take persons back to Soviet Russia.

I am informing Mr. Weinberger that his letter has been referred to your Department.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

For the Secretary of State:

Alvey A. Adee

Second Assistant Secretary

Enclosure:
Copy of Mr. Weinberger's
letter dated April 6th.

355

The Emma Goldman Papers

871102005

Bulletin of Radical Activities No. 12, week ending April 10, 1920, Washington, D.C.
[excerpt] / Radical Division, Department of Justice. — 2 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.
Summary: The Bulletin of Radical Activities reports that anarchists are moving from Paterson, New Jersey, to Hawthorne, California, to establish a colony on the property of Goldman's friends.
Notes: Broken type. Enclosed with 871102007.

OFFICE OF STAFF
10, 10 1683 1920
18
WAR DEPARTMENT
102

CONFIDENTIAL

BULLETIN OF RADICAL ACTIVITIES.

No. 12.

Week ending April 10, 1920.

Copy

(Previous Bulletin, No. 11 should be for April 3rd)

INDEX

ORGANIZATIONS

| | |
|---|----|
| Communist Party..... | 1 |
| Communist Labor Party..... | 3 |
| I. W. W..... | 4 |
| One Big Union..... | 6 |
| Socialist Party..... | 6 |
| Union of Russian Workers
and Associated Organizations..... | 7 |
| Committee of Forty-Eight..... | 9 |
| Non Partisan League..... | 10 |
| Anarchist Organizations..... | 11 |
| Miscellaneous Radical Organizations..... | 11 |

| | |
|-----------------------------|----|
| RADICAL MEETINGS..... | 13 |
| PRESS..... | 13 |
| INDIVIDUALS..... | 17 |
| INTERNATIONAL..... | 20 |
| TRADE AND LABOR UNIONS..... | 21 |
| STRIKE RETURNS..... | 24 |
| STRIKES..... | 26 |
| NEGRO ACTIVITIES..... | 28 |
| EX SERVICE MEN..... | 28 |
| GENERAL..... | 29 |

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
Radical Division,
Washington, D. C.

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356

The Emma Goldman Papers

Bulletin of Radical Activities No. 12, week ending April 10, 1920, Washington, D.C.
 [excerpt] / Radical Division, Department of Justice. — 2 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.
 Summary: The Bulletin of Radical Activities reports that anarchists are moving from Paterson, New Jersey, to Hawthorne, California, to establish a colony on the property of Goldman's friends.
 Notes: Broken type. Enclosed with 871102007.

ANARCHIST ORGANIZATIONS.

ITALIAN ANARCHISTS. Certain rumors are being circulated amongst Italians that there are a number of their countrymen coming to Los Angeles from Patterson, N. J. It is said to be an anarchistic move, and it is believed that they will colonize at Hawthorne several miles from the city of Los Angeles. At Hawthorne are living FRANK PECE and ANGELO TETA, who are said to be anarchistic and friends of EMMA GOLDMAN. Also it is rumored that a number of Italians are moving to Los Angeles from New Orleans, La.; that these are mostly Sicilians and it is not known whether they are anarchists; but they are said to be what is known as the blackhand type.

MISCELLANEOUS RADICAL ORGANIZATIONS.

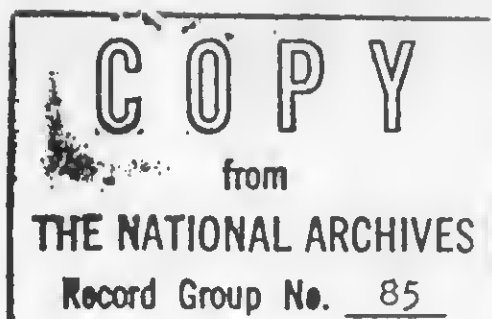
W.I.I.U., and SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY. Regular meeting of the W.I.I.U. was held at 247 South Broadway, April 7, at which 12 men and one woman were present. The W. I. I. U. State Convention is to be held at 1790 Mission Street, San Francisco, April 25th. Resolution that 500 leaflets of each of their propaganda be printed in the Spanish language for distribution amongst the Mexicans, was approved. Members were told of the radical strike in progress, and instructed to distribute some leaflets on hand at the meetings.

RUSSIAN ORGANIZATIONS IN NEW YORK CITY. Amerikanskya-Izvestia, in a recent issue prints a list of the various Russian organizations in New York City which are as follows:

| | |
|--|---|
| FIRST AGRICULTURAL GUILD | - - 233 East 17th Street, N. Y. C. |
| RUSSIAN WORKERS TECHNICAL SCHOOL | (AUTOMOBILE SCHOOL, 428. East 13th Street, N.Y.C. 222 East 10th Street, N.Y. C. |
| SOCIETY "NAUKA" | |
| TECHNICAL AID TO SOVIET RUSSIA | 7 East 15th Street, N.Y.C. |
| SOCIETY OF TRACTOR INSTRUCTORS | 102 East 7th Street, N.Y.C. |
| HOUSE WRECKERS UNION | 64 East 4th Street, N.Y.C. |
| DOCK WORKERS UNION | 424 East 15th St., Secretary Sanin. N.Y.C. |
| UNION OF RUSSIAN SAILORS | 14th (??) Street Cor. Fifth Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. |
| EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF PROFESSIONAL UNIONS AND CULTURO-EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS | c/o Amerikanskya-Izvestia, 243 East 13th Street, N.Y.C. |

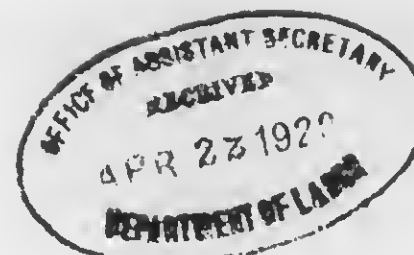
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 April 12, New York [to] William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor
[Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.
Summary: Weinberger argues that the Department of Labor should accept his offer of a ship to deport
aliens to Russia.
Notes: Handwritten margin note by Louis Post. For response, see 811023042 and 811023043.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

HARRY WEINBERGER
COUNSELOR AT LAW
261 BROADWAY, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE CONNECTION



April 12, 1920.

Hon. William B. Wilson,
Secretary of Labor,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:-

Re supplying a ship to take Russian
aliens ordered deported, and others to Soviet Russia,
I received a letter from the Department of State in-
forming me that the matter has been referred to you.
This is merely confirming what had already been written
me, that the matter is a matter for your decision, but
up to the present time I have not heard from you, nor
has any of my letters been answered.

Considering that the supplying of a ship,
manning same, etc., would be quite a saving to the
United States, mounting into the tens of thousands of
dollars, and in view of the fact that in the Bernard
Sernaker case, now detained at Ellis Island, bail was
refused of \$5,000, on the ground that he would be de-
ported to Soviet Russia at an early date, I believe
this offer should be accepted by your Department at
once.

Respectfully yours,

Harry Weinberger

HW/ICW

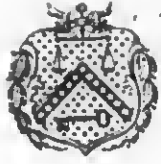
*Noted & transmitted
O B & J
Apr 14/20 L. J. P.*

358

The Emma Goldman Papers

850712516

[Letter] 1920 April 13, Washington [D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / D.F. Houston, Secretary [of the Treasury, Treasury Department]. — 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.
Summary: The secretary of the treasury explains why Victory notes are not acceptable bail bonds.
Notes: Broken type; light copy.



U.S.
Emma Goldman

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON

April 13, 1920.

Dear Sir:

I received your letter of April 12, 1920, complaining of the "stupid" ruling of the Treasury Department that Victory notes are not acceptable as security in lieu of sureties on aliens' bail bonds. I should be glad to have Victory notes acceptable as security in these cases, but in so far as the Treasury Department is concerned, your queries are completely answered by Treasury Department Circular No. 154, dated June 30, 1919, and the provisions of Section 1320 of the Revenue Act of 1918 quoted in said circular, under which only United States bonds are authorized to be accepted as security in lieu of sureties on penal bonds. Victory notes are not bonds, and do not, therefore, come within the provisions of Section 1320 of the Revenue Act authorizing the acceptance of United States bonds. This is made clear by the provisions of Section 1 of the Victory Liberty Loan Act, approved March 3, 1919, a copy of which is enclosed, to the effect that the word bond or bonds shall not be deemed to include Victory notes, except in certain specified statutory provisions which do not include Section 1320 of the Revenue Act. The Secretary of the Treasury is without power to alter the provisions of the statutes and therefore felt obliged to exclude Victory notes from the terms of the circular, except in so far as he was able to provide for their acceptance under the provisions of paragraph 17 of the circular in connection with

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359

The Emma Goldman Papers

850712516

[Letter] 1920 April 13, Washington [D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / D.F. Houston, Secretary [of the Treasury, Treasury Department].— 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.
Summary: The secretary of the treasury explains why Victory notes are not acceptable bail bonds.
Notes: Broken type; light copy.

- 2 -

[Apr. 13, 1920]

General Supply Committee contracts, under independent authority to
make regulations governing that committee.

Very truly yours,

2 enclosures.

H. F. Houston

Secretary.

Harry Weinberger, Esq.,
261 Broadway,
New York, N. Y.

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360

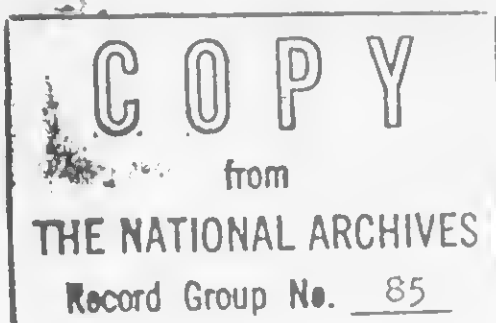
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1920 April 14, Washington [D.C. to Louis F. Post] Assistant Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor.— 2 p.; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Caminetti summarizes the government's efforts to arrange transportation to Russia for deportees and explains why the government opposes Harry Weinberger's offer to supply a ship.

Notes: For related documents, see 811023041 and 811023042.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION WASHINGTON

IN ANSWERING REFER TO

No. 54809/*General*

April 14, 1920.

In re Harry Weinberger's proposition to furnish ship
for transportation of certain deportees to Soviet Russia.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY:

This matter has been taken up, by virtue of communications from the State Department, with officials of that Department on their receipt, Mr. Poole, who had charge of such matters, representing the State Department. It was then agreed that the proposal of Mr. Weinberger could not be accepted, as such action would not be in consonance with the policy of the Department of State with regard to the status of Soviet Russia, the Soviet Government not having been recognized by this Government. Discussion of the subject took place at different times, and this attitude was agreed upon throughout.

Looking at the matter from the standpoint of this Department, it being the one responsible concerning deportations, it was considered by the Bureau inadvisable to countenance any proposal of the character made by Mr. Weinberger.

Outside of the question involved that to do so would be indirectly a dealing with the Soviet government and to that extent a recognition of it, there is the question that if such arrangements were made there is no guarantee that alien deportees will be taken to Soviet Russia, and it is incumbent upon the Department in making deportations to be in a position to certify that it has deported to the country to which deportation has been ordered.

The opinion that the Bureau has, and has had for the last two months, on this subject is that transportation could not have been secured to Soviet Russia, as efforts have been made in conjunction with the various representatives of the transportation companies after suggesting to them every conceivable way of reaching Soviet Russia to secure transportation for the purpose, but without success. The Bureau even went so far as to endeavor to secure a ship from Antwerp, to which point transportation could have been secured upon our own Government vessels, thence transshipping to any point that would reach Soviet Russia. That also was not successful.

As indicated in recent memoranda to your office concerning opportunities to transport to Soviet Russia, the Bureau has assurance that the ports of Reval and Petrograd, as well as other ports in the Baltic, will be clear of ice and navigation practicable on and after May 1st. This leaves the situation as follows:

(a) The Government can send deportees destined to Soviet Russia to Antwerp on Government vessels engaged regularly in the traffic, but accounts as late as during the last four days indicate that it has not been possible to make arrangements for transshipment from Antwerp to a port that will reach Soviet

The Emma Goldman Papers

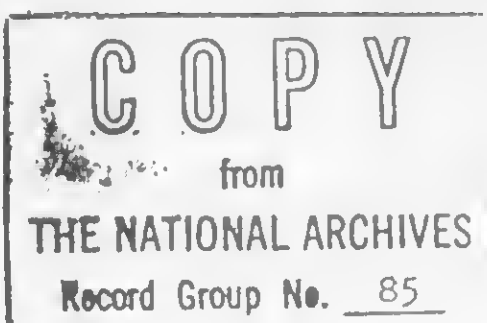
811023043

[Memorandum] 1920 April 14, Washington [D.C. to Louis F. Post] Assistant Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor.— 2 p.; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Caminetti summarizes the government's efforts to arrange transportation to Russia for deportees and explains why the government opposes Harry Weinberger's offer to supply a ship.

Notes: For related documents, see 811023041 and 811023042.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

--2.

Russia.

(b) The proposal to utilize Murmansk in Northern Russia, via Bergen, as was mentioned in previous memoranda, is awaiting reply from the Norwegian companies, three of which are engaged in the traffic, two as far as Varda, in Norway, and one to Bergen, Norway. Reports within the last four days indicate that they are not in position to make arrangements to take such passengers to Murmansk, but were considering the matter further, supposedly with their government.

(c) Present conditions in Germany and lack of information concerning transportation facilities make it impracticable to consider the proposal of sending people overland to Soviet Russia from Antwerp.

(d) At this writing, with the knowledge that Reval will be open to navigation thither from and after the 1st of May, the only practicable method is to request the use of a Government vessel from the War Department or the U. S. Shipping Board, to transfer from New York all deportees destined to Soviet Russia via Reval; or, to continue the effort to transfer such deportees to Antwerp by the present Government vessels plying regularly between New York and Antwerp, and secure from the Shipping Board, or from private companies, transportation to Reval.

The Bureau maintains that the Government of the United States is competent to send these aliens to Soviet Russia as soon as it is practicable to do so, and that the utilization of proposals such as those made by Mr. Weinberger should not be considered. It goes without saying that if any private individual can secure transportation for these people, there can be no question that the Government of the United States can do so.

The question of the number of deportees has had to be taken into consideration, and a recommendation for the use of a Government vessel, while contemplated, has not been made while the ports of Reval and Petrograd were known to be icebound, and while the then pending cases were still undecided. For it was considered that if a ship is to be secured we ought to wait until action has been taken on all the cases that were pending during the past two weeks as well as those that are expected to come into the Department during the balance of this month. It now appears not only probable but practically certain that the bulk of the outstanding cases will be in and acted upon before the end of this month. Therefore the Bureau recommends that steps be taken with the War Department with a view of securing a ship for departure on or about May 1st, either for Reval or Petrograd, according to which is the better port, and with that end in view preparations be made to get ready all those who are now, and such as may hereafter be, ordered deported, so that all will be in readiness.

It is further recommended that the United States Shipping Board be consulted, with a view of ascertaining if equal or better facilities cannot be obtained for the proposed movement.

A. Caminetti
Commissioner General.

362

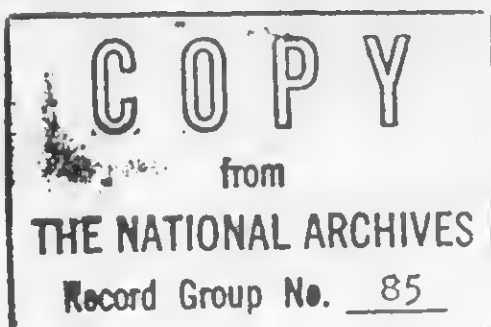
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum, 19]20 April 14, Washington [D.C. to] B[ureau] of I[m]migration,
Washington, D.C.] / Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary [of Labor] Department of
Labor. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Post asks for the Bureau of Immigration's file on Harry Weinberger's proposal to transport
people to Russia.

Notes: For related documents, see 811023041 and 811023043.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

B. of I.

*Send me the file
containing documents
& correspondence
regarding proposal
of Harry Weinberger
and me to supply
transportation for
Russians across
deserts*

*Louis F. Post
Asst Sec*

Apr 14/20

The Emma Goldman Papers

810402099

[Report on] Russian Propaganda, 1920 April 14 [Washington, D.C.] / Committee on Foreign Relations [United States] Senate.— 8 p. ; 22 x 30 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations reports on its investigation into the activities of Ludwig Martens, the unofficial Soviet representative in the United States.

Notes: Eight shots of fifteen pages.

66TH CONGRESS,
2d Session.

SENATE.

REPORT
No. 526.

RUSSIAN PROPAGANDA.

APRIL 14, 1920.—Ordered to be printed.

Mr. MOSES, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, submitted the following

REPORT.

[Pursuant to S. Res. 263.]

By resolution of the Senate adopted December 20, 1919, the Committee on Foreign Relations, through the full committee or by a subcommittee, was authorized to make inquiry into the status and activities of Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, the representative in this country of the Soviet régime in Russia.

On the 23d of December a subcommittee was designated to deal with the subject, and its membership comprised Messrs. Moses, Borah, Knox, Pomerene, and Shields. Messrs. Knox and Pomerene found it impossible to render the necessary service, and they were replaced by the appointment of Messrs. Brandegee and Pittman, respectively.

Subsequently, the Senate, by resolution, authorized the subcommittee to employ counsel, and the Hon. Wade H. Ellis, of Ohio, was retained in this capacity. Mr. Ellis was assisted by John B. Trevor, Esq., of New York City, who served the committee gratuitously and whose knowledge gained through service with the Lusk committee was of great value.

The resolution under which the committee acted was as follows:

[Senate resolution 263, Sixty-sixth Congress, second session.]

Whereas one Ludwig C. A. K. Martens claims to be an ambassador to the United States from the Russian Soviet Government; and

Whereas, according to newspaper reports, he refuses to answer certain questions before the Lusk investigating committee in the city of New York, a committee appointed to investigate propaganda against this Government, on the ground that he is such ambassador and entitled to diplomatic privileges; and

Whereas said Martens has headquarters in the city of New York and is alleged to be directing propaganda against this Government; and

Whereas, according to his testimony before said Lusk committee, he came to this country as a German citizen and is a member of the Communist Party, pledged to overthrow capitalist systems of government the world over; and

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Notes: Eight shots of fifteen pages.

2

RUSSIAN PROPAGANDA.

Whereas said Martens, according to his said testimony, regards this Government as a capitalistic government: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Relations is hereby authorized and directed, through the full committee or through any subcommittee thereof, to investigate as speedily as possible the status of said Martens; what alleged government or power in Europe he represents; what, if any, recognition of any kind has been accorded him by this Government; whether or not he is an alien enemy; what propaganda, if any, he is carrying on for the overthrow of governments; and all facts and circumstances relating to his activities in this country and his alleged diplomatic representation, and all facts relative to the activities of any other party, parties, or organization bearing upon or relating to Russian propaganda in this country, and make report to the Senate of such findings.

The said committee is hereby empowered to sit and act at such time and place as it may deem necessary; to require, by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance of witnesses, the production of books, papers, and documents; to employ stenographers at a cost not exceeding \$1 per printed page. The chairman of the committee, or any member thereof, may administer oaths to witnesses. Subpoenas for witnesses shall be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or subcommittee thereof. Every person who, having been summoned as a witness by authority of said committee or any subcommittee thereof, willfully makes default, or who, having appeared, refuses to answer any question pertinent to the investigation heretofore authorized, shall be held to the penalties provided by section 102 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

The expense thereof shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate, on vouchers ordered by said committee, signed by the chairman thereof, and approved by the Committee on Contingent Expenses.

The subcommittee held its first meeting January 12, and continued its sessions from time to time until March 29, when the hearings were formally declared closed. It was the constant purpose of the subcommittee to restrict the inquiry to the narrow lines set for it by the resolution above cited, and this effort was measurably successful, although, as is natural in cases where counsel appear—Martens being represented by former Senator Thomas W. Hardwick, of Georgia—much matter of a controversial or argumentative nature will be found in the record.

Inasmuch as the major line of inquiry under the resolution dealt with the subject of Martens's activities in this country, the committee deemed Martens himself to be the most competent source of information. Accordingly, he was the chief and almost the only witness to be heard, and his examination was developed naturally along the lines of his own admissions and from documentary assistance, which in substantially every case was fully authenticated before being made use of.

The rights of Martens were fully protected not only through the presence of his counsel, who sat with him from the beginning of the inquiry to the end, whereas four sessions of the committee were held before suitable counsel could be obtained for it; and he was permitted at the outset to state his case from prepared manuscript with the utmost vigor of expression and with only slight interruption or interrogatory. The committee deems this statement essential by reason of Martens's protest in the closing days of the inquiry that he had not been permitted to make suitable explanatory replies to the inquiry to which he had been subjected. On this point the record will speak for itself.

The committee finds itself unable to reconcile the self-evident contradiction in much of Martens's testimony. He is a thorough lin-

RUSSIAN PROPAGANDA.

3

guist, he was aided by able counsel, and his previous examination by a joint committee of the Assembly of the State of New York had fortified him for the line of inquiry which was pursued here. In consequence, it is unnecessary to go beyond the record to sustain the findings of the committee further than to point out certain inevitable and wholly warrantable deductions.

Following seriatim the items of inquiry enumerated in the resolution of the Senate, the status of Martens is disclosed by the testimony under several heads:

(1) What alleged Government or power in Europe does he represent?

His credentials (p. 14) were issued by the "People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs" of the "Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic," from Moscow, under date of January 2, 1919. They were signed by G. Chicharin, "People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs," and were sealed with the official seal of the commissariat. This Government, as was brought out in the course of the testimony (p. 23), was set up in November, 1917, by a counter-revolution to the movements of March in that year, which had accomplished the overthrow of the dynasty and government of the Romanoff Czars. This republic operates under a constitution, by the terms of which (p. 160) "all property rights in the land, treasures of the earth, water, forest, and fundamental natural resources within its boundaries are abolished"; which confirms "the transfer of all banks into the ownership" of the Government; by which there "pass over without indemnification to the disposition * * * of the county, provincial, regional, and Federal soviets," all private live stock and inventoried property of nonlaboring homesteads; and under which "private merchants, trade and commercial brokers" (p. 162); "monks and clergy of all denominations" (p. 194), and in general all persons who do not "perform useful, social functions" (p. 163), have no right either to vote or to be voted for.

For instance (p. 39) Martens explained that a man who owns a farm in Russia and who leases it to another may not vote or be voted for. Under this constitution all banks were converted into a state monopoly (p. 168), and holdings of bonds in excess of 10,000 rubles were confiscated (p. 169); these confiscations having taken place prior to the adoption of the constitution and were confirmed by that instrument. Under this constitution no Russian is permitted to invest his capital or to ship it out of the country or to receive interest upon it (p. 173). This constitution also provides for the disarming of the property classes, the arming of "all toilers" and the organization of "a Socialist red army" (p. 164). Under this constitution, in an election, the records are received by a Soviet (p. 200) which appoints a commission of verification; which in turn reports back to the Soviet and the Soviet "decides the question when there is a doubt as to which candidate is elected." By this means deputies are elected to "the All-Russian Congress of Soviets" and by this congress the prime minister is chosen, to hold office during the pleasure of his electorates (p. 200).

From this government Martens took his letters of credence as above stated; and there were later supplemented, under date of May

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25, 1919 (p. 14), by a further certificate signed by Chicherin and addressed "To whom it may concern," in which Martens was given certain authorization to take over and administer all property in America "belonging to the Russian Federative Socialist Soviet Republic" and to exercise further functions cognate to those of a diplomatic or consular representative.

Aside from his own declarations the committee found no means to ascertain Martens's real mission in the United States. His letters of credence and documents supplementary thereto were not in a form to warrant his assumption of diplomatic privilege. They were not indeed even in the form attaching to the commission upon which a consular officer receives his exequatur. The policy which he adopted in pursuance of his authorization as he interpreted it was equally unique and nebulous. For example, he protested throughout the entire course of his examination that his sole purpose in this country was to establish and develop cordial relations between Soviet Russia and the United States, especially through the building up of commercial intercourse. In support of this purpose he declared that he had attempted to enter into contractual relations with many American enterprises to whom he offered contracts for tools, machinery, clothing, etc., to be sent to Russia. These proffers, however, proved to be wholly tentative; and the form of contract which he employed in the few instances where such engagements were executed was wholly unilateral and the burden not only of supplying the wares in question, but of securing their shipment to Soviet Russia, was placed entirely upon the producer and no earnest money was ever deposited in a single instance; while the American contractor by one means or another was led to bring pressure upon the Government of the United States for the purpose of forcing either a modus vivendi with or an actual recognition of the Russian Soviet Government. To the committee, therefore, the conclusion is inescapable that the entire fabric of trade negotiations which Martens unrolled was part of an ingenious scheme of propaganda to create sympathy, based upon cupidity, for the Russian Soviets and to produce by indirect means the admission of Soviet Russia into the companionship of international relations which other means had failed to secure.

The next inquiry suggested by the resolution of the Senate: "What if any recognition of any kind has been accorded him by this Government?"

It has been observed that neither Martens's original letter of credence nor the supplementary certificate was in the usual form of diplomatic credentials; and in fact he testified (p. 36) that he is not familiar with the ordinary manner of diplomatic procedure, but that he knows of no reason why the usual form of such communications should have been departed from in his case. He testified that he filed his letter of credence with the Department of State on the 19th of March, 1919, accompanying it with a memorandum (p. 23) "dealing with the intentions of the Government of Russia, as well as with the internal affairs of that country." He had other communications with the State Department (p. 27); but to none of them was any reply vouchsafed. He never presented himself in person at the State Department (p. 89) or sought the usual audience with the Secretary of State, which is customary for diplomatic representa-

tives; and he "totally abandoned all efforts to secure personal recognition" (p. 81) after having sent his letter of credence to the department by mail.

He testified (p. 89) that "he was still trying to get recognition"; but that no official representatives had ever been sent by him to the State Department (p. 90). Unofficial representatives had conversations with officials at the State Department, including the Undersecretary of State, and from these Martens received oral reports.

Protesting constantly that his sole purpose in the United States was to develop trade relations between this country and Soviet Russia, and testifying (p. 91) that he had never communicated in any manner with the War Trade Board or with any other department of the Government, he asserted, however, that certain American industrial companies with whom he sought to make contracts had communicated with the President (p. 135), and with the Attorney General (p. 75), with a view to securing a change in the policy of this Government toward the Soviet Government to the end of opening up trade relations.

He made no effort to claim for himself or for any member of his staff, any of the usual privileges accorded a diplomatic officer (p. 43) such as to bring any household effects without payment of customs, etc.; and he never asserted his diplomatic quality (p. 43) until he was summoned for examination before the so-called Lusk committee of the Assembly of the State of New York.

In fact, his appointment as representative of the Soviet Government appears to have been shrouded in some mystery. He testified (p. 100) that he had had no knowledge concerning his designation prior to receiving his appointment and that his credentials were brought to him by a courier. It appeared from documentary evidence, however (p. 308), that a bureau had been organized in the city of New York for the purpose of establishing communications with Russia, the membership of this bureau embracing eight persons, among whom were Martens himself, Santeri Nuorteva, who was secretary of the Martens bureau, Gregory Weinstein, who was Martens's personal secretary, and a Prof. Lomonosoff, who, having been earlier connected with the regularly accredited Russian embassy in this country, later cast in his allegiance with the Soviet Government and with Martens's bureau. According to this evidence (p. 309), it was at first proposed that Weinstein should become the Soviet representative in the United States; but a question regarding Weinstein's integrity having arisen and two weeks' time being allotted to him to clear himself, at the expiration of this period Weinstein came before the committee with the information that Martens had received the appointment. The discrepancy between this evidence and Martens's assertion that the first intimation of his appointment had come when the courier handed him his credentials is apparent. But in whatever manner his appointment was brought about, it is wholly clear that he received no recognition, even personally, from the Government of the United States.

His communications to and from his Government, or its representatives, were almost invariably carried by couriers—whose names were withheld from the committee and whose travels, it is fair to assume, were facilitated by spurious passports or otherwise in direct

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6

RUSSIAN PROPAGANDA.

violation of the statutes covering foreign intercourse during the period of Martens's supposed representation here. These couriers brought to him not only letters, instructions, and other written communications, but also brought in large sums of money in the aggregate at least \$150,000 in violation of the trading with the enemy act, and of other statutory and regulatory restrictions. These couriers, in the number of about 20, he testified, comprised both American citizens and foreign subjects.

The inquiry whether or not Martens is an alien enemy, which the resolution of the Senate directs, brought out that Martens was born at Baehmut, in the Province of Ekaterinoslav, in Russia, in 1874, and that his parents were German subjects. His birth was registered in Russia as of German parentage and he was educated in Russia as an engineer, following that profession until 1899, when, after having spent three years in prison for revolutionary activities (pp. 7 and 8), he was deported by the Russian authorities to Germany, where he was held as a German subject to the military service which the German Government required. In 1906, Martens took up residence in England, where he remained for 10 years (p. 10). Until the beginning of the war in 1914, no occasion arose in England for the determination of his citizenship; but in October of that year (p. 11) a registration, in most cases accompanied by internment, of German subjects, was set on foot. Martens then registered as a German subject, "as a purely technical matter," according to this testimony (p. 11), alleging that to be the reason why he was not interned. Following his decision to come to America, permission to make the journey was accorded by the British inspector under the alien act, and Martens and his wife came to the United States on the 2d of January, 1916 (p. 11), and, upon landing at New York, he declared himself to be a German subject (p. 11), making the regular declaration under oath. He contended before the committee, however, that he did this solely because of the British permit which he carried and which identified him as a German subject.

Upon the issuance, December 31, 1917, of the rules and regulations for the registration of German enemy aliens in the United States, Martens did not so register; basing his claim (pp. 18-19) upon the assertion that he had been made a Russian citizen by virtue of a decree of the provisional government of Prince Lvov. This citizenship, he testified (p. 19), was procured for him by an application made by his relatives in Russia without special authority from him and with no formal paper from him in any manner. He was unable to furnish any copy of this decree (p. 20), though he declared (p. 20) that a document to this effect was issued to him, given into the possession of his sister in Russia and that she dispatched it to him by mail. This information, he declared (p. 20), came to him in a letter from his sister, but he was unable to produce the letter in question. He expressed the belief (p. 17) that the letter, containing his certificate of citizenship had been seized by the British censor of mails, but from the American embassy in London came information that no such letter had ever come into the possession of the British censor.

Martens's citizenship has been called in question more than once. By his own testimony (p. 15) he applied for Russian citizenship, which was refused on the ground (p. 16) that he had not performed

RUSSIAN PROPAGANDA.

7

his military duty in Germany. He insisted throughout that his German citizenship was merely "technical"; but he further testified (p. 17) that his German citizenship sufficed to bar him from the amnesty proclaimed against political offenders in Russia upon the overthrow of the Czar's Government, and it became necessary for him to obtain Russian citizenship by other means. He evidently was in a privileged class in this respect for he testified (p. 19) that there were exceptional circumstances applying to his case and that another, not as well known as he, could not be given citizenship without formal application. In this connection it may be worth knowing that the letter from Martens's sister, which constitutes the only written evidence he ever received touching the application and decree involved in his assumption of Russian citizenship, was not deemed of sufficient importance to have been kept by him with his official papers, and in consequence it could not be produced in evidence (p. 31).

In view of the fact that Martens refused to disclose the names of any of his couriers it is impossible to say whether those whom he described as American citizens also owed allegiance to the Russian Soviet Government, where citizenship is procured in so shadowy a manner that it might be possible for one, either native born or naturalized in America and in consequence exercising suffrage and other functions of citizenship here, to be at the same time a citizen of Soviet Russia, whose only prerequisite for citizenship as shown by the testimony is an application, which may be made in absentia, accompanied by a declaration that the applicant is an honest man. In any event these couriers, whether American citizens or not, shared with Martens the responsibility for the repeated violation of American statutes which their actions involved.

It is perhaps questionable whether those who have associated with Martens in this country, and who have been paid by him for any services, have also been guilty of violation of the law; although in this connection reference may be had to those sections of the penal code which will be found in the record.

In the absence of evidence other than that of Martens's own assertion, unsupported except by his presumed letter of credence—which, it may be observed, issued from a government which the United States does not recognize—the normal international relations to which the United States has constantly adhered would continue to place him as a German subject and hence as an enemy alien.

In seeking to determine what propaganda, if any, he is carrying on for the overthrow of governments, as directed by the resolution of the Senate, the testimony is somewhat complicated. It is evident from the constitution of the Government which he affects to represent (p. 165) that the "fundamental problem" of Soviet Russia is to bring about "the victory of socialism in all lands." In this motive Martens admitted (p. 166) the United States is "absolutely" included. There were also adduced in evidence two letters, copies of which were furnished by Martens himself, purporting to have been addressed by Nicholas Lenin, prime minister of Soviet Russia, to American workingmen. The first of these letters (p. 111), dated August 20, 1918, counted "on the inevitability of the international revolution" (p. 116), while the second, dated January 21, 1919, laid emphasis (p. 117) on the tremendous rapidity with which "the

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8

RUSSIAN PROPAGANDA.

workers in various countries have gone over to communism and bolshevism," and boasted (p. 120) "that the soviet power is great and spreading, growing and establishing itself all over the world." These documents, the authenticity of which Martens admitted (p. 121), were justified by him—the earlier appeal on the ground that this was necessary counterpropaganda against the activities which, as he asserted, the so-called Creel committee had carried on in Soviet Russia (p. 122). He pointed out that this letter was written prior to his appointment as Soviet representative in this country. But the second letter, dated January 21, 1919, and also offered by himself in evidence (p. 117), was written some three weeks after Martens's appointment, and he justified it (p. 179) upon the ground that American troops were in Russia opposing Bolsheviks, though he qualified this justification by declaring (p. 180) that propaganda of this character a few months later would have no justification.

It appeared, however, that even at this time when, as he contended, propaganda of this character would be unjustifiable there met in Moscow the so-called Third Internationale, which is the parent body of all Communist organizations and, in fact, its international court of last resort. From this body issued a manifesto, signed, among others, by Nicholas Lenin, the soviet prime minister, and by Leon Trotsky, the soviet minister of war, who are the ruling spirits in the Soviet Government. It is addressed "to the proletariat of all lands," and purports to contain (p. 182) "the authentic direct message from the conquering proletariat of great Russia to the toiling masses of the world"; it pictures "alongside the dethroned dynasties of the Romanoffs, Hohenzollerns, and Hapsburgs and the capitalistic cliques of these lands the rulers of France, England, Italy, and the United States * * * revealed in the light of unfolding events and diplomatic disclosures in their immeasurable vileness."

With these sentiments (p. 183) Martens said that he agreed; and (p. 185) in an article signed by him and published in the New York Call on Thursday, May 1, 1919, he declared that "the attitude of the workers of the world toward the Russian workers' revolution has proved that the spirit of international solidarity of the workers is not dead. It is resurrecting in the Third Internationale a new glory," and he concluded his article with the exclamation, "Long live the Third Internationale!" He later (p. 185) testified that he approved of the Third Internationale and its principles. It also appeared (p. 187) that the Russian Soviet Government by a decree issued in December, 1917, appropriated 2,000,000 rubles "for the needs of the revolutionary international movement for the disposition of the foreign representatives of the commissariat for foreign affairs." Martens himself, by the prima facie evidence of his own letter of credence, is such a representative; and this appropriation of money for the purpose of propaganda in foreign lands he justified (p. 189) on the ground that at this time "Russia was in the throes of a revolution and civil war and was attacked by all governments."

He added that he supposed the amount thus allocated was much more than 2,000,000 rubles. He declared that the bureau through which this money was to be expended has now passed out of existence, but admitted that his information on this point was gained

RUSSIAN PROPAGANDA.

9

through the Russian newspapers (p. 190). In this connection it was developed that a report alleged to have been sent by Martens to Frederick Strom (p. 191), the soviet representative at Stockholm, spoke of Martens's agents being "busy in the western States and in Canada, where they are * * * creating secret committees for propaganda and becoming acquainted with professional organizations and local press," and that "American workers' associations are passionately interested in the state of Russia and they are becoming more and more firm in the creed that nothing but bolshevism could advance the proletariat." Martens admitted to have sent many communications by courier to Strom; but he denied that any report of this character was among them.

In line with the foregoing it may be significant that Martens, in his closing words of testimony before the committee, testified that "it would be an improvement to have the Soviet Government here," and that he "would call that revolution."

It further appeared (p. 208) that a newspaper published in Petrograd in the interest of the trade-unions of that city, and known as the Trud, on November 10, 1919, published an article declaring that soon "the victory of the proletarian dictatorship in the whole world will be guaranteed," that "with the proletarians of all countries an agreement would be reached without any diplomats. But with you, Messrs. Imperialists, we shall carry on conversations just as you do with us—behind every word force; behind every condition force; behind every demand force." In commenting upon this Martens testified that he did not believe "in force as such," but that he did believe in it "if necessary."

Martens admitted (p. 239) that he has been a revolutionist for 25 years, and in every country where he has ever lived; that he was a revolutionist when he came to the United States; and that he is a revolutionist now.

In his revolutionary character Martens was evidently well known. In the issue of the Class Struggle for May, 1919, in a comment upon his appointment as soviet representative in this country, Martens was thus described:

Comrade Martens is a well-known figure among Russian socialists. * * * While a student he became interested in the revolutionary socialist movement and became allied with a group of revolutionists among whom Lenin was one of the most active members. Shortly after his matriculation he was imprisoned for revolutionary propaganda and spent three years in the prisons of the Czar. Later he was banished and carried on his activities in the various countries of Europe. About three years ago he came to this country. Here he was employed as the American representative of the great Dowlow steel works of Russia. He combines, therefore, a knowledge of business affairs with an impeccable record as a socialist and revolutionist, a combination that will make him an ideal representative of revolutionary Russia during the trying and difficult time of international economic reconstruction that lies before us.

From this background Martens emerged into his diplomatic quality; and it is fair to remark that if his conduct in that capacity has been as simple as he asserts, it is a reversal of form equally complete and gratifying. But it is difficult to believe that a man with Martens's previous record, involving a lifetime of revolutionary activities and with his declared quality of a revolutionist, now as always, could have suddenly changed his entire method of life through the simple talismanic influence of an appointment as diplo-

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10

RUSSIAN PROPAGANDA.

matic representative; and while, on the face of the record, his utterances and his personal activities—shaped doubtless by competent advice, as well as by his own previous experience—bore superficial evidence of a determination to act correctly, the whole collateral deduction must be that his concealed course was in line with that which he had hitherto pursued, namely, of hostility to the existing order wherever he has found himself.

Even, however, if it should be conceded that his constant association with organizations of foreign origin and of a purpose hostile to the Government of the United States had been thrust upon him by the nature of his mission here, there is no justification for the detached and indifferent attitude which he manifested toward revolutionary, inflammatory, and even anarchistic utterances of his associates on the public platform and elsewhere. His constant asseveration that these episodes had nothing to do with him, were none of his business, and that he was too busy to allow them to find lodgment in his mind contrasts strangely with the solicitous haste manifested by his letter to Emma Goldman; and it is wholly proper to conclude that his knowledge of events was equally complete in all cases and that his action, or nonaction, in each was gauged by his own sense or sentiment as to how a given course of conduct would affect either his personal standing here, or his ultimate purpose in this country.

As indicating the difficulty of separating Martens and his activities from propaganda carried on for the purpose of replacing the existing Government of the United States with sovietism, it is instructive to note (p. 52) his emphatic testimony that he never "attempted in any way to have the people of this country advocate a soviet form of government"; that he was not connected directly or indirectly with any organization or association which advocated sovietism in this country; and that he had never given support, either moral or financial, to such an organization. This testimony, however, was followed immediately by an admission (p. 52) that he was "very often in touch with these organizations" and that "on several occasions" he "accepted their invitations and spoke about Russia, but never in regard to the internal affairs of the United States." These speeches, he testified (p. 53) were fully reported in the New York Call, yet in connection with speeches made by others, and likewise reported in the New York Call, he protested vehemently that they were incorrectly reported (p. 24). This leads to the suggestion that Martens possibly occupied a privileged position in the columns of the New York Call such as he testified attended him when he sought to obtain Russian citizenship.

Referring to the secret activities of Martens it will be noted from the testimony (pp. 212, 220, and elsewhere) that he denied all knowledge or relationship with the Russian Socialist Federation, except in so far as the evidence presented by counsel for the committee compelled qualifications in reply to interrogations. For example, the telegram addressed to the convention of the Russian Socialist Federation in Detroit (p. 284) is documentary refutation of the witness's statement that he never gave, directly or indirectly, moral support to an organization which advocated a soviet form of government in the United States. The record shows (p. 251) that in spite of repeated denials on the part of the witness he was regarded by his most

RUSSIAN PROPAGANDA.

11

important assistant, Mr. Nuorteva, and his friend, Dr. Mislig, treasurer of the Russian federation, as an actual member of the association. This association, he it noted, not only advocates a soviet form of government but is organizing for the purpose of overthrowing the present form of government under which we live by force and violence. Martens denied explicitly (p. 281) that he had engaged in secret political activity, yet when confronted with the minutes of the secret convention held by the Russian Socialist Federation in Detroit in August, 1919, he was compelled to admit making a speech before the delegates. On at least two other occasions also he had tried to reach a basis of cooperation in conference with the executive committee of the association. In this connection attention should be directed to the unusual admission by the witness (p. 318) that not one of the 10 or 12 men who attended the executive committee's meetings arose in the convention to substantiate his account of the proceedings before the committee, and nobody denied the statement of Gurin regarding the affair except himself. In other words, Martens by his own testimony admits that all the testimony as to these occurrences is directly against his sole contention.

Reports of the public meetings he testified (p. 58) were sent by him to his Government; and he testified further that he had knowledge of the "parties or organizations interested in this kind of propaganda," and that his reports to his Government dealt with "the sympathies expressed by the different political parties." He informed his Government as to the character of speeches made by him at these meetings, and as to the character of speeches made by other speakers (p. 58), accompanying his report by newspaper clippings containing printed accounts of the meetings. Yet when questioned regarding some of the speeches which were made in his presence at these meetings and which are readily classified as inflammatory, revolutionary, and anarchistic, he declared that he paid no attention to them and did not know what they contained—though he was equally positive in his assertions that these speeches had been incorrectly reported.

In pursuing the inquiry, directed by the resolution of the Senate, into his activities in this country, the testimony developed that, without waiting for recognition on the part of the Government to which he assumed to be accredited, Martens established himself and his bureau in offices in the city of New York (p. 40); and that he made a demand upon Boris Bakhmeteff, Russian ambassador in this country, for the delivery to him of all property, moneys, credits, furniture, archives, papers, etc., in his possession (p. 32). This demand was not complied with; and Martens proceeded to the organization of his general offices, where he employed a staff of some 35 people, among whom were 13 American citizens—two of whom, Kenneth Durrant and Wilfred R. Humphreys, had been connected with the so-called Creel bureau, officially known as the Committee on Public Information of the American Government (pp. 41-43). Martens's bureau was maintained at an expense of about \$2,500 a week (p. 45), which was met by funds transmitted "mainly by couriers from Russia" (p. 44) for whom no diplomatic immunity was asked, whose names were refused by Martens when they were demanded by the committee, and who traveled clandestinely so far as any evidence permits a deduction.

The Emma Goldman Papers

810402099

[Report on] Russian Propaganda, 1920 April 14 [Washington, D.C.] / Committee on Foreign Relations [United States] Senate. — 8 p. ; 22 x 30 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations reports on its investigation into the activities of Ludwig Martens, the unofficial Soviet representative in the United States.

Notes: Eight shots of fifteen pages.

12

RUSSIAN PROPAGANDA.

The carefully planned innocuousness of Martens's public activities here do not extend, however, to some of the more intimate and necessary procedure growing out of his position. It is evident that he regarded customary and legitimate means of communication as unsuited to his purposes. So far as can be learned, it is only within the past few weeks that he made use of the cable to communicate with his Government or its representatives on neutral European soil; and the ordinary course of the mail was apparently never utilized by him.

In connection with his bureau Martens published a weekly newspaper known as Soviet Russia, which has a circulation of from 15,000 to 30,000, about one-half of this number going to subscribers, some 2,000 being "sent without charge to public men in the country," and the balance distributed by news agencies (p. 57). He also contemplated opening a technical school for Russians purposing to return to their country (p. 57), but this plan was never consummated. He proposed "to call a technical conference of those who desired to help Soviet Russia" and for this purpose registered over 20,000 people. This registration took place not only at the office of the soviet bureau in West Fortieth Street, in New York City, but also at the Rand School, where some form of branch office was maintained (p. 345). A questionnaire was furnished to each registrant, and in its original form a registrant was asked if he preferred "to remain in America to work with the Soviet Government" (p. 347). Martens adduced no adequate explanation of what this "work with the Soviet Government" in this country would comprise.

Martens himself appeared to have had very little to do with the practical management of his bureau. He seems to have been something on the order of a show figure, and he frequently responded in tactful terms of gratitude to letters and resolutions of greeting which were sent to him by numerous organizations of a socialist nature, both American and Russian in their membership. One of these letters of greeting presented in evidence (p. 279) came from the Socialist Party of the eighth assembly district of New York, in which the members of this organization pledged themselves "to work unceasingly for the propagation of those principles and policies and tactics that will aid directly in the establishment of a socialistic federated soviet republic in America." Against such sentiments Martens testified (p. 280) he did not protest, saying that he regarded this as none of his concern, and adding that he did not regard it as a crime "to propagate the soviet idea in the United States" (p. 281).

Prominent among Martens's activities was his attendance upon public meetings generally held under the auspices of some of the numerous branches of the Socialist Party. One such (p. 215) was addressed by Gregory Weinstein, who was reported in the newspapers to have said "we have come here to tell Comrade Martens that we intend to prepare to take over this great country just as the working class has taken over Russia." Another held April 1, 1919, presided over by Nicholas Hourwich, a near relative of whom later became the head of a department in the Martens Soviet Bureau, and who was quoted in the New York Call as having said in his opening address that "the left wing proposed to bring bolshevism to America" (p. 218). Martens declared that he did not remember having heard either of these declarations, that he made no protest about it

RUSSIAN PROPAGANDA.

13

at any rate, that he is a Bolshevik, that he "would be very glad to see America bolshevistic" and that "any means which would produce this condition would be justified" (p. 218). At this same meeting one Louis Baske, editor of a Hungarian newspaper published in New York, also spoke and declared "there is only one way to help the Hungarian and Russian Soviet Governments. That is to revolutionize America" (p. 219). Martens testified that he did not remember hearing this statement and that he would not have felt himself called upon to disavow it if he had heard it (p. 219). Numerous other meetings of like nature were held, and the list of the speakers who participated in them bristles with the names of men who were under either indictment or sentence for violation of the laws of the United States or who have since enjoyed such notoriety or who have become fugitives from justice. Two of these gentry, it is probably worth noting, were harbored by Martens following their trial and sentence for sedition in New Jersey, and were given a place upon the pay roll of his bureau (p. 245).

The Weinstein meeting above referred to was a subject of controversy in the testimony which the committee brought out. Martens himself asserted (p. 269) that Weinstein—and also Hourwich—were "reported wrongly," although, as above cited, he had at first denied having any recollection of what they said. A reporter for the New York Sun, who was present at the Weinstein meeting, testified (p. 394) that he saw both Weinstein and Martens sitting close together on the stage at this meeting, and that he heard Weinstein make the declaration of their intention to take over America as the working class has taken over Russia; that Martens made no reference or protest to these statements though he spoke after Weinstein had uttered them; and it was testified further (p. 395) that the audience "applauded wildly, stamped, and cheered * * * whenever the Soviet Government of Russia was mentioned" and that "they always hissed when reference was made to the United States Government." It is proper to state, however, that Martens, though he had previously testified that he remembered nothing about Weinstein's speech, later asserted that Weinstein had spoken at this meeting in the Russian language.

Martens testified (p. 269) that he paid no attention to the publication in the press of inflammatory speeches "published wrongly," as he declared, in reports of meetings which he attended, explaining that "it was absolutely physically impossible" for him to do so. But he appears (p. 269)—possibly because he was then in hiding from the process of the Lusk committee—to have had leisure to observe reports which were published to the effect that he had "bitterly insulted" Emma Goldman when she was undergoing trial and sentence for deportation; and, on December 15, 1919 (p. 271), wrote to Emma Goldman, then at Ellis Island under sentence of deportation, saying that he had not the pleasure of her acquaintance, but that he sympathized with her for the "insults" to which she had been subjected in this country and, on behalf of Soviet Russia, offered her asylum as a political refugee.

The impropriety of Martens's persistent public appearance at meetings held under the auspices of organized partisan groups, and where his speaking companions were so frequently selected from

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on] Russian Propaganda, 1920 April 14 [Washington, D.C.] / Committee on Foreign Relations [United States] Senate.— 8 p. ; 22 x 30 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations reports on its investigation into the activities of Ludwig Martens, the unofficial Soviet representative in the United States.

Notes: Eight shots of fifteen pages.

men under surveillance, indictment, or sentence for their seditious and anarchistic activities, is plainly manifest. Had he been regularly accredited in the ambassadorial quality which he affects, such conduct would have secured for him the speedy severance of his personal relations with this Government, the immediate tender of his passports, and his prompt departure from the country. That he has greatly impaired, if not wholly destroyed, his diplomatic usefulness by such a course seems wholly clear; and even if the recognition which he has sought to bring about for his Government could now be obtained, it is wholly improbable that Martens would be held by the executive department to be a suitable representative.

The resolution of the Senate further directed the committee to investigate "all facts relative to the activities of any party, parties, or organizations bearing upon or relating to Russian propaganda in this country."

The natural source of inquiry under this head is the diplomatic establishment maintained here under the title of the Russian embassy, whose head is Boris Bakhmeteff, and who has been recognized under such quality since his accrediting to this Government, and who, by a certificate of the State Department, still enjoys the privileges and immunities which accompany such recognition.

In consequence, both he and his staff were not subject to the process of the committee; and recourse was had to the Department of State, which furnished full documentary evidence dealing with the disposition of moneys which had been advanced to earlier Russian Governments from the Treasury of the United States, and with which purchases of war and industrial materials had been made in this country. In this connection Martens, in his testimony, had given the committee to understand that a misappropriation of American money had taken place. His testimony on this point, however, was of a most cursory and hearsay nature; and the documents furnished by the State Department and contained in the record provide a complete accounting for all these moneys and materials purchased therewith. From these documents it appears, also, that the maintenance of the recognized Russian Embassy in this country and the carrying on of its related activities are provided for by funds accruing from a loan privately negotiated in this country and in England.

Other organizations more or less sentimental in character were also found to exist in this country for the carrying on of activities in opposition to the soviet régime in Russia; but in most cases they were discovered to have only nominal or "paper" existence, and the committee deemed it unprofitable to pursue this line of inquiry.

In sum the committee finds in obedience to the instructions of the resolution of the Senate that—

(1) Martens has no status whatever in this country in any diplomatic or other governmental representative quality.

(2) Martens assumes to represent the Russian Federated Soviet Republic—a régime established in Russia by revolution and functioning under a constitution which has been above summarized; a régime which has never been recognized by the Government of the United States and which in international law has no standing as a constituted authority.

(3) Martens has received no recognition officially or even personally by the Government of the United States.

(4) Martens, by the accepted practice of this Government in all its treaty or other international obligations and usages, is a German subject, and in consequence an alien enemy.

(5) Martens's propaganda in this country for the overthrow of governments is established by his own testimony, as shown in the body of the report, that he has publicly associated and sympathized with those advocating such a course. He admitted to the committee his persistent revolutionary character, his desire to see the establishment of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" in all lands, and his opinion that it would be better for this country if the soviet government were established here. It was also proved that he continued to employ in the staff of his embassy persons who have publicly and in his presence advocated the bringing of bolshevism to America and he admitted to the committee that "any means which would produce this condition would be justified."

All this leads the committee to the conclusion that Martens's activities here have been of a nature to render him more suitable for investigation and action by the Department of Justice than by the committee of the Senate.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Certified Copy of Goldman Letter to Frank Harris] 1920 Apr. 14, Kanalia [Finland (government transcript)] / Mamat Arlinen. — 1 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Arlinen certifies that the Helsinki Police Department's transcript of Goldman's letter to Frank Harris is correct.

Notes: Broken type. Attached to 870717012.

- 4 -

and noting Rubalka--attend an Andreyev evening with Gorky and others as readers, and do a thousand other extraordinary amazing things which would test the vitality of people normally fit and clothed. And this marvellous people the imperialists conspired to whip-to grind under the iron heel of capitalism.

Though I am here a few days I can already see that the Canton conspiracy has failed utterly. For this reason alone it behooves fair-minded America to put an end to the cruel blockade as being futile and inhuman - the blackest crime in the history of man. I go to Moscow in ten days to meet Lenin and the other men at the head of the Soviet regime.

I will then return to Petrograd which is the revolutionary industrial centre. Moscow is the seat of government. By instinct, conviction and experience I like government seats per distance.

EMMA GOLDMAN

(Seal)

Correctness of copy certified; Helsingfors Central Intelligence Police Office in Kanalia, April 14, 1920. Officially,

MAMAT ARLINEN

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372

The Emma Goldman Papers

870717015

[Certified Copy of Goldman Letter] 1920 April 14, Kanalia [Finland (government transcript)] / Mamat Arlinen. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Arlinen certifies that the Helsinki Police Department's transcript of Goldman's letters is correct.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. Attached to 870717010, 870804001, and 870804002.

lithe and rhythmic like a song. I don't have to tell you, old man, how much
I'd love to have a visit with you, but I would not wish it on you to be here
now. It is some confusion, due not to the Revolution but to the awful want.
But let us talk of more cheerful things. What are you doing now that your
illustrious clients are no more. I will let you know how we might be reached.
Write us; we're so anxious to hear from you.

Affectionately.

M.G.

Correctness of copy certified by Helsinki Central Intelligence

Police Office in Kanalia

REAL

MAMAT ARLINEN

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373

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Certified Copy of Goldman Letter to Frank Harris] 1920 April 14, Kanalia [Finland (government transcript)] / Mamat Arlinen. — 1 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Arlinen certifies that the Helsinki Police Department's transcript of Goldman's letter to Frank Harris is correct.

Notes: Attached to 870717008.

- 5 -

wonder of the moment when we shall step on Soviet soil. I haven't paper enough to put this ramble into shape. I promise you my first letter dealing with conditions in Russia will be more carefully written. I hope it will not be less intense.

Thankfully,

EMMA GOLDMAN (signed)

Member of the first group of pilgrims forced out of the land founded by persecuted pilgrims. May we not repeat the follies and crimes of the Plymouth Rock refugees which terminated in the present American despotism?

Seal:

Correctness of copy certified: Helsinki Central Intelligence Police Office in Kanalia, April 14, 1920. Officially,

Mamat Arlinen

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374

The Emma Goldman Papers

871102006

[Letter] 1920 April 14, Washington [D.C. to] M[arlborough] Churchill [Director] Military Intelligence Division [War Department], Washington, D.C. / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.
Summary: Hoover sends the Bulletin of Radical Activities to Churchill.

ADDRESS REPLY TO
CHIEF, BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION,
AND REFER TO INITIALS.

Department of Justice,
Bureau of Investigation,
Washington.

JEH-MPB

CAPTAIN SNOW
M. I. 4.

April 14, 1920.

Brigadier General M. Churchill,
Military Intelligence Division,
Washington, D. C.

My dear General:-

I take pleasure in enclosing herewith
copies of the Radical Bulletin for the weeks ending
March 20th, March 27th and April ^{3rd} 10th.

As the contents of these Bulletins
are received from strictly confidential sources I, of
course, assume that they will be handled in a very
confidential manner.

Very truly yours,

J. E. Hoover
Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

Incl. 24392.

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375

The Emma Goldman Papers

891216016

[Letter] 1920 April 15 [Washington, D.C. to] J.M. Pritchard, Memphis, Tenn. /
R[obert] P. Stewart, Assistant Attorney General [Department of Justice].—
1 p.; 33 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Stewart acknowledges receipt of Pritchard's letter enclosing Goldman's pamphlets.

Notes: Dark copy. Reply to 891216017.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

APR 19 20

April 15, 1920.

J. M. Pritchard, Esq.

Secretary-Manager, American Hardwood Manufacturers
Association,

Memphis, Tenn.

Dear Sir:

I desire to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 23rd inst. addressed to Judge Jones, enclosing three booklets which have come to your attention, dealing with propaganda spread by the Red movement in the United States.

I desire to express to you my appreciation of your interest in this matter and can assure you that it will receive prompt and appropriate attention.

Yours very truly

For the Attorney General.

(Signed) R. P. Stewart

Assistant Attorney General.

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376

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1920 April 15, Berlin [to] Military Intelligence Division, War Department, Washington [D.C.] / [Edward] Davis [American Mission]. — 1 p. ; 27 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Colonel Davis claims to have proof that Soviet Russia is working with the I.W.W., in association with Goldman's Society of Russian Friends of American Freedom.

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
WASHINGTON

APR 17 1920

*original
for action
Afghanistan
2 1060-9-89*

TELEGRAM

C O D E

Milstaff,

Berlin,
Dated April 15, 1920.
Recd. April 16, 12:07

W. J. Neville
ML4-E

Washington,

No. 135 ~~(continued)~~ April 15.

"I have obtained absolute proof of two world propaganda activities sponsored directly by Russian government. One of them is shown by a conference held at foreign office with delegates from Afghanistan, Persia and India while the other is working for an agreement between our own I.W.W. and Russia - an agreement which Lenine has sanctioned upon the proposal of Goldman and Berkman who are organizing the Society of Russian Friends of American Freedom.

Kaminer is taking the I.W.W. agreement to America. He will probably arrive in the United States via Mexico within the next two or three months. He is a young Jew, has blue eyes, scant hair, and a scar on the left side of his nose."

To be continued.

COLONEL DAVIS.

mei

Copy to I.O.'s, S.D., W.D., N.Y., Justice & Immigration 4/19/20--mws.

CONFIDENTIAL COPIES TO:

Chief of Staff, W. P. D., State Dept., Map Room O. C. of S.

AKB-10
4/19/20

377

The Emma Goldman Papers

810331008

[Letter] 1920 April 16, Washington, D.C. [to] M[arlborough] Churchill, Director, Military Intelligence [Division, War Department], Washington, D.C. / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice. — 1 p.; 28 x 22 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Hoover asks Churchill for a copy of the original of a Russian proclamation advocating world revolution.

Notes: Reply to 810331010. For reply, see 810331007. For proclamation mentioned, see 810331022. For related document, see 810331010.

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

✓
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

JEH-GPO

10038-515-1520

4
WAR DEPARTMENT

102x

April 16, 1920.

CAPTAIN SNOW
M. L. 4.

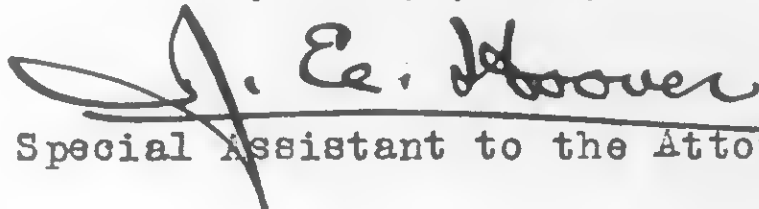
Brigadier General M. Churchill,
Director of Military Intelligence,
Washington, D. C.

My dear General:

I am in receipt of your communication of the 3rd instant in which you quote from a translation of a proclamation of the Executive Committee of the Russian Socialist Federative Republic advocating a world revolution which was furnished your office by the Military Attache, Switzerland, under date of February 27, 1920.

I would appreciate it if you could furnish me with a copy of the original of this document, as it will be of value in the Martens deportation proceedings.

Very truly yours,


Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

DEPT. OF JUSTICE
APR 17 1920
RECEIVED

378

The Emma Goldman Papers

811023044

[Letter] 1920 April 17, Washington, D.C. [to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice.— 1 p.; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Hoover asks Caminetti for a statistical summary of the political deportations conducted since November 1919.

Notes: For reply, see 811023045 and 811023047.

COPY
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 85

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

JEH-GPO

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

April 17, 1920.

Honorable Anthony Caminetti,
Commissioner-General of Immigration,
Washington, D. C..

Dear Mr. Caminetti:

I would appreciate it if you could forward to me the following statistics in connection with the deportation of aliens charged with the violation of the Act of Congress, approved October 16, 1918:

1. Number of warrants issued since November 1, 1919;
2. Number of deportations ordered since November 1, 1919;
3. Number of warrants cancelled since November 1, 1919;
4. Number of deportations actually effected since November 1, 1919.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

379

The Emma Goldman Papers

820331000

Bulletin of Radical Activities No. 13, week ending April 17, 1920, Washington, D.C.
[excerpt] / Radical Division, Department of Justice. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.
Summary: The Justice Department's Bulletin of Radical Activities notes that Goldman and Berkman's books were sold at the recent American Freedom Foundation meeting.

COPY
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

*General Records of the Dept. of State
Office of the Counselor, 1918-1927
File Number 504-177*

13

C O N F I D E N T I A L

B U L L E T I N O F R A D I C A L A C T I V I T I E S .

No. 13.

Week ending April 17, 1920.

Copy

46

I N D E X

ORGANIZATIONS

| | |
|---|----|
| Communist Party..... | 1 |
| Communist Labor Party..... | 6 |
| I. W. W..... | 7 |
| One Big Union..... | 7 |
| Socialist Party..... | 9 |
| Union of Russian Workers
and Associated Organizations..... | 11 |
| Committee of Forty-Eight..... | 11 |
| Non Partisan League..... | 11 |
| Miscellaneous Radical Organizations..... | 12 |
| INTERNATIONAL..... | 16 |
| PRESS..... | 17 |
| STRIKES..... | 21 |
| INDIVIDUALS..... | 33 |
| STRIKE NOTES..... | 38 |
| SINN FEIN..... | 39 |
| NEGRO ACTIVITIES..... | 39 |
| GENERAL..... | 43 |

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
Radical Division,
Washington, D.C.

380

The Emma Goldman Papers

820331000

Bulletin of Radical Activities No. 13, week ending April 17, 1920, Washington, D.C.
[excerpt] / Radical Division, Department of Justice. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.
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COPY
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Dept. of State
Office of the Counselor, 1918-1927
File Number 504-177

The Hull House has been, and is now, a meeting place for radicals, The Union of Russian Workers, The Communists, Socialists, and other anarchists, holding meetings in the various halls of the settlement.

DR. RACHEL YARROS, Professor LOMINOSOFF, SEYMOUR STEIDMAN, and other radical lecturers have been tendered receptions at the Hull House and several meetings have been broken up by the Chicago Police, due to their turbulence and radicalism.

MISS ADDAMS is now Honorary Chairman of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (formerly the Women's Peace Party).

At a meeting recently held at the Chicago Coliseum under the auspices of the American Freedom Foundation, and at which JUDAH L. MAGNESS was the principal speaker and where JOHN FITZPATRICK, President of the radical Chicago Federation of Labor acted as chairman. MISS ADDAMS occupied a prominent seat on the speaker's platform and warmly applauded the speakers.

EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERKMAN'S books on anarchy, I. W. W., Communist, Conscientious objector's, syndicalist, and Socialist literature was on sale at at least ten booths constructed in the hall.

JOHN FITZPATRICK, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and BISHOP WILLIAMS will be the principal speakers at a mass meeting to be held at the Arena Gardens, Detroit, on April 18th, under the auspices of the Detroit Federation of Labor, for the purpose of protesting against the arrest and deportation of the alien members of the Communist Party of America.

I. PAUL TAYLOR, Director of the Detroit Labor Forum, and a well-known radical, was elected City Commissioner of Highland Park, Michigan.

BOLESŁAW K. GEBERT will speak at Club "Oswiata," corner of 28th and Visgar Streets, Detroit, April 18th, on "God and Religion, the Invention of Man."

On April 13th, ADOLPH GERMER, former Secretary of the SOCIALIST PARTY, and Representative and Member of the UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA, was the principal speaker at a meeting held, on the anniversary of the incarceration of EUGENE V. DEBS, under the auspices of the SOCIALIST PARTY, at the hall room of Local WORKERS CIRCLE, Atlanta Georgia. GERMER, in the course of his address denied that the Socialist Party advocated violence of any kind in the attainment of their object, but at another time during his speech declared that "They might put all the Workers in Jails" but that when released they would all "Come out red, real Revolutionists." He advocated closer co-operation between the industrial unions, and pointed out that the United Mine Workers were the best organized and most effective union in the Country, because of their close co-operation. He eulogized DEBS, comparing him to LENINE and TROTSKY, of the Russian Soviet. He denounced the Attorney General, and characterized as "Czar-Like" his action and that of his sub-ordinates in arresting aliens without warrants, in examining them without representation, and in deporting them and separating them from their families. GERMER also addressed the Atlanta Federation of Trades of

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1920 April 18 [Washington, D.C. to Robert? T.?] Scott [Private Secretary and Assistant to the Attorney General? Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / [J. Edgar Hoover] Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice]. — 5 p. ; 32 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Hoover describes the political activities of persons eligible for postwar political amnesty. He argues against amnesty.

Notes: Dark copy. Five shots of four pages. For enclosure, see 870728001.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 60

General Records of the Department of Justice
D. J. Gentile, Jr. — 1970-1971
File Number 197009-1

JEE-010

April 18, 1920

197009-1-8

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. SCOTT.

In compliance with your request, I am attaching hereto memorandums prepared upon each of the names contained in the memorandum of Assistant Attorney General Stewart upon those persons who fall within the proposed proclamation for political amnesty.

In view of the fact that the time allotted for the preparation of this material was limited to but one day, it has been a physical impossibility to set forth in proper detail and form the information upon each of the subjects mentioned. I have, however, endeavored to concisely state the more pertinent features of the individual cases, showing the character of the persons being dealt with.

Most of the cases of persons covered in this memorandum involve the distribution of literature anarchistical or anti-governmental in character. I have not, however, endeavored to analyze the contents of the literature, as I assume that the same has been fully covered in previous memorandums submitted by Mr. Stewart and already in your hands. It is sufficient to state that the contents of the circulars and booklets for

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382

The Emma Goldman Papers

811130001

[Memorandum] 1920 April 18 [Washington, D.C. to Robert? T.?] Scott [Private Secretary and Assistant to the Attorney General? Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / [J. Edgar Hoover] Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice]. — 5 p. ; 32 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Hoover describes the political activities of persons eligible for postwar political amnesty. He argues against amnesty.

Notes: Dark copy. Five shots of four pages. For enclosure, see 870728001.

COPY
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 60

General Records of the Department of Justice
D. J. Central File — Straight Numerical Files
File Number 197000-1

JUL 5 1920

April 18, 1920

197009-1-8

10 1920 A.M.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. SCOTT.

In compliance with your request, I am attaching herewith memorandums prepared upon each of the names contained in the memorandum of Assistant Attorney General Stewart upon those persons who fall within the present proclamation for political amnesty.

In view of the fact that the time allotted for the preparation of this material was limited to but one day, it has been a physical impossibility to set forth in proper detail and form the information upon each of the subjects mentioned. I have, however, endeavored to briefly state the more pertinent features of the individual cases, showing the character of the persons being dealt with.

Most of the cases of persons covered in this memorandum involve the distribution of literature anarchistic or anti-governmental in character. I have not, however, endeavored to analyze the contents of the literature, as I assume that the same has been fully covered in previous memorandums submitted by Mr. Stewart and already in your hands. It is sufficient to state that the contents of the literature and the persons

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383

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1920 April 18 [Washington, D.C. to Robert? T.?] Scott [Private Secretary and Assistant to the Attorney General? Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / [J. Edgar Hoover] Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice]. — 5 p. ; 32 x 21 cm.

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COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 60

General Records of the Department of Justice
U. S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia
File Number 197001-1

Mem. for Mr. Scott, -2- JHM-GPO 4/18/20
re political prisoners

the circulation of which these persons were responsible contain in most instances not only advice to willfully disobey the laws of the United States passed for the effective prosecution of the war but also open advocacy of the use of force and violence for the attaining of such ends.

In connection with the memorandums dealing with WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD and the co-defendants in the I. W. W. cases, the same have been treated together, mention being made of those cases in which the co-defendants have been particularly notorious for their I. W. W. activities. Haywood and the co-defendants were convicted for the same acts; all of them were active members of the I. W. W. and actively engaged in carrying out its principles and tactics and inculcating the same into the laboring classes in the United States. I assume that the character of the I. W. W. is well known and for that reason an analysis of the precepts of this organization has not been given. It is sufficient to state that the I. W. W. is a revolutionary organization advocating the unlawful destruction of property in many instances and it is now supporting the Manifesto and Program adopted at the THIRD INTERNATIONAL of Communists, held in Moscow, 1919, which specifically advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence. Recent investigations conducted by this department clearly show that the I. W. W. have been to a large extent responsible for the recent strikes

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384

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Notes: Dark copy. Five shots of four pages. For enclosure, see 870728001.

C O P Y

Record Group No. 60

General Electric, 11111 1st Ave., N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98108
 Dr. J. Gertzel, 11111 1st Ave., N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98108
 File # 100-127000-1

I might state that all of the persons mentioned in the attached memorandums are held forth by the radical elements in this country as "martyrs" to the "cause". These radical elements consist not only of the Socialists, but number in their ranks Communists, Anarcho-Communists, and Anarchists. Praise for many of the so-called "political prisoners" has come from the mouths of ROSA GOLDMAN, ALEXANDER BERSMAN and other equally notorious anarchists, thus showing that it is not a question of socialism nor the permitting of "freedom of speech" but that it is the concerted movement among radical elements, whether they be Socialists, Anarchists or Communists, for agitation. If I might be permitted to state in closing, I believe that the release of any of the persons in the memorandums attached at the present time would be inimical to the best interests of the country, in that such action would but add impetus to the radical activities now being carried on in the United States. I likewise attach hereto a memorandum left with me by you which

3

385

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1920 April 18 [Washington, D.C. to Robert? T.?] Scott [Private Secretary and Assistant to the Attorney General? Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / [J. Edgar Hoover] Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice]. — 5 p. ; 32 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Hoover describes the political activities of persons eligible for postwar political amnesty. He argues against amnesty.

Notes: Dark copy. Five shots of four pages. For enclosure, see 870728001.

COPY

from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 60

General Records of the Department of Justice
D. C. Central File — 100-100000-100000
File Number 107000-1

Memo. for Mr. Scott, -4- JEH-GPO 4/18/20
re political prisoners

was prepared by Mr. Stewart.

Respectfully,

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

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386

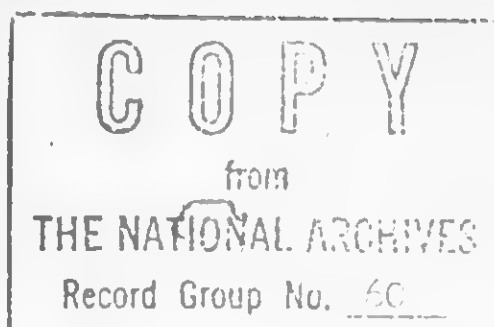
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum on Amnesty for Political Prisoners] 1920 April 18 [Washington, D.C.]
/ [J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice]. —
3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Hoover excerpts court opinions in the cases of persons eligible for amnesty to show that all are dangerous radicals and should not receive amnesty.

Notes: Broken type; portions barely legible. Enclosed with 811130001.



General Division of the Department of Justice
W. J. Connelley, Jr., Chief Clerk
File Number 197009-1

April 18, 1920.

The following are among those who would fall within the
operation of the proposed proclamation:

JOSEPH STILSON
JOSEPH SUKYS

The Supreme Court in rendering its decision stated:

"Common knowledge (not to mention the President's address to Congress of April 2, 1917 and the Joint Resolution of April 6th declaring war, which were introduced in evidence) would have sufficed to show at least that the statements as to the causes that led to the entry of the United States into the war against Germany were grossly false; and such common knowledge went to prove also that defendants knew they were untrue. That they were false, if taken in a literal sense, hardly is disputed. It is argued that they ought not to be taken literally. But when it is remembered that the pamphlet was intended to be circulated, and so far as defendants acted in the matter was circulated, among readers of all classes and conditions, it cannot be said as a matter of law that no considerable number of them would understand the statements in a literal sense and take them seriously. The jury was warranted in finding the statements false in fact, and known to be so by the defendants, or else distributed recklessly, without effort to ascertain the truth (see Cooper vs. Schlesinger, 111 U. S. 148, 155) and circulated wilfully in order to interfere with the success of the forces of the United States."

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387

The Emma Goldman Papers

870728001

[Memorandum on Amnesty for Political Prisoners] 1920 April 18 [Washington, D.C.]
/ [J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice]. —
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Summary: Hoover excerpts court opinions in the cases of persons eligible for amnesty to show that all are dangerous radicals and should not receive amnesty.

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COPY

from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 60

Copy 1 of 1 of the original document
D. J. Central File — 1920 April 18
File Number 197001-1

-2-

CHARLES T. SCHMCK
ELIZABETH BASR

The Supreme Court in this case stated:

"The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theater and causing a panic. It does not even protect a man from an injunction against uttering words that may have all the effect of force. * * * The question in every case is whether the words are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create an equal and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent. It is a question of proximity and degree. When a nation is at war many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its effort that their utterance will not be endured so long as men fight and that no court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right."

LOUIS BRANDEIS
MARTIN DANKOW
HERMAN L. L. L.

It was stated in the opinion in this case by the Supreme Court that

"* * * but simple as the law is, perilous to the country as disobedience to it was, offenders developed and when it was exerted against them challenged it to decision as a violation of the right of free speech assured by the Constitution of the United States."

Further remarks of the court in its opinion are referred to in my letter in the case known as "The United States vs. Schaefer et al."

KATE RICHARDS O'HARE

The Circuit Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit in its opinion stated:

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388

The Emma Goldman Papers

870728001

[Memorandum on Amnesty for Political Prisoners] 1920 April 18 [Washington, D.C.]
/ [J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice].—
3 p.; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Hoover excerpts court opinions in the cases of persons eligible for amnesty to show that all are dangerous radicals and should not receive amnesty.

Notes: Broken type; portions barely legible. Enclosed with 811130001.

COPY

from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 17C

Re: Emma Goldman, et al.
D. C. No. 100-10000-1
FILE NO. 100-10000-1

-3-

"In the very nature of the evil sought to be avoided there could be no more potent means of obstructing or even defeating a country in raising its forces for war, especially in a time of voluntary enlistment, than a campaign of abuse calculated to inflame the ignorant or lawless against the operations of their duly constituted Government, and to incite or encourage them to resistance."

EUGENE V. DEBS

With respect to this case the Supreme Court said:

"We should add that the jury were most carefully instructed that they could not find the defendant guilty for advocacy of any of his opinions unless the words used had as their natural tendency and reasonably probable effect to obstruct the recruiting, &c., and unless the defendant had this specific intent to do so in his mind."

JACOB ABRAMS
HYMAN LACKOWSKY
SAMUEL LIPMAN
MOLLIE S. LIMER

The Supreme Court, after referring to certain articles and circulars distributed by the defendants in this case stated:

"Thus was again avowed the purpose to throw the country into a state of revolution if possible and to frustrate the military program of the Government."

VICTOR L. BERGER
ADOLPH GRAMER
J. LOUIS ENGDAHL
WM. F. KROUSE
IRWIN ST. JOHN TUCKER

William D. Haywood
Carl Ahlteen
Olin B. Anderson
George Andreyehine
Charles Ashleigh
John Avila

C. W. Davis
J. T. Doran
E. F. Dorsey
Forrest Edwards
James Elliott
Ray S. Fanning

Fred Jaakkola
Ragner Johannsen
H. F. Kane
Charles L. Lambert
Leo Laukki
Jack Law

7

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389

The Emma Goldman Papers

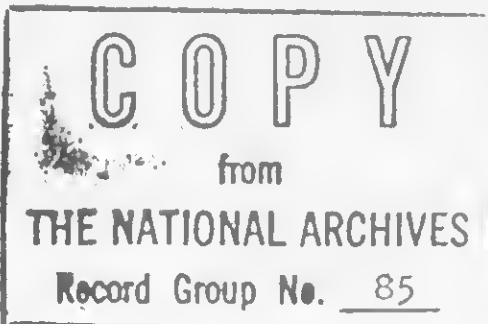
811023045

[Memorandum] 1920 April 19 [Washington, D.C. to Louis F. Post] Assistant Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / A[nthony] Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].— 1 p.; 33 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Caminetti asks Post whether to answer J. Edgar Hoover's request for information on political deportations.

Notes: Handwritten margin note by Post. For enclosure, see 811023044. For reply, see 811023047.

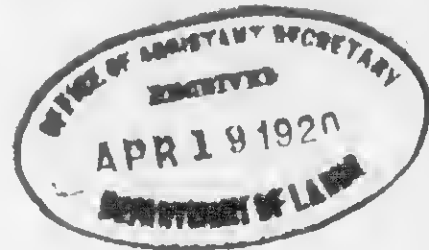


Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

809

General

April 19, 1920.



MEMORANDUM FOR THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY:

Herewith communication from Mr. Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, and instructions are asked as to whether the information ^{requested} in the ~~question~~ shall be furnished by the Bureau.

A. Caminetti
Commissioner-General.

AC-g.
Enc.-1.

*Furnish the information
through the Department
Louis F. Post
Ask Sec
Apr 19/20*

19

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390

The Emma Goldman Papers

810331007

[Letter] 1920 April 20 [Washington, D.C. to] J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / A[lexander] B. Cox, Acting Director, Military Intelligence [Division, War Department].— 1 p. ; 33 x 22 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Cox sends Hoover a proclamation in Russian advocating world revolution.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810331022. Reply to 810331008. For reply, see 810331006. For related document, see 810331023.

10058-515
M.I.10

April 20, 1920.

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF
10058-515
APR 22 1920
WAR DEPARTMENT
102

✓
Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Special Assistant to the Attorney General,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

CAPTAIN SNOW
M. I. 4.

My dear Mr. Hoover:

Complying with request in your letter of April 16th,
I am forwarding herewith a copy of the proclamation referred
to.

It would be appreciated if you would return this pa-
per for filing when it has served your purpose.

Very truly yours,

A. B. Cox,
Colonel, General Staff,
Acting Director of Military Intelligence.

By:

E. J. Ely,
Lieut. Colonel, U. S. Army.

1 encl.
BWS

DELIVERED TO DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Capt. Tupper
M. I. 4.

APR 20 1920

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391

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 April 21, Washington, D.C. [to] M[arlborough] Churchill, Director, Military Intelligence [Division, War Department], Washington, D.C. / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 29 x 21 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165. Summary: Hoover sends the Bulletin of Radical Activities to Churchill.

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

10110-1688 1920
JHH-GPO
WAR DEPARTMENT
1021

April 21, 1920. Rec'd 4-26-20-12 m.
L. E. Summerall
out 4-26-20
2 p.m.

Brigadier General M. Churchill,
Director of Military Intelligence,
Washington, D. C.

My dear General:

I am inclosing herewith a copy of the Bulletin
of Radical Activities for the week ending April 10, 1920.

Very truly yours,

J. E. Hoover
Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

Incl.

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392

The Emma Goldman Papers

[A Letter from Emma Goldman] / New York State Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities [Lusk Committee]. — p. 1294-1296 ; 23 cm. *In Revolutionary Radicalism...* — Albany : J.B. Lyon Co., 1920 April 24.

Obtained from the United States Court of Appeals. Institutional Location: Eighth Circuit Library.

Summary: The Lusk Committee's report on subversive activities includes an excerpt of Goldman's letter describing her arrival in Russia, printed in *Soviet Russia*.

1294

PROPAGANDA

rewski, Sazonoff, Kolchak and Denikin, Senators Overman, Nelson and King, Adolph S. Ochs and nine hundred editors-publishers of his ilk. Samuel Gompers and his reactionary crew, were tied in a bundle and gently deposited at the bottom of the sea, this would be an easier world to live in and the perplexing problems which are now confronting us would be more certain of a satisfactory and rapid solution.

And for good measure we would agree to throw in Ole Hanson, General Leonard Wood, Senator Lusk, Attorney-General Newton, W. J. Ghent, William English Walling, Archibald E. Stevenson, and even — but let him remain unnamed.

(Issued in August, 1919, page 8, inside and outside covers.)

30. SOVIET RUSSIA

Place of Publication: 110 West 40th Street New York City.
Editor in Chief: Santeri Nuorteva.

Published by the Bureau of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.
Weekly circulation: From 12,000 to 30,000.

This publication is a propaganda organ for the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, and, according to the testimony of Nuorteva, it is running at a loss, the deficit being paid for by the Bureau.

The paper sells at 10 cents per copy.

Contains propaganda articles written by Lenin and Trotzky, and by various persons whose sympathies are with Soviet Russia.

THE WAR IN RUSSIA

(Strategical and Political Reflections)

By LIEUT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

The hysteria against Bolshevism that England has been spreading so ably, seems to have effected her more than any other country.

In a real paroxysm of madness, the British politicians began trying to persuade the world that in the near future the Red armies would sweep away all obstacles in Europe and Asia, and, like the famous hordes of Attila and Tamerlane, would invade the European and Asiatic countries.

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393

The Emma Goldman Papers

[A Letter from Emma Goldman] / New York State Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities [Lusk Committee]. — p. 1294-1296 ; 23 cm. *In Revolutionary Radicalism*. — Albany : J.B. Lyon Co., 1920 April 24.

Obtained from the United States Court of Appeals. Institutional Location: Eighth Circuit Library.

Summary: The Lusk Committee's report on subversive activities includes an excerpt of Goldman's letter describing her arrival in Russia, printed in *Soviet Russia*.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

1295

And these wild imaginings of certain foolish politicians and half-baked military experts are introduced to the civilized world while the Soviet armies are only defending their own territory and victoriously clearing it of those who have laid a scheme to destroy the Russian Soviet Republic and to conquer the richest part of it.

On January 7th, in a letter to the *London Times*, Lord Sydenham, the great authority on eastern questions, dealing with the "Bolshevist danger," says: "I cannot help viewing the whole situation in the Far East with grave anxiety. In Europe, Bolshevism will ultimately exhaust itself. The terror cannot be indefinitely prolonged, as the French revolutionaries discovered, but Central Asia may remain for years a source of danger. If India escapes, Persia may become involved; Khorasan lies open to Bolshevist activities from Merv, while, if Lenin's agents can control the Caspian, the northern provinces will come under the curse."

Then the honorable lord expresses fears that Turkey and at last China may become Bolshevik states and finally the famous prophecy of the kaiser, with regard to the "Yellow Peril," may become a reality.

Therefore he calls the motto "Hands off Russia!" "a parrot cry of dupes who do not realize the terrible responsibility which they have incurred."

So, in order to prevent such a "disaster," it is Great Britain which must be allowed to conquer Russia, China, Afghanistan, Persia and Turkey; it is the army of the Allies that is to walk victoriously through the countries named, for the sake of democracy.

(Issue of January 31, 1920, Vol. II, No. 5.)

SOVIET RUSSIA WELCOMES REFUGEES

(Statement from the Russian Soviet Government Bureau)

January 27, 1920.

Mr. Martens today received a cablegram from Maxim Litvinoff, Assistant People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, at Copenhagen, transmitting the following message from Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman in Petrograd to a friend in New York:

"We were met at the Soviet border and at Petrograd with tremendous enthusiasm. Our reception was inspiring.

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394

The Emma Goldman Papers

[A Letter from Emma Goldman] / New York State Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities [Lusk Committee]. — p. 1294-1296 ; 23 cm. *In Revolutionary Radicalism...* — Albany : J.B. Lyon Co., 1920 April 24.

Obtained from the United States Court of Appeals. Institutional Location: Eighth Circuit Library.

Summary: The Lusk Committee's report on subversive activities includes an excerpt of Goldman's letter describing her arrival in Russia, printed in *Soviet Russia*.

1296

PROPAGANDA

Enjoying the hospitality of Petrograd, the deportees are quartered at Smolny Institute. They will be sent to work wherever they desire. The people here are cold and hungry but their spirit and devotion are marvelous. After two weeks we will go to Moscow."

(Issue of January 31, 1920, Vol. II, No. 5.)

31. THE PROLETARIAN

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE PROLETARIAN UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

Published at 174 Michigan Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

STORM CLOUDS GATHER

By DENNIS E. BATT

In the past it has been generally accepted that America was the one country wherein all men were the possessors of certain inalienable rights, where liberty, fraternity and equality ruled supreme. These ideas have been inoculated into our minds from infancy; press and platform and pulpit have extolled the inestimable benefits flowing from American institutions. We have been told times without end that the will of the people was at all times supreme; that the constitution guaranteed freedom of expression to all and provided ample means for any changes that the sovereign people might ordain, and that the congress was forbidden to pass any laws abridging the rights of free speech, free press and public assemblage.

But actual facts have shown that these fine words are but a snare and a delusion; liberty and equality have turned out to be a means whereby a powerful minority is enabled to oppress and dominate a majority. In the eyes of the ruling class the "sacred" constitution has about the standing of a Hun treaty. To the intelligent and conscious worker the boasted freedom has become but a sorry joke; the freedom of the press exists only so long as papers sing the song of industrial and financial overloads. Prison terms have effectively gagged those who raised their voices to protest the ravishing of the workers; the rights of free assemblage have vanished into thin air before the effective swinging of the policeman's club. The forces of oppression, in the control of the capitalist class, have been used to break any opposition to their

will. And
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The Emma Goldman Papers

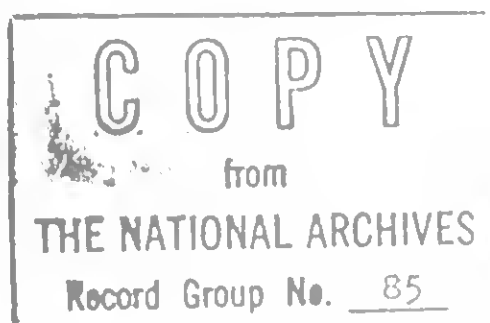
811023047

[Letter] 1920 April 26 [Washington, D.C. to] J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, [Washington, D.C.] / [Louis F. Post] Assistant Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Post sends Hoover a statistical summary of political deportations since November 1919.

Notes: Barely legible. Reply to 811023044.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

54809-General.

April 26, 1920.

J. E. Hoover, Esq.,
Special Assistant to the Attorney General,
Department of Justice.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 17th instant, the Department hands you the following statistics regarding aliens against whom deportation proceedings have been instituted under the anarchy and kindred provisions of the immigration laws since November 1, 1919, to the close of business on the 24th instant:

Number of warrants issued (approximate) 6,300

Number of deportations ordered since November 1:

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|-----|
| Anarchists and Russian Workers..... | 507 | |
| Communists, etc..... | 235 | 742 |

Number of warrants cancelled since November 1:

| | | |
|----------------------|-------|-------|
| Russian Workers..... | 61 | |
| Communists, etc..... | 1,252 | 1,293 |

Number actually deported since November 1:

| | | |
|-------------------------------|-----|-----|
| On ss. Buford, Dec. 21st..... | 241 | |
| Others..... | 22 | 263 |

Very truly yours,

Assistant Secretary.

AW

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396

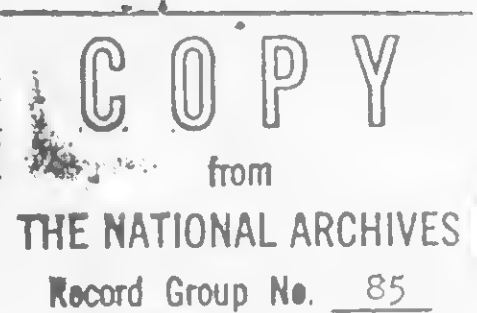
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 April 26, Washington, D.C. [to] Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Albert Johnson [Representative].—
1 p.; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: The chairman of the House of Representatives' Immigration Committee asks for a statistical breakdown of deportations since January 1, 1920.

Notes: Handwritten postscript by Albert Johnson. Handwritten calculations by Louis Post. For reply, see 811023048.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS.
ALBERT JOHNSON, WASH., CHAIRMAN.
ISAAC BIEGEL, N. Y.
HAROLD KNUTSON, MINN.
ROSCOE C. McCULLOCH, OHIO.
J. WILL TAYLOR, TENN.
JOHN C. KLECZKA, WIS.
WILLIAM N. VAILE, COLO.
HAYS B. WHITE, KANS.
KING SWOPE, KY.
ADOLPH J. SABATH, ILL.
JOHN E. RAKER, CALIF.
RILEY J. WILSON, LA.
BENJAMIN F. WELTY, OHIO.
JOHN C. BOX, TEX.
L. B. RAINEY, ALA.
P. F. SNYDER, CLERK.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION, WASHINGTON, D. C.

April 26, 1920

Hon. Louis F. Post,
Assistant Secretary of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Post:

Can you supply me today with information as follows:

1. Number of warrants of arrest ^{on} ~~for~~ deportation since January 1. *Nov. 1 = 6350*

2. Number of arrests made. *Rms Work est. 500*
Comm est. 2500

3. Number of deportation warrants issued. *412*

4. Number of cancellations. *Rms Work 61*
Comm 1232
1293

5. Number actually deported since January 1. *Deported 241*
Actual 22

Approximate replies will be sufficient at this time.

this time.

Thanking you in advance, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Albert Johnson

If more convenient the figures from Nov 1, 1919, will be just as acceptable.

a.j.

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397

The Emma Goldman Papers

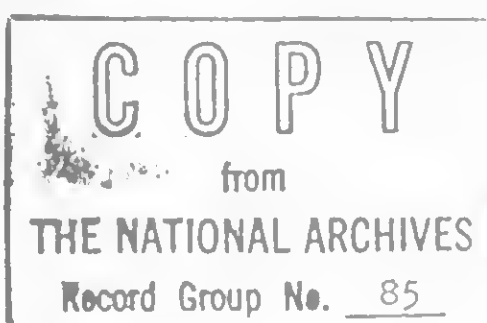
811023048

[Letter] 1920 April 26 [Washington, D.C. to] Albert Johnson [Representative, Washington, D.C.] / [Louis F. Post] Assistant Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Post sends Johnson a statistical summary of political deportations since November 1, 1919.

Notes: Reply to 811023046.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

54809-General.

April 26, 1920.

Hon. Albert Johnson, M. C.,
Chairman, Committee on Immigration and Naturalization,
House of Representatives.

My dear Mr. Johnson:

In response to your letter of this date, I am able to supply the following information with regard to alien members of the anarchist and similar classes against whom the Department has instituted proceedings under the immigration laws since November 1, 1919:

1. Number of warrants of arrest issued (approximate): 6,350
2. Number of arrests made (approximate):

| | | |
|-------------------------------|-------|-------|
| Union of Russian Workers..... | 500 | |
| Communists, etc..... | 2,522 | 3,000 |
3. Number of deportation warrants issued:

| | | |
|------------------------------------|-----|-----|
| Anarchists and Russian Workers.... | 307 | |
| Communists, etc..... | 422 | 762 |
4. Number of cancellations:

| | | |
|----------------------|-------|-------|
| Russian Workers..... | 61 | |
| Communists, etc..... | 1,252 | 1,293 |
5. Number actually deported since November 1:

| | | |
|-------------------------------|-----|-----|
| On ss. Buford, Dec. 21st..... | 241 | |
| Others..... | 22 | 263 |

The above figures are to the close of business on the 24th instant.

Sincerely yours,

Assistant Secretary.

AW

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398

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1920 April 27, Stockholm [to Marlborough Churchill] Director, Military Intelligence [Division, War Department], Washington, D.C. / William M. Colvin, Military Attache, American Legation. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Colvin sends Churchill details of John Reed's arrest in Finland. He notes that Reed was carrying letters from Goldman to friends in the United States.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible.

OFFICE OF THE MILITARY ATTACHE.
AMERICAN LEGATION
STOCKHOLM SWEDEN.

April 27, 1920.

No. 1460

From: - Lt. Col. William M. Colvin, Military Attache, Stockholm, Sweden.
To: - Director of Military Intelligence, Assistant Chief of Staff,
1330 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Subject: - John Reed.

CAPTAIN SNOW

M. I. 4

MAY 20 1920

1. The Finnish Legation in Stockholm has given me the following facts regarding John Reed's arrest in Finland, which information was furnished this Legation by the Finnish Foreign Minister.

2. Mr. Reed, after admitting his identity, stated that he was born in Portland, in the state of Oregon. His present domicile is New York. He is a correspondent of the newspaper "Liberator", 34 Union Square, New York City. He stated that he left America in September, 1919, but refused to give the place of his landing in Europe. He entered Russia at the end of September and remained there about five months. From Russia he entered Finland and was arrested on the 13th of March at Abo, in a coal bunker on board the S/S "Oihanna". He had several passports with him, pamphlets and letters, and personal letters from Lenine and Trotsky, also letters from Sirola to Finns in America, and from Mrs. Emma Goldman to anarchists in America.

3. The Finnish Minister of Foreign Affairs stated that, after the close of the investigation, copies of these letters will be turned over to the American Legation at Helsingfors. If the evidence is complete enough, Mr. Reed will be prosecuted before the Finnish courts as an enemy of the country, but should there not be enough evidence he will be expelled from the country.

4. Copy of Seaman's Certificate for Jac. Gornley enclosed, in which the picture undoubtedly is John Reed. Copy of recommendation of Samuel Arnold, Jr., as an authorized representative of the Committee on Public Information of the United States Government enclosed. Copy of passport to Samuel Arnold, Jr., and four photographs of John Reed enclosed. - The foregoing being furnished by the Finnish Foreign Office to me through the courtesy of the Finnish Legation in Stockholm.

MAILED, M. I. 4, D. C. MAY 20 1920

William M. Colvin
WILLIAM M. COLVIN
Lieutenant-Colonel, Military Attache

5 encl.

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399

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Brief History of the L'Era Nuova Group of Anarchists at Paterson, N.J. ... [1920? May?] / [Department of Justice].— 16 p. ; 35 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The Justice Department summarizes its information on the Italian anarchist group in Paterson, New Jersey, including biographical sketches of several prominent members.

Notes: Page sixteen missing.

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Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Dept. of State
Office of the Counselor, 1918-1927
File Number 504-177

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE L'ERA NUOVA GROUP OF ANARCHISTS AT PATERSON, N. J. INCLUDING ACTIVITIES OF CERTAIN LEADERS, OFFICIAL ORGANS AND CONNECTION WITH THE FRANCISCO FERRER ASSOCIATION.

BRIEF HISTORICAL SKETCH OF L'ERA NUOVA GROUP.

Organized in Paterson, N. J. in 1899 by Gaetano Bresci, the assassin of King Humbert of Italy, together with one AGRESTI and ESTEV and GRANNOTTI. They founded and published the Italian anarchist newspaper "LA QUESTIONE SOCIALE," of which Estev, a Spanish anarchist, was editor and principal writer. Grannotti was the first treasurer of the group and accompanied Bresci from Paterson to Italy to make the assassination. The Italian Government has attempted for two years to locate Grannotti, who was known as "the blond". Bresci was a liberal contributor to "La Questione Sociale." When the two disappeared in 1900 - for the trip to Italy, none of the other members knew what their plans were or where they had gone, - until news of the assassination arrived. In the same year ENRICO MALATESTA (see personal history below), came to Paterson to reorganize the Era Nuova Group. He became associated with Estev, - editor of "La Questione Sociale" and lived at the home of the latter twelve or thirteen months. Malatesta made frequent editorial contributions to the paper, also went about to lecture to Italian colonists in various cities. Malatesta appears to have been a philosophic anarchist. Immediately upon his return to Italy he became a member of the Chamber of Deputies and began organization activities to further the cause of anarchy. In 1901 at West Hoboken, Malatesta was shot by an "Individualist" (Terro-rist) one Pazzaglio, presumably because of the clash of the two theories, (i.e. - philosophic vs. Terroristic) shortly after this incident Malatesta returned to London, England, where he had many supporters.

Estev frequently lectured before Italian groups in other cities on the subject of anarchy, EUDIVICO CAMINITA was secretary of one of these groups - an Italian Social Club at Jessup, Pa., and in a debate there convinced Caminita that anarchism was a better theory than Socialism, - and shortly thereafter, Estev influenced Caminita to come to Paterson to assist him in the group as a writer for "La Question Sociale."

In the summer of 1902 GALLEANE came to Paterson with one GROSSMAN, - a Jew; WILLIAM MCQUEEN, an English anarchist; and EMMA GOLDMAN. They became identified with the L'Era Nuova Group and conducted the silk dyers' strike, which involved much disorder, violence and bloodshed. All were indicted and McQueen and Gal-lean were found guilty of inciting to riot. McQueen died in the state prison. After the unsuccessful termination of the strike, a few of the members of the Group, - Gallo, Caminita and Guabollo, chiefly, - kept the organization alive.

The Emma Goldman Papers

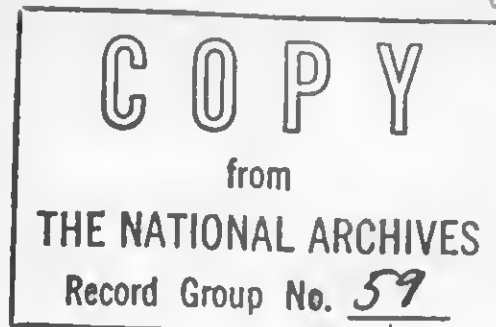
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"La Questione Social" continued publication until sometime in 1907, when it was replaced by "L'Era Nuova", which was published by FRANZ WIDMER and Caminita, until 1917 when it was barred from the mails and the place raided, but without producing evidence sufficient for prosecution. Several attempts at revival were made without success, and Caminita sought employment as a clerk and subscription manager for "La Follia" in New York City. He remained only a short time before seeking employment in the printing house of NICOLLETTI BROTHERS, not far away.

During the war, several members of the group were arrested for the circulation of anti-draft posters.

When the bomb explosions of June 2nd 1919, occurred, - there was an explosion at the home of one KLOTZ, president of the SUANAHA SILK COMPANY, - who was not connected with governmental activities in any way. The fact that at least two known members of the group had recently been discharged by the company on account of labor trouble and characteristics of the explosion being similar to those at the homes of officials,-- furnished the lead upon which the most effective investigation of the nation wide plot developed, - although the investigation passed beyond the L'Era Nuova group through the connections and associations of certain other members. Copies of the pink circular, found in other cities directly connected with the plot, also were found in the Paterson angle and are known to have been prepared and printed, - not by the L'Era Nuova Group, but by associates of some of its members.

Within the L'Era Nuova Group are men who are skilled mechanics, capable of making death-dealing devices, - and there are members who would not hesitate. Each member donates \$5.00 per week to the "cause". Revolvers were taken from several members of the group.

On the book shelves of the library of the group are several works, extolling the virtues of Brecci as a martyr to the "cause".

"LA JACQUERIE" (Printed in Italian)

Official Organ of the L'Era Nuova Group of Anarchists, whose headquarters is Paterson, N. J.

Successor to "IL BOLETINO de L'ERA NUOVA", and printed by Caminita at Mazzotta's. Subscribers, about 300, although in a letter recovered and dated November 5, 1909, Caminita states 3,000 copies of the paper were printed at a printing cost of \$45.00, postage for issue #10 was \$28.00; cost of travel of three companions who went to mail it in other cities, \$5.00. When "Era Nuova" was discontinued, its editorial staff sent a letter signed "The Editorial Group of the Era Nuova", to subscribers advising them "La Jacquerie" would succeed and that Caminita would receive the mail, etc.

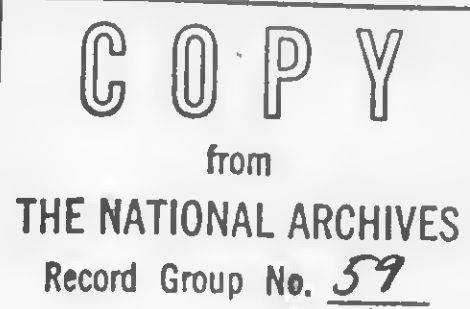
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It is understood the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America support the paper.

After the paper was printed secretly, various members would meet and prepare the same for mailing, - several of them then taking bundles to New York and other cities and depositing a few of the copies in numerous letter boxes. The same method had been followed in the mailing of "Era Nuova".

Neither the editor's name nor the place of publication appears on the paper.

In the issue of Sept. 13, 1919 (p.2): "Against monopoly and all the ills which follow from it there is only one remedy, - the abolition of private property. Every other expedient, even if not silly and useless, is a dishonest subterfuge of which the politicians make use in order to deceive the proletarian masses."

In the same issue, Malatesta, (See historical sketch above) - writing from England on the subject "The Proletarian Dictatorship", says: "It seems to me that upon this question the opinion of anarchists could not be doubtful and in fact, before the Bolshevik revolution, was doubted by no one. Anarchy signifies non-government and therefore with greater reason NO DICTATORSHIP which is absolute government without control and without constitutional limitations," And, referring to the Bolsheviks, he continues "We respect their sincerity, we admire their energy, but, as we have never been in agreement with them on theoretical ground, we shall not be able to consolidate with them when they pass from theory to practice."

Page 3, columns 2 and 3, contain excerpts from the works of MICHAEL BAKUNIN, under the heading "Our Conception of Revolution", of which the following is an example: "The means and the condition, if not the principal end of revolution, is the annihilation of the principle of authority in all its possible manifestations; it is the abolition, the complete and, if need be, violent destruction of the state, because the state, the younger brother of the church: as Proudhon has very well proved, is the historical consecration of all despotisms, of all privileges, the political reason for all economic and social enslavements, the very essence and center of every reaction."

In an article on "Race Hatred" (Page 3, Col, 3-4), and referring to the condition of negroes, the following appears: "In the United States, this land of the free and the home of the brave, it is a crime to kill a dog but an honor to lynch a negro. *** During the war, while the American negro soldiers were allowing themselves to be massacred at the French front in behalf of the triumph of democracy, their relatives were being murdered in their own houses by the democratic rabble."

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In the issue for Sept. 13, 1919, (p. 2 Col. 2); referring to the action of a federal court against certain Italians deported, an article continues: "We know by experience that no discussion can be held with tyrants. The only method of discussing with them is the open square and the only argument is behind the barricades."

In soliciting financial aid for a new paper, - UMANITA NOVA" La Jacquerie publishes a letter from it (Milan, Italy) which gives in detail the aims of the new publication. The following are interesting excerpts; (remembering that La Jacquerie is using them in soliciting money for the publication).

"We are anarchists in the proper and general sense of the word. * * * No one above all could be an Anarchist and think of imposing on the others the form (of liberty) which appears better to him. * * * Then (meaning, therefore we advocate) abolition of capitalism, * * * abolition of the state, however camouflaged, with its judicial, military and legislative organs. * * * And practically, the day in which the government will be overthrown will therefore have the material possibility; taking possession * * * on the part of the insurgent people of all existing wealth, houses, alimentary substances and other articles of consumption, and equal distribution amongst all, proportionately to the needs and to the available quantities, - Seizure on the part of the workers, of the land, shops, the means of transportation, raw material, machinery and other working tools; and an immediate organization of production and exchange by the co-operation of every one, to the advantage of every one in the manner, always modifiable, and to render it perfect as judged best by the interested ones, * * * Organized resistance against the possible attempts or reaction and restoration of the false regime. Opposition to every attempt of new governments, new oppressive and authoritative organizations."

It is interesting to note the above by comparison with the tactics of the Manifesto of the Communists- Anarchists as published by the Union of Russian Workmen of the United States and Canada. "Umanito Nova" is the more detailed and more extreme, - especially when considering the Communists would have at least a semblance of authority in the local organizations, communes or Soviets, -whereas the anarchists would permit absolutely no authority, -according to their theory as expressed above by Bakunin.

EMMA GOLDMAN is referred to as "Our Emma". (p. 2, col.1, issue Sept, 13, 1919.)

Under "The Military Service" the following appears: "The workingmen know no such duty, military duty means to them sacrifices of their strength and their blood for the defense of the stock exchange and the pockets of the capitalists, the very same ones who with the assistance of parliament (or Congress - the same on translation) have exploited, and do exploit the workmen. And this stupid submission poses as a virtue! The law of compulsory military service is a shameless violation of the principles of individual liberty * * * the workingmen of every

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country should unite and proclaim the whole world as their country and fight with all their strength for the abolition of borders and of nations which are divided under different banners."

An article entitled "The Bourgeois Ideal" (p.3, Col. 4, issue of Oct. 18, 1919), justifies the use of violence in the mass struggle. "But as soon as aspirations and contrary ideas begin to enter into the heads of the masses; from the moment that these millions of workers of industry and the soil, tired of their passiveness and not wishing to serve any longer as a pedestal for the liberty and civilization of the privileged minority, begin to claim for themselves their rights as humans and that they show themselves disposed to acquire those rights by violence if necessary - -than this system of bourgeois liberalism crumbles to earth. Its humanity is transformed into rage. We have seen it in June, 1848, and we see it everywhere today; and its respect for the individual, its cult of liberty, give way to fierce suppression. The political liberalism of the bourgeoisie disappears and not finding in itself the means or the necessary power to suppress the masses sacrifices to the economic preservation of the bourgeoisie, it resorts to Military Dictatorship." - Taken from the works of Bakunin.

In the issue for Nov. 1, 1919 (p.3, Col 2), the following appears in quotations from the work of Bakunin: "Abolish the state, which has no other mission but to protect private property, that is the spoliation of the collective labor of the popular masses by any privileged minority. Once the political states are abolished and the ancient system of organization of society by means of authority is rendered impossible, by what means can society be organized? By means of the free federation of local associations, no longer political, as they are today, but economical as they will be, no sooner have they freed themselves from all political rule in one great International Association."

In the same issue, under the title "The Syndicalists and the Anarchists", the following appears:

"If there are any who, though partisans of class organizations, on revolutionary soil, anti-private property and anti-private state, cannot decide between socialism and anarchy and prefer to call themselves syndicalists, let them do so. The dissent among them will not prevent us from fighting a useful battle with their aid, since we know that we agree with them in many things on the field of action."

Referring to a strike at Utica, N. Y. which involved clashes with the police, - the issue of November 1, 1919, p. 2, col 2)

"If the strikers could illuminate the earth with the torch of Revolution! It would be a ghastly illumination, but it would be the last of its kind."

This is a direct appeal to the strikers for the destruction of law and order.

In its New Year Greeting to the anarchists (Jan. 10, 1920): "Oh! Assassins of the Proletariat, to you, not the evil wishes, but the promise that in the not far future we shall entertain you on the barricades."

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ENRICO MALATESTA (ERRICO MALATESTA)

Came from a royal Italian family and renounced all his interest in a large estate. Came to the United States in 1893 from Italy, for the express purpose of propaganda. He found Paterson a very fertile field, - with Brecci (the assassin of king Umberto) and his confederate Grannotti, - both members of the Paterson anarchist group when the assassination was plotted. Through the offices of Malatesta, the L'Era Nuova group was re-organized, always in small numbers and centering around him. Brecci had been a member and Grannotti the treasurer of the same group prior to the arrival of Malatesta.

Malatesta was banished from Italy and lived in London for some time, - returning to London from the United States and leaving as his chief representative, Ludovico Caminita, with whom he was in constant communication.

"Volunta" is an anarchist newspaper printed in Italy or funds secured and with material contributed by Malatesta. Copies of this paper have been found in the possession of L'Era Nuova members, as well as letters from Malatesta regarding funds for the same.

The Emma Goldman Papers

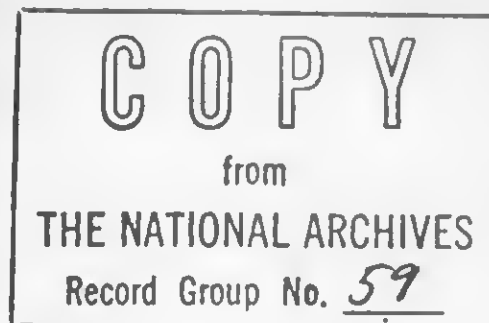
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LUDOVICO CAMINITA.

Born in Italy, 1879, and graduate of several Italian colleges. Has had first papers 12 years. Came to United States in 1902. (Photo and measurements in-file.) Printer by trade. Ordered deported.

Worked for Mazzotta in preparation of reply to article of Carlo Tresca in "La Folla". Admits he was editor of "La Question Sociale", that he has been an anarchist 12 years and was such while he was editor; that he helped to print "La Jacquerie" at Nicoletti's on Canal Street, -- that he printed the January (last number) issue of "La Jacquerie" at Mazzotta's. He is a member of the Francesco Ferrer Association and lectured there. Stated FRANZ WIDMER was editor of "Era Nuova". (See historical sketch on "L'Era Nuova Group".)

Caminita in addition to printing "La Jacquerie" also supervised the publication and wrote articles for the same. He was the party referred to in the letter to subscribers announcing discontinuance of the publication "Era Nuova" and the establishment of "La Jacquerie" as its successor.

Caminita almost from the start has been a moving spirit in the work. He is a fluent vitriolic writer on anarchistic subjects and typifies in his work the teachings of Malatesta, whose chief representative in the United States he was after Malatesta returned to London, - and the two were in constant communication.

Subject was author of an anarchistic pamphlet in Italian and entitled "The Free Country", from which the following is taken:

"A nation ruled by Government, whatever may be the form of it, cannot boast of true and absolute liberty.

"Does not the declaration of independence itself declare that the people have the right to overthrow the government and to provide new systems for the security of the commonwealth at any time it is not satisfied with current conditions, is this in true and complete liberty of thought and action?"

* * * The United States are free on paper: in the practical things of everyday life, they are, instead the antithesis of liberty and equality. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution are today anachronisms for the American people, which do not deserve the honor of a glance, still preserved in archives to furnish documents for the story that America once had men of great hearts and gigantic intellect." * * *

He refers to republican France as "that other wench from the boulevard".

Another phrase which appears is "The law and the idiom who believe in it."

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Still another, "Americans who asks idols of the laws".

"To live in the bowels of the earth, to grow fatigued, to challenge black death every day, every minute, every instar; and then, when desire is manifest, when a right is claimed, the law of the free country" (The title of the work) "is ready to coal you up from behind with a state of seige, a hedge of bayonets, a deluge of lead." * * *

"Oh, shame and disgrace of this republic! The government in silk hat and frock coat, as if in derision of the people who pretend to be FREE ENOUGH, does not wish to be beating any other government in point of ferocity. Thus, after having imitated the Russia and its despotism in Colorado, it surpasses that by condemnations of class, which would make the worst Trapoll ever did turn pale."

He espresses condemnation of the actions of certain courts in "Free Love" cases and concludes the paragraph:

"This strumpet republic has a cheek of brass, and every reprimand, every insult, every lashing upon its filthy cheeks, cannot produce in it any sign of a blush."

He refers to the suppression of "La Question Sociale", his own newspaper (see historical sketch on "L'Era Nuova Group"), and gives as one of the causes his reference to Czolgosz, the assassin of McKinley as a hero. He then goes into detail quoting definitions of the word "hero" from various dictionaries and continues:

"Czolgosz, to speak with the psychiatrists themselves of the state, was of sound and balanced mind. He believed that the killing of McKinley was useful to the cause of humanity and accomplished the act himself sacrificing himself spontaneously under the conviction of doing a good deed.

"Our adversaries, in as far as this may belong to the anarchical and individual acts, may disapprove of the regicide but it cannot be denied that Czolgosz both in regard to his own courage and in regard to his own good faith in acting was a hero."

Some of the instances, given as restrictions against liberty of speech, include refusal of the authorities to permit Berkman and Goldman to conduct certain meetings.

In the conclusion, the following appears:

"The United States is ruled by a government which, in spite of having a splendid Declaration of Independence and one of the best Constitutions, is always a government, that is to say the systematic violation of men by men. Such a cause can produce only slavery and misery."

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The paper concludes with a warning:

"There will be uncultivated minds, ingenuous souls, timid spirits, but the tamed lion hatches in his brain the plans for revenge." * * *

"This populace which today retreats at the sight of your bayonets, which lies down resignedly, terrified by your impious and odious threats, when it shall be in the last stage of desperation, when the cramp in its stomach shall have exasperated it, when the delirium of misery will have made it wild will know how to hurl itself blind with rage and revenge upon your bayonets and to pass, drunk with blood, victorious over your corpses. * **

"On that fatal day the populace will succeed in rising up against this most dastardly social system, against this vile government which is crushing us, against this most disgusting republic.

"In the meantime may our voice enkindle the spirit of rebellion in the breasts of the helots of all the world, and may the sparks of that little fire which burns in our breasts overspread the whole proletarian world and kindle the great, gigantic and destructive fire of Social Revolution."

FERMINO GALLO
(Alias FRANK GALLO)

One of the original members of the L'Era Nuova Group, Proprietor of the "Modern Socialological Library".

Conducts a store where all types of anarchistic and radical literature is sold. Is considered "the brains" of the anarchist propaganda and through his "Socialologica Libreria" uses the mails to send propaganda to all parts of the United States. The print shop of Widmer is in the rear of this man's store; which is a casual meeting place of many anarchists, who purchase there anarchist publications of Italy, France and the United States. Copies of "The New York Communist", "The Freedom", "American Anarchist Federated Soviet Commune", "Soviet Russia", "The Revolutionary Age", "L'Era Nuova Proletaria", "Voluntà" and "Le Reveil" are on sale and were purchased by operative. A pamphlet purchased there gives the address of a circle of anarchists known as the "Gruppo Anonimo", East Boston, Mass., Also "Cronaca Sovversiva". Among other evidence found there was a receipt for dues paid into the Communist Party and application for membership in the I. W. W.

In a letter dated July 23, 1919 from Los Angeles, one "Fasano" tries to encourage the disheartened Gallo by reference to the excellent work of the latter in disseminating anarchist propaganda and remarks "I am sure that anarchists and sympathisers are more numerous now in America than in the time of Malatesta and Goni. Isn't that sufficient? Of course, according to our wishes this is not sufficient and we wouldn't be

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Office of the Counselor, 1918-1927
File Number 504-177

satisfied even if a revolutionary movement would be spread over the whole world. Even then we wouldn't say 'yes, but we are not in Anarchy'."

He corresponded with LUIGI FABBRI in Italy, whose place was raided in connection with an attempt by D'ALBA upon the life of kind Victor Emmanuel.

Arrested during the war for distribution of anti-draft literature.

Sent 100 liras to Genoa, Italy, in 1911, evidently as a contribution to an anarchist work. Referred to in a letter dated Jan. 14, 1912 from one "Tomaso" at Genoa to Grande. (Refer to "Umanita Nova".)

SERAFINO GRANDE.

Italian alien, 34 years old, - common law wife and one child

in Paterson. Active member of "L'Era Nuova" group, - of the Francesco Ferrer Association and the I.W.W., and was believed to be implicated in the bomb explosion at the home of his former employer in June 1919. Also was a member of the shop committee which called on the employers during the strike at the mills.

Prosecuted in Italy for anarchist activities.

ELIGIO STROBINO, an anarchist, wrote him from San Francisco on August 4, 1917, requesting him to ask Guabelle "if he has any friend to whom I can trust for an affair".

Warrant cancelled 4/13/20.

FRANZ WIDMER. (Alias FRANCIS WIDMER)

Italian alien, and one of the leaders of the anarchist group in Paterson. Admits he has been an anarchist for twenty years. Member of "L'Era Nuova" group and for some time editor and publisher of the newspaper "L'Era Nuova", which was suppressed - (See historical sketch above). Has printed publications and circulars for the I. W. W., and paper of the same tint and texture as that used on the circular "Plain Words" - found near the home of Attorney General Palmer after the bomb explosion there on June 2, 1919 - was found in his printing shop, which is known as the "New Era Press". Hundreds of copies of anarchistic books, pamphlets, etc. were found in the shop.

Ludovico Caminita, who does the printing, insists that the subject is the editor of "La Jacquerie". (See that subject.)

Widmer's initials appear on an article entitled "The Execution of a Hyena", which appeared in "The Social Question", with regard to the Frank Steunenberg, ex-governor of Idaho, - by a dynamite bomb, at his home at Caldwell Idaho, in 1906. The article states the newspaper account and proceeds:

"On our account we'll add a little history which, by itself, and better than anything else, will justify the energetical act of the unknown rebel who consummat-

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ed the vengeance of the people on that hyena."
The history which follows, covers the action of the governor in sending troops to a strike, and the article concludes:
"The last reports add that the executed hyena survived only 25 minutes to the attack with which the people's vengeance has so rightly hit him. Ant those 25 minutes were too many.—F.W."
Warrant cancelled 4/13/20.

JOHN FERRARO.

Active member of L'Era Nuova Group and engaged in propaganda for the I. W. W.

CASTELLO GRAZIANO.

Active member of L'Era Nuova Group. Meetings are occasionally held at his home.

CINCOTTO COPPO.

Italian alien, 44 years old, - wife and children in Paterson. Active member of L'Era Nuova group and subscriber to anarchist newspapers. Admitted former membership in I.W. W., but claims card found belongs to wife and daughter. Collector of funds and treasurer for L'Era Nuova Group.

PIETRO BALDISSEROTTO.

Italian alien, 34 years old, - wife and child in Paterson. Member of both L'Era Nuova group and Francesco Ferrer Club. Skilled mechanic by trade. Warrant cancelled 4/17/20.

SEVERNO ESPI.

Spanish alien, 34 years old, single. Former member of I. W.W. Member of both L'Era Nuova Group and Francesco Ferrer Association. Paid contributor to "L'Era Nuova" from which he received 30 ¢ per hundred words.

UMBERTO CROCE.

Italian alien, 33 years old; wife and child in Paterson. Member of L'Era Nuova group and Francesco Ferrer Association; subscriber to anarchistic papers. Printer by trade and assists in the publication of "La Jacquerie". Warrant cancelled 4/26/20.

ALBERTO GUABELLO.

An original member and one of the three active leaders of the L'Era Nuova Group, since the unsuccessful attempts at terrorism during the 1902 silk dyers strike, participated in by Emma Goldman and others. (See historical sketch of the group.) Italian organizer for I.W. W. Writes for "La Jacquerie". Warrant cancelled 4/10/20.

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ANDRE GRAZIONE.

Member of L'Era Nuova Group and engaged in propaganda work for the I. W. W.

TALDI COPPO.

Active member of the L'Era Nuova Group.

SALVATORE PALMIERI.

Italian alien, 22 years old. Active member of both L'Era Nuova Group and Francesco Ferrer Association, attending the school of the latter. No evidence other than membership.

CAESAR PALMIERI.

Italian alien, 30 years old. Active member of L'Era Nuova group and attendant at meetings of Francesco Ferrer Association. No evidence other than membership and association with other members of the groups. Warrant cancelled March 26, 1920.

PAOLO GUABELLO.

Italian alien, 27 years old, married; wife and child in Paterson. Member of "L'Era Nuova" group and large quantity of anarchistic literature by CAMINITA And PROPOTKIN found among his effects. Also propagandist for the I. W. W.

SPARTACO GUABELLO.

Born at Paterson, N. J. 19 years old. Member and formerly secretary of Francesco Ferrer Association. Denies he is an anarchist. Fled to Mexico to evade military service and upon his return was indicted and served five months at Del Rio, Texas.

FRANCESCO PITEA.

Italian alien, 23 years old, single. Member of L'Era Nuova Group and Francesco Ferrer Association. Denies he is an anarchist. Warrant cancelled 4/9/20.

JACQUES PITEA.

Italian alien, 34 years old, - common law wife and child in Paterson, Brother of Tony and Frank Pitea, all being members of the "Mutual Aid Society", which is a camouflage for an anarchist group in Paterson. Claims he is a left wing Socialist or Social Democrat and believes in such a government as exists in Germany at present. Known to be a member of L'Era Nuova Group and claims the anarchistic literature found in his suitcase was purchased at a festival. Known by under cover operative to be interested, with his brothers, in distribution of "Volunta".

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Office of the Counselor, 1918-1927
File Number 504-177

"Libretario" and "Libretario," Warrant cancelled 3/26/20.
"UMANITA NOVA" (New Humanity).

Anarchist daily newspaper published in Milan, Italy by ERICO MALATESTA and others. Subscription blanks contain instructions to forward mail either to the Milan address or to "Libreria Sociologica", Paterson, which is owned by Fermino Gallo. These subscription blanks were sent into practically every state in the Union and a number of them returned to Gallo. Lists of contributors to the fund for establishing the paper and found in the possession of Gallo, contain the names and amounts from four hundred and sixty contributors in California, Illinois, New York, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Massachusetts, Kansas, Michigan and several other states. One contributor in Jerome, Arizona, signs "The Executioner" instead of his name. Individual amounts range from 10¢ to \$7.00. Total known contributions sent to GALLO \$355.00. Proceeds from many festivals, picnics, dances, etc., were sent direct to Milan, and do not appear on the Paterson list. This information being procured from acknowledgments appearing in the first copy of the paper received. The first issue of "Umanita Nova" is dated Feb. 27, 1920; and for some time an average of ten copies a day arrived in Paterson alone.

Under the heading "Our Propositions" the following appears:

"Abolition of capitalism with its system of production.

"Abolition of the state (every state) with its legislative, judicial and military organs.

"Constitution of free communities (anarchist communities) voluntarily united in effective brotherhood and cooperation of all the people of the world.

"Seizure (by the workers) of the land, factories, medium of transportation, machines and all other tools and organization of production and exchange.

"Organized resistance against the possible attempt of reaction and reestablishment of the overthrown regime.

"Opposition to any attempt at new governments, or authoritative and oppressive organizations."

"LA FOLLA", (The Mob)

Bi-monthly organ of the Italian Interstate Federation of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut. The editor and business manager is G. Valenti and the address of the publication 7 East 15th St., Room 505, New York City.

This is the Italian paper which accused Ludovico Caminita of being a spy, which resulted in a bitter controversy. It is claimed the "exposure" of Caminita was caused by his attack on Carlo Tresca.

FRANCESCO FERRER ASSOCIATION.

"Philosophic" Anarchist organization.

Composed largely of the sons of members of the L'Era Nuova Group, but also including members of that group. Most of the members are under twenty-one years of age. It is the purpose.

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of the Association to inculcate among the young Italians the principles of the L'Era Nuova Group. The foundation of its teaching is anarchy. An educational committee arranges meetings and lectures by prominent members of the L'Era Nuova Group and others, - using the guise of education. In January 1920 there were 37 paid up members. I. W. W. influences have been at work in the attempts of one BLOSSOM, organizing secretary for the I. W. W. at Paterson. However the anarchistic theory does not agree and effort is being made to force Blossom out of the association, by certain radical members.

During the war the FERRER CLUB maintained a strong anti-draft propaganda through circulars and posters.

Ludovico Caminita, (see L'Era Nuova) speaks every Friday night on the subject of anarchy. James Gallo, son of Feraino Gallo (see personal paragraph) is the leading spirit in the association and chairman of the "educational" committee.

On Dec. 9, 1919. Prior to the departure on the "Buford", Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman wrote a joint letter to the "Young Men's Ferrer Club", - the original having been recovered. It contains, in part, the following:

"We appeal to you most probably for the last time
* * * Friends we have often in the past called upon you to support the great struggles for free speech. * * * and for numerous similar causes. Your response has always been fine - spirited, and generous. Indeed it was your affection and cooperation that have been our greatest inspiration and support."

The Ferrer Colony at Stelton, N. J. is an anarchist settlement established about 3 years ago and consisting of about 200 families as permanent settlers. In the summer the colony is increased to 300 by visiting radicals who commute to Philadelphia and New York. The colony is not incorporated but their "Modern School" is incorporated under the laws of the State of New Jersey and attempts are being made to organize schools at Detroit, Buffalo, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, Erie, Pa. and Washington State.

They publish a monthly magazine called "The Modern School" which magazine is devoted to libertarian ideas in education. The editor is Carl Zigrosser and the Circulation Manager E. S. Pratt. In the number for September 1918 appears an article entitled "The Ferrer Modern School"; Interpretation and Appraisal, by William Thurston Brown, from which the following is taken:

The Ferrer Modern school consists "a group of men and women with vision, who launched this school eight years ago, in New York - and whom with still greater and surer vision, planted it here three years ago last May. * * * They saw about them a visionless school system; the public machine in charge of the system. They felt education to be the most precious thing life holds the possibility of. * * *

Four years ago where now Ferrer Colony stands, there was nothing but an unusually ugly farmhouse, an uglier barn

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and a hundred and forty acres of poorly cultivated land, with a stream of water that never runs dry winding its way in graceful curves through a part of it, fringed for most of its course with bushes and trees. It was on such a site that those men and women of vision and courage and idealism proposed to organize a school whose produce should be education. * * *

The creation of a true school at Stelton depends upon the moral, intellectual, and spiritual development of Ferrer Colony. The atmosphere of Ferrer Colony cannot be one thing, and that of the school a totally different thing. The one cannot be sordid and the other broad, the one trivial and the other earnest. Every member of Ferrer Colony is as really a teacher in the school as if he were included in its staff.

What has happened during these three years on this 140 acres of land? It is not much to say that nowhere in America has so remarkable a change been wrought in three years as here. Houses and shacks to the number of 51 have been built, and the population in summer must be not less than 200. About 20 families live in Ferrer Colony the year through * * *

A dormitory housing 24 children in single beds has been built, its central room equipped with sanitary toilets, a bath-room and tub, wash-basins for the children, and a shower bath. * * * September 1st, on land belonging to the school, a swimming pool, 120 by 60, will be dedicated. * * *

Mistakes have been made, and must remain to be done before we can approach very closely to the fulfillment of our hopes. While we have in Ferrer Colony the beginnings of a moral and spiritual atmosphere impossible in the average Community, on account of its blindness and conservatism, more remains to be done in this direction and an aesthetic conscience has been conspicuous by its absence. * * *---"what of the school itself- its curriculum, its methods, its results? * * *

It takes time to demonstrate results in education. Its proofs can be seen only in character, in personality, in the quality of manhood and womanhood, in the vital citizenship produced. Progress is also registered in the growing clearness of vision and conviction as to goal and methods in the minds of teachers. More numbers in the teaching staff do not signify. Passing examinations is no test. The evidence of progress is to be found in the minds and spirits of teachers quite as much as in the mind and spirit of pupils.

Convincing demonstration of the value of our school has been made by the record of pupils who have gone from this school to High School. * * * Our two graduates who have just completed a year in High School could not have passed the entrance examinations. By an oversight they were admitted without examination. But one of them has been told she can finish High School in three years instead of four - no doubt both can - and both have been unsurpassed in scholarship and unequalled in other and more significant ways.

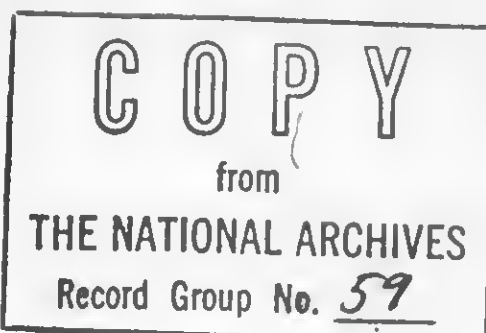
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Office of the Counselor, 1918-1927
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in the common law doctrine of all human living so as not to interfere with the rights of others, and the others on their part not interfering with them.

Attempts to organize a branch in New York were successful, the group there being known as the Bronx Ferrer Group.

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Bulletin of Radical Activities No. 14, week ending May 1, 1920, Washington, D.C.
[excerpt] / Radical Division, Department of Justice. — 2 p. ; 29 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The Bulletin of Radical Activities tallies the deportation warrants issued and canceled since November 1919.

Notes: Broken type.

1920

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WAR DEPARTMENT

CONFIDENTIAL

BULLETIN OF RADICAL ACTIVITIES.

No. ~~15~~ 14
Copy

Week ending May 1, 1920.

INDEX

ORGANIZATIONS

| | |
|--|----|
| Communist Party..... | 4 |
| Communist Labor Party..... | 5 |
| Strikes for Peace with Russia May first..... | 8 |
| I. W. W..... | 11 |
| One Big Union..... | 14 |
| General Executive Board..... | 16 |
| Socialist Party..... | 23 |
| Socialist Labor Party..... | 28 |
| Committee of Forty-Eight..... | 30 |
| Non Partisan League..... | 32 |
| Anarchists..... | 33 |
| Miscellaneous Organizations..... | 33 |
| COMMITTEE FOR FREEDOM OF EDUCATION..... | 33 |
| EMERGENCY EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE..... | 35 |
| CONSTITUTIONALISTS..... | 41 |
| INTERNATIONAL..... | 43 |
| CONGRESSIONAL..... | 44 |
| INDIVIDUALS..... | 46 |
| PRESS..... | 47 |
| STRIKES..... | 57 |
| STRIKES NOTES..... | 59 |
| TRADE AND LABOR UNIONS..... | 61 |
| NEGRO ACTIVITIES..... | 64 |
| NEW YORK CHAMBER OF COMMERCE..... | 67 |
| GENERAL..... | 67 |

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
Radical Division,
Washington, D. C.

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416

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NOTE

Cancellations of Deportation Warrants by
Mr. Post and Others

Total Number of Warrants
issued Nov. 1, 1919 to
April 24, 1920

6,350

Deportations Ordered

| | | |
|------------------|------------|--|
| Anarchists & URW | 307 | |
| Communists, etc. | <u>455</u> | |

762

Warrants Cancelled:

| | | |
|------------------|-------------|--|
| URW | 61 | |
| Communists, etc. | <u>1232</u> | |

1293

Actually Deported since Nov. 1, 1919:

| | | |
|------------------|-----------|--|
| Buford (Dec. 21) | 241 | |
| Others | <u>22</u> | |

263

In other words the total of deportations ordered is one eighth plus the total warrants issued. Actual deportations 1/24 of warrants issued. Communist warrants (handled by Mr. Post) cancelled equal one fifth of all of the warrants covering all classes, including deportations. Of the 1293 cancellations the 61 Union of Russian Workmen cases handled by Mr. Abercombe. The Communist cancellations during the period were twenty times as many as the U.R.W.

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Summary: Hoover summarizes the activities of the Radical Division, including their work in deporting Goldman, Berkman, and others on the *Buford*, and arresting hundreds of communists.

Notes: Broken type; dark copy; barely legible.

JAN-010

May 1, 1920.

MEMORANDUM UPON ACTIVITIES OF THE RADICAL DIVISION, DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

--000--

The Radical Division of the Department of Justice was organized in August, 1919, for the purpose of directing all matters in connection with investigations of radical activities. Such matters related not only to the actual work of investigation, but also related to the handling of the legal phases in connection with the radical activities.

The investigation activities of the Radical Division were directed at the time of the formation of the division to inquiry into the nature and character of various organizations then existing. One of the first organizations to receive attention was the organization known as the UNION OF RUSSIAN WORKERS of the United States and Canada, the membership of which was claimed to be something in the neighborhood of 4,000, 99% of which were alien Russians. After several months' inquiry into the activities of this organization, copies of its constitution and principles were obtained which clearly showed that it had as its purpose the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and

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418

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Mem. re radical division, -1- 5/1/20

violence. This organization was anarchistic in character and believed in no form of government. It existed principally in the eastern section of the country -- in the large industrial centers. On November 7, 1919, there were arrests made simultaneously in the following cities:

Baltimore, Md.,
Buffalo, N. Y.,
New York City,
Hartford, Conn.,
Philadelphia, Pa.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.,
Newark, N. J.,
Chicago, Ill.,
Cleveland, Ohio,
Detroit, Michigan,
Boston, Mass.

There were taken into custody at this time the leading members of the organization, consisting of the secretaries, organizers and agitators. There was also taken into possession a tremendous amount of anarchistic literature, among which was found specific enumeration of the fact that the members of the organization were atheists, anarchists, and believed in the assassination of public officials, thus substantiating the claim of the Department of Justice that the organization was centering its activities upon the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence.

Concurrently with the investigation being made into the activities of the UNION OF RUSSIAN WORKERS, the cases of certain individuals were receiving the careful attention of the Radical Division. Among them were the cases of EMMA GOLDMAN, ALEXANDER

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419

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Memo. re Radical Division, -3- 5/1/20

BERKMAN, ADOLPH SCHWABER, MOLLIE STIMER and PETER BIANKI. All of the persons named had for many months, and the first two for the last fifteen or twenty years, been engaged in anarchistic activities. The Radical Division gathered together and prepared all of the evidence for use in the deportation proceedings against each of the individuals named and the Radical Division personally conducted the hearings in these cases. In order that there might be an efficient administration of the immigration laws, cordial co-operative relations were established between the Radical Division and the office of the Commissioner-General of Immigration of the Department of Labor, whereby both would work in harmony and unison in dealing with these matters. Assistant Secretary of Labor Abernethy, who at that time was in charge of the immigration matters of the Department of Labor, agreed to this close cooperation and it is to be noted the cooperation existing between the two departments continued without any break whatsoever until the assumption of the duties of Mr. Abernethy by Mr. Post in February, 1920.

Following the arrests of the Union of Russian Workers on November 7, 1919 and the successful termination of the deportation proceedings against EMMA GOLDMAN, ALEXANDER BERKMAN and the other leading movers in the anarchistic activities in the United States, arrangements were effected for the securing of an army transport to remove the undesirable aliens from the United States. Many conferences were held between General Hines of the Immigration Department and Commissioner-General Caminetti of the Department

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Memo. re Radical Division, -4- 5/1/20

of Labor and Mr. Hoover of the Department of Justice in this matter and finally on December 31, 1919, the transport "Buford" sailed from New York with two hundred and forty-nine of the leading anarchists in the United States. All of the persons leaving on the "Buford" were admitted anarchists and their activities had been proven in each case, showing in many cases their active identification with the coal strike and the steel strike. Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman went back on the "Buford" and thus ended the careers of these two forces in the United States, who had as their sole purpose the spreading not only of anarchistic teachings, but also of immorality and lack of belief in God.

With the departure of the "Buford", the anarchistic elements in the United States were completely shattered, with the exception of one or two small groups, to which mention will later be made. The Radical Division then turned its attention to the activities of the Communists. In September 1919 there had been formed in Chicago two Communist Parties, identical in principle, the only difference being in leadership. These parties were known as the COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY and the COMMUNIST PARTY. My attention was given at that time to the activities of these organizations and as the various industrial disturbances arose in the United States the evidence clearly showed that the communists were at least 50% responsible for the industrial unrest. Unlimited funds have been at the disposal of the communists, resulting in a most prolific output of literature. During the steel

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Memo. re Radical Division. -8- 6/1/20

strike, the coal strike and local industrial disturbances, masses of communist literature was distributed, urging the workers to open revolt and to the taking over of the factories and the establishing of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to replace the Government of the United States with a governmental machine identical to the Soviets of Russia. In order that this movement might be effectively broken, it was deemed advisable that there should be a simultaneous round-up of the communists. Working in close harmony with Mr. Abernethy of the Department of Labor and Mr. Caminetti, Commissioner-General of Immigration, arrangements were made for the arrests of the communists on January 1, 1920, and in the following named cities over 2,000 were taken into custody:

Baltimore, Md.
Boston, Mass..
Buffalo, N. Y..
Chicago, Ill..
Detroit, Mich..
Cleveland, Ohio.
Denver, Colo..
Grand Rapids, Mich..
Hartford, Conn..
Indianapolis, Ind..
Jacksonville, Fla..
Kansas City, Mo..
Los Angeles, Calif..
Louisville, Ky..
Milwaukee, Wis..
Newark, N. J..
Omaha, Neb..

Philadelphia, Pa..
Pittsburgh, Pa..
Portland, Ore..
San Francisco, Calif..
Scranton, Pa..
Spokane, Wash..
St. Louis, Mo..
St. Paul, Minn..
Springfield, Mass..
Syracuse, N. Y..
Toledo, Ohio.
Trenton, N. J..
New York, N. Y..
Portland, Me.

At the time of the arrests of the communists, stenographic statements were taken from these arrested and membership or affiliation with the communist parties clearly proven.

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Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

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Notes: Broken type; dark copy; barely legible.

Memo. re Radical Division, 6- 5/1/20

The burden fell upon the Radical Division of the Department of Justice to prepare the evidence in legal form in all the cases of those arrested and in view of the limited facilities of the Bureau of Immigration assistance was also given stenographically and in the way of supplying guards to the immigration inspectors. The closest cooperation and harmony existed at all points in the country between immigration officers and officers of the Department of Justice. It is to be noted that in the preparation of these cases for deportation the immigration rules require that the alien be represented by counsel at all steps of the proceedings, thus placing upon the Government the burden of proving not only the activities of the individual, but in many cases proving his name, place of birth, the time of his departure from his native country, the time of his arrival in the United States, and the fact that he has never become an American citizen. In many cases the alien refuses to answer any of these questions upon advice of counsel. It is to be further noted that the original regulation of the immigration laws allowing the alien to have counsel only at such times when the immigration officers deem it best to the interests of the Government has been held constitution^{al} by the federal courts; however, through the efforts of Mr. Post the law was changed, thus placing upon the Government a tremendous burden in the way of expense, as well as effort. For a period of at least six weeks following the arrests of January 2nd, radical activities in the United States had subsided remarkably.

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Memo. re Radical Activities, -7- 5/1/20

There were comparatively few radical publications issued for the six weeks following the raid of January 2nd and those that were issued were noted for their brevity and for their carefulness in statements. However, as soon as wholesale cancellations of immigration warrants became apparent, radical activities increased in leaps and bounds, with the result that today there is being published and circulated throughout the country a tremendous mass of literature, anarchistic and communistic in nature, in which there is open advocacy of violence and advice to the workers to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat. The effect of the cancellation of warrants, coupled with the belief of the radical elements in the United States that Congress was opposed to the passing of any law against sedition, resulted in increased activity of the radical press, to the extent that two or three new foreign language radical papers appeared weekly. The greater portion of the radical press is restricted to foreign language publications.

The attorneys for the communists obtained permission from the Secretary of Labor to argue the legal status of the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party before the Secretary, and the Radical Division was called upon to make argument and submit evidence upon the unlawful character of these organizations. Extensive briefs were prepared and extensive arguments made, going into not only the ramifications of the communists in the United States, but also the international phase of the

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Memo. re. Radical activities, -8- 6/1/20

movement, showing its connection with the Russian Communist Party, the Spartacus Group of Germany and its affiliation in principle and action with the Manifesto and Program of the Third International at Moscow. The Secretary of Labor ruled that the Communist Party was unlawful and that membership in the same subjected an alien to deportation. Notwithstanding this ruling, however, hundreds of aliens against whom membership was clearly proven were released by the Secretary of Labor and are again engaged in agitating against the Government of the United States. At the same time that investigations were being made into the communists' activities, careful watch was being kept upon certain isolated groups of Italian anarchists, resulting in the arrests on February 14, 1920, at Paterson, N. J., of twenty-nine Italian anarchists, followers of GALLIASSI, the notorious Italian anarchist who was deported from the United States. Huge masses of Italian anarchistic literature was taken at this time and perfect records prepared in the case of each person arrested. The condition at Paterson had been notorious for many years and when the arrests were made it was generally believed that the Italian anarchists had been finally dis-organized and broken up. All of these cases were referred to the immigration authorities for deportation. Many of the twenty-nine have now been released by Assistant Secretary of Labor Post,

In connection with the communistic investigations, the attention of the Radical Division was for many months directed

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Memo. re Radical Activities, -9- 5/1/20

oward the activities of LUDWIG O. A. K. MARTENS and his bureau. Deportation cases were prepared by the Radical Division against Martens and GREGORY WEILSTEIN, his assistant. The investigations upon which these cases were based extended through a period of many months, requiring long and careful consideration of the voluminous amount of evidence obtained. As soon as in final form, it was submitted to the Department of Labor and Mr. Abernethy issued warrants of arrests for these persons. The cases are still pending and no doubt will be completed at an early date. It was the opinion of the Department of Justice that perfect cases existed against both of these individuals, showing that they are members of organizations that believe in and advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence.

In addition to the investigations made into the activities of the UNION OF RUSSIAN WORKERS, the Communist Parties and certain notorious individual agitators, a large amount of time of the Radical Division has been consumed in the collecting and collating of evidence against all types of radicals, both in the United States and abroad, for in order to thoroughly and effectively cover radical investigations it is necessary to know the foreign agitators who act as couriers and intermediaries among the foreign radical activities and the groups in the United States. Another branch of investigation upon which the Radical Division has been engaged is the close scrutiny of the activities of the I. W. O., which organization has been largely responsible

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426

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Mem. re Radical Activities, -10- 5/1/20

for the recent national strikes. Much evidence has been collected upon the individuals in this organization and it is believed by the Department of Justice that the leading agitators in this organization are well-known and the actions closely watched by the Department of Justice.

Realizing the necessity for establishing a central bureau of information upon radical activities, there has been established in the Radical Division of the Department of Justice in Washington a card index system which contains detailed information upon individuals, organizations, associations, societies, newspapers, publications and movements, which in any way are connected with radical activities. This card index at the present time numbers approximately about 100,000 cards and is daily being added to. In addition to the card index, legal memorandums have been prepared on many hundred cases of the leading agitators for ready reference.

Material assistance has been rendered by the Radical Division to many state authorities in prosecution of American citizens charged with violation of the State Anarchy Laws, as well as in the cases of aliens who have been arrested by state authorities. In all such cases, the evidence collected by the Department of Justice has been placed at the disposal of the State authorities and it is to be noted that convictions have been obtained in all cases under the various state laws.

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Memo. re Radical Activities, -11- 5/1/20

I believe it would be only proper at this time to make mention of the charges which have been made recently against the Department of Justice for engaging in provocateur work in radical organizations. Recent mention has been made of certain comments of Judge Anderson of Massachusetts to the effect that the Department of Justice owns and operates portions of the Communist Party of America. This statement is an absolute falsehood and no evidence was introduced in the court in Massachusetts which would in any way warrant the drawing of such a conclusion. The only evidence referring to activities of the agents of the Department of Justice in organizations under investigation was an instruction issued to the field officers of the Bureau of Investigation to the effect that they should endeavor through confidential informants to have meetings of the Communist Party held on January 2nd, 1920, in order to facilitate the arrests of alien members thereof. It was well known that January 2nd was the regular meeting night of the Communist Party, but it had been found that in several instances the regular meeting was to be postponed until another day in the week and it was with this in mind that the confidential informants were instructed to make an effort if possible to have the regular meeting night held on the night scheduled rather than on some special night. In no instance has an agent or employee of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice ever actively participated in the activities of any

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Memo. re Radical Activities. -14-

5/1/20,

radical organization or taken any part in the formulating of its principles or platform. There is nothing inappropriate or wrong, and, in fact, if the radical movement is to be effectively coped with, it is necessary that information be obtained upon these organizations and it is only through the employment of confidential informants that such information can be obtained for the communists' groups and the anarchists' groups are mostly close and secret organizations and never hold public meetings but always in secret. Had it not been for the work of the confidential informants the advanced information upon many nation-wide plots, clearly showing the connection of the I. W. W. and the Communist Parties with the recent railroad strike, would never have been obtained. In regard to the charge of brutality and unlawful actions by the Bureau of Investigation many comments have been made, but no specific instance has ever been submitted to the Department of Justice which has not been investigated and conclusively proven that the information upon which the charge has been made has either been information upon hearsay or information maliciously falsified. Notorious instances of these are the charges as to the actions of the Department of Justice in the City of Detroit, in the City of Boston and in the City of New York.

In regard to the radical condition in the United States at the present moment, it might be pointed out that radical organizations against which activities of the Department of Justice were directed in January are again re-organizing and

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429

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Mem. re Radical Activities. -13- 5/1/20

resuming their activities, operating however in smaller groups. The radical press, as previously pointed out, has renewed its efforts and is today as prolific and as audacious as at any time in the past. The industrial unrest at the present time is chiefly caused by the efforts of radical agitators as clearly shown in the recent railroad strike. It is therefore necessary that not only the present work be continued, but that additional assistance be obtained for the carrying out of the investigations and work incident to the same. When the appropriations were made there was no conception of such general strikes in the principal industries as has recently occurred and consequently the occurrence of the same has heavily drawn upon the funds authorized in the original appropriation and required the necessity of employing additional persons during such emergencies. Whenever the increased activities occur the work consequently increased at Washington, for all reports are forwarded to Washington and must be carefully read, instructions issued upon the same, and digested and carried.

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430

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re:] Abraham Schneider, St. Louis, Mo. [19]20 May 6 / Emil A. Solanka [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 1 p.; 20 × 14 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Agent Solanka summarizes the Bureau of Investigation's records on Abraham Schneider, an associate of Goldman and Berkman, held for deportation but not deported.

Notes: For related documents, see 811222063, 870722000, 870722002, and 870722003.

ORIGINAL 374672

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| REPORT MADE BY
EMIL A. SOLANKA | PLACE WHERE MADE
ST. LOUIS, MO. | DATE WHEN MADE
5/6/20 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE
5/5/20 |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|

REPORT MADE AT
ST. LOUIS, MO. (alien) St. Louis, Mo. Anarchist

REPORT MADE ON
ABRAHAM SCHNEIDER

At St. Louis, Mo.

According to this office's files on subject, he was arrested on a warrant charging him with being an anarchist, etc., issued by the Department of Labor November 25th, 1919.

Reports made on the results of investigations into subject's alleged anarchistic activities conducted by the St. Louis, Mo., and Cleveland, Ohio, offices show that he was an intimate friend of EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERKMAN and admitted to agents in the Cleveland office that he was an anarchist, etc. Further that he was actively engaged in anarchistic activities throughout the country for a lengthy period of time; was opposed to the Conscription Act and actively engaged in the work of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia in St. Louis. He was also identified with St. Louis Communists; however, it appears from the records on file in this office that no evidence of his membership in the Communist or Communist Labor Parties was secured, inasmuch as he was charged with anarchistic beliefs.

Subject's warrant of arrest was cancelled April 17th, 1920 by the Assistant Secretary of Labor.

In employee's opinion, there is no question but that subject will continue his agitation in behalf of anarchistic organizations.

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431

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1920 May 7, Chicago [to Marlborough? Churchill?] Director, Military Intelligence [Division, War Department], Washington, D.C. / Gordon Johnston, Assistant Chief of Staff [Military] Intelligence [Division] War Department. - 2 p.; 35 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Johnston sends the Director of Military Intelligence the text of Goldman's letter to Reitman, which discusses her efforts to settle down in Russia.

Notes: Enclosed with 810402083. For situation survey mentioned, see 810331026.

COPY

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
MAY 1965

ES + S Staff
Mil. Intelligence
Dir. 10015-94

WAR DEPARTMENT
HEADQUARTERS CENTRAL DEPARTMENT
CHICAGO

M.I.-IV

May 7, 1920. 0015-94

MAY 13

From: Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence, Chicago.

To: Director of Military Intelligence, Washington, D.C.

Subject: Weekly Situation Survey.

CAPTAIN SNOW

M.I. 4.
MAY 10 1920

(M.I.D. 255-E-6, M.I. 4-E)

vary number.

1. Reference your letter of April 29th and ours of May 5th and May 6th.

2. The following will appear in our Situation Survey of May 7th under Section 1, Radical Activities; Part 2, Items on Leaders and Prominent Agitators:

"The following letter addressed to Dr. Ben L. Reitman 303 Busch Temple, Chicago, was received on May 6th from Emma Goldman. Her letter is dated Moscow, March 8, 1920, and was mailed April 17, 1920, in South Kensington, England:

'Dear Ben:

It is just about 3 months since you waved good bye to me at the LaSalle St. Station. But the things we have experienced and seen during that time make our absence seem like many years. You can well imagine that there is much I would like to write to you about, but for the present you will have to be content rather with my desire than with the deed.

'I have written to you several times, through Stella and also direct, while we were in our floating prison. Letters should have reached you from the English Channel, from the Kiel Canal, from Antwerp and also from New York. I hope that at least some of them have reached you, as I know what it means to be completely out off in this matter. Not a word has reached us from anyone in the U.S. so far. You can imagine how we feel about it. It is very difficult for one at my age to acclimatize himself in a new country, even under the best circumstances, in normal times. But Russia, bled white by over four years of war and starved by the inhuman blockade, is not a place where one may hope to take root easily. However, if I could at least hear from those dear to me I left behind, life would not be so difficult.

'I suppose you will wonder whether I have become active here in some work. I have not. Owing partly to the lack of language, and partly to the circumstance that I must first familiarize myself with the new and strange situation. We spend our time for the present

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* * * * *

'Our love to the family, and kiss for me your young man. Best greetings to C.V., Bill, and all our other good comrades and friends.

E.'

3. Dr. Reitman stated to an agent of this office that all correspondence for Emma Goldman is sent through Stella Ballentine, 39 Grove Street, New York City. He stated that this is the first direct word that has been received from Miss Goldman since she was deported on the "Ark."

4. This for your information.

WER:H

No Incls.

Gordon Johnston

Gordon Johnston,
Colonel, G.S.,
A.C. of S., G-2.

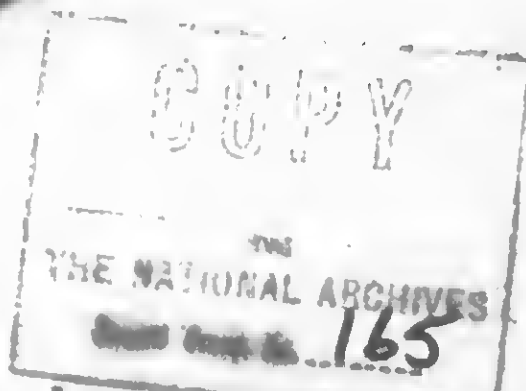
The Emma Goldman Papers

Situation Survey Report [for] May 7, 1920 [Chicago (excerpt)] / [Gordon? Johnston? Assistant Chief of Staff? Military Intelligence Division, War Department].—
4 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The Chicago Military Intelligence Office's situation report includes the text of one of Goldman's letters to Reitman from Moscow.

Notes: For same letter in different format, see 810402101.



*Chief of Staff
Military Intelligence
Div*

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF

1920

WAR DEPARTMENT

3XX

FILE

NOTED M.I. 2
4-17-20

SITUATION SURVEY REPORT

MAY 7 1920

The Emma Goldman Papers

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I - RADICAL ACTIVITIES.

2. Items on leaders and prominent agitators. (continued)

May 2. Members of the union stated they did not know he belonged to the I. W. W. or he would have been expelled long before.

C. E. Payne, former editor of the "New Solidarity," has written to friends in Chicago, from Jared, Wash., announcing that he will be tried for violation of the Washington Syndicalism law, on June 16th.

P. J. Clair, 522 St. Clair Ave., Cleveland, who is reported to have been elected organizer of the English branches of the Communist Party, is an old time anarchist, according to an informant. For the last several years, he has been giving his support to the Sinn Feiners, but joined the Communists several months ago. He is nearly 60 years old, and is a carpenter.

Fred Obermuller, of Davenport, Iowa, is reported to have told an informant recently, that he has been actively identified with the I. W. W. movement ever since he came to this country from Germany. He also stated that Michael Kennedy and Kroeger, of the Arsenal Machinists' Union, are both members of the I.W.W.

Abner E. Woodruff, Secretary of Agricultural Union No. 400, spoke at a meeting of I.W.W.'s in Moline, Ill., on April 30th. He urged the members to spread their propaganda in order to fill the ranks. On May 1st, he spoke to Rock Island railroad men, urging the organization of the One Big Union.

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"Dear Ben:

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The Emma Goldman Papers

810331026

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I - RADICAL ACTIVITIES.

2. Items on leaders and prominent agitators. (continued)

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"I have written to you several times, through Stella and also direct, while we were in our floating prison. Letters should have reached you from the English Channel, from the Kiel Canal, from Antwerp, and also from New York. I hope that at least some of them have reached you, as I know what it means to be completely cut off in this matter. Not a word has reached us from anyone in the U.S., so far. You can imagine how we feel about it. It is very difficult for one at my age to acclimatize himself in a new country, even under the best conditions, in normal times. But Russia, bled white by over four years of war and starved by the inhuman blockade, is not a place where one may hope to take root easily. However, if I could at least hear from those dear to me, I left behind, life would not be so difficult.

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I. RADICAL ACTIVITIES

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3. "Boring In" on Labor Organizations

John Miller and Rudolph Steiger, railroad machinists from Altoona, Pa., are reported to be in Cleveland agitating for an Independent One Big Union of railroad shopmen to include all crafts. It is reported they will attend the I.W.W. convention in Chicago next week.

4. Affiliations between Organizations - Nothing to report.

5. Combinations of Organizations - Nothing to report.

6. Increase or Decrease of Membership - Nothing to report.

7. Changes of Policy, Immediate Plans or General Objective

An active campaign among the Jews of Cleveland is to be inaugurated very soon by the Communist Party of America, according to C. E. Ruthenberg, and a paid organizer will be sent out in this territory.

Information submitted to U.S. District Attorney Robertson at Kansas City, Kans., on May 4th, is to the effect that the I.W.W. plans an extensive campaign in Kansas during the harvest season. Credentials were issued to field agents for this drive at the recent convention of the Agricultural Workers in Sioux City. In addition to plans for a wholesale migration to Kansas, it is reported that demands for \$1.50 an hour will be made for harvest hands.

Agitators and organizers of the I.W.W., Communist Party of America and the Communist Labor Party are all busy spreading their propaganda among the railroad men in all parts of the Central Department. Although the I.W.W. announced that they had no part in the plans for the switchmen's strike they did state that they were quick to take advantage of the split and have now lived up to their word.

The Emma Goldman Papers

810331030

[Letter] 1920 May 11, Riga, Latvia [to Bainbridge Colby] Secretary of State [Department of State, Washington, D.C.] / John A. [Carter?] Commissioner of the United States [Department of State]. — 5 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The American commissioner in Riga reports on conditions in Russia, including European trade relations, prospects for internal revolt, and Goldman and Berkman's activities.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. Enclosed with 810331029. For enclosure, Appendix A, see 810331031.

To Col. Mason

1920

10347-29

7

OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER OF THE UNITED STATES
FOR THE BALTIC PROVINCES OF RUSSIA
Riga, May 11, 1920.

No. 187

The Honorable,

The Secretary of State.

Sir:

I have the honor to report as follows:

Mr. John Clayton, correspondent of the Chicago Tribune, has just come out of Moscow, from where he states he has been obliged to send material to his paper rather favorable to the Bolsheviks' cause, in order to remain in the good graces of the Bolshevik Authorities and be enabled to return. Affixed is a resume of his statement. (Appendix A)

In conversation with the British Consul at Riga he informed me that both he and the French Consul had recently visaed the passports of four Russians who had passed through Riga, representing themselves to be delegates of the Russian peasants at large, and who stated that:

"The peasants throughout Russia feel the time has come to throw off the Bolshevik yoke, and propose to revolt some time this mid-summer. We have been sent to ask the Allies secretly if we have their moral support and backing. We request neither arms, funds, nor food; simply when the time comes, moral support and assistance in organizing stable government, as well as possibly the loan of temporary administrative officers. The peasants

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438

The Emma Goldman Papers

810331030

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-2-

in the Red armies are with us and we have requisite arms, ammunition and cannon hidden away. Naturally we have food. We propose to start the revolt from the outside and work in towards Moscow and Petrograd, instigating no trouble in these cities during the early stages of the revolt. Our only question is: Will the Allies and America help when we have overthrown the Bolsheviks?"

In reply to the Department's telegram dated May 4 - 5:00 P. M., I beg to say that the enumeration given by me in the paragraph mentioned is only a partial and far from complete list. The following additional information is respectfully submitted:

(1) The Estonian firm of "Cosmos" has made a contract with the Soviet Government for paper (Finnish) amounting to L. 150,000. The paper is to be paid for in gold, cash payment, to be made in May.

(2) Denmark has sold seeds to the Soviet Government through the Danish Consul General in Reval for the sum of 600,000 gold roubles. Same have been delivered by vessel from Copenhagen to Reval.

(3) The Estonian Government is reputed to have sold a large quantity of potatoes to the Soviet Government. Up to date 100 freight carloads have been delivered.

(4) An Estonian firm has sold paper to the Soviet Government for 2,000,000 Finnish marks. Goukowski received personally as graft 600,000 Finnish marks, while the Estonian Government forced the sellers to exchange the 2,000,000 marks at the official rate of 375 Estonian marks equals 100 Finnish marks, and then itself turned around and sold them for the true rate of 700 Estonian marks equals 100 Finnish marks.

(5) A Dutch agent arrived in Reval, but returned to Holland without having closed any contract, owing to the fact that the Estonian Government informed him that it would have to act as the selling agent, and he could not deal directly with Goukowski when deliveries were made through Estonia.

Germany and Finland are refusing to take Bolshevik gold, but Sweden accepts it. One gold rouble is offered in Reval for 11 - 12

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439

The Emma Goldman Papers

810331030

[Letter] 1920 May 11, Riga, Latvia [to Bainbridge Colby] Secretary of State [Department of State, Washington, D.C.] / John A. [Carter?] Commissioner of the United States [Department of State]. — 5 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The American commissioner in Riga reports on conditions in Russia, including European trade relations, prospects for internal revolt, and Goldman and Berkman's activities.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. Enclosed with 810331029. For enclosure, Appendix A, see 810331031.

-3-

Finnish marks (6 roubles equals L. 1.0.0) 50 Estonian marks equals 1 gold rouble. Goukowski has recently received from Russia 15,000,000 roubles in gold, and 70,000,000 Czar roubles in paper. Goukowski is himself not only disgusted at the rapacity of the Estonians, but finds that while many contracts are talked of as well as also signed by various firms and nationalities with the Soviet Government through him, few deliveries are actually made, or can definitely be counted upon in the immediate future. The Estonian Foreign Minister informed me Goukowski was thinking of removing his activities to Copenhagen and will shortly leave for Moscow for a consultation with Lenin. The Estonian Government would be loathe to see Goukowski and his Commission go, owing to the extremely lucrative character to the Estonian Government of any deals that actually go through.

Mr. Coombs of the Messrs. Steel Bar Company, and Mr. Falk of the Guaranty Trust Company are both in constant consultation with Mr. Goukowski. In talking over trading with Russia they both seemed indignant at: "The American Government letting sentimentalism stand in the way of American business men making money or cutting out the English." In my calling to their attention their confusing sentimentality with idealism, and profit with morals, they found I had but slight sympathy for American business.

Messrs. Coombs and Falk either have sold, or are about to sell to the Estonian Government a certain amount of material for use in mending the rolling stock procured by the Estonian Government from the North-Western Russian Army. The Estonian Government wishes to order about four times the material it possibly can require itself, and has also informed Goukowski that it hopes at an early date to be able to accept a contract from the Soviet Government for mending in its Estonian workshops a quantity of the badly damaged Russian rolling stock. A certain amount of the American order will thus probably be used for this purpose.

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440

The Emma Goldman Papers

810331030

[Letter] 1920 May 11, Riga, Latvia [to Bainbridge Colby] Secretary of State [Department of State, Washington, D.C.] / John A. [Carter?] Commissioner of the United States [Department of State].— 5 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

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Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. Enclosed with 810331029. For enclosure, Appendix A, see 810331031.

-4-

I beg to affix a memorandum (Appendix B) received from Lady Harling and General Turner, my British colleague, who have recently returned from Helsingfors where they had met British officers recently released from Bolshevik prison camps.

General Turner likewise handed me the following which he already had transmitted to our Charge d'Affaires in Finland.

item #1
"Belandinsky was the American Representative at the Third International, and directs all work connected with American communism. He worked in the United States under the name of Mulkner and is arranging to return."

"Emma Goldman and Alexander Birkmann are the heads of a committee formed for the reception of deported aliens. They are likewise active members of an association called "Russian Friends of American Freedom." Couriers and communications are being forwarded by them to America. In this they are assisted by a man named Kaminer. An American agent in Russia requested one of the British officers to warn the United States Government against a man named Serezhnikov, now with Krassin. Serezhnikov worked in California under the name of Schavenko and was once a member of the Y. M. C. A. He is not personally dangerous but his connections are, and he himself is employed as a tool by the communists."

The Export and Import Company has been founded by the Estonian Government to act as intermediary in most of the deals undertaken with Goukowsky.

The report has repeatedly appeared that 116 American engines have been sold to Soviet Russia. I have made inquiries of two or three of the best informed persons, one of them being the Commander-in-Chief of the Estonian Army. They all informed me the sale had actually gone through. Looking into the matter I was further informed that the American locomotives (of the 10-wheel type) had been sold to France among the American war material, but had as yet not been delivered. Denmark had purchased them from France, both France and Denmark knowing

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441

The Emma Goldman Papers

810331030

[Letter] 1920 May 11, Riga, Latvia [to Bainbridge Colby] Secretary of State [Department of State, Washington, D.C.] / John A. [Carter?] Commissioner of the United States [Department of State].— 5 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The American commissioner in Riga reports on conditions in Russia, including European trade relations, prospects for internal revolt, and Goldman and Berkman's activities.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. Enclosed with 810331029. For enclosure, Appendix A, see 810331031.

-5-

they would not stand much wear and tear, and the latter had sold them to the Export and Import Company for further sale to Soukowski, the ultimate sale price being \$57,000 a locomotive.

In talking the matter over with my French colleague in Riga, Colonel Huertel, he informed me he had made inquiries in the matter of his Government, and this had replied that France needed all its locomotives and rolling stock and had not sold any locomotives to Soviet Russia.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

John A. Carter
Commissioner of the United States.

Enclosures:
As described.

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442

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Statement on Revolutionary Moslem Movements, 1920 May? 11?, Moscow] / John Clayton. — 3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Clayton, a *Chicago Tribune* reporter, describes Russian efforts to organize revolutions in Moslem countries via nationalist Moslem movements. He states that Goldman is organizing American propaganda from Moscow.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. Enclosed with 810332030.

APPENDIX "A"

STATEMENT OF JOHN CLAYTON

While in Spain my attention was called to a secret organization by the name of the Black Bond. I found it again in Moscow where it now seemed to be one of the principal weapons which Trotsky proposes to use in order to bring about a world revolution. It is a Moslem organization formed for the purpose of overthrowing English rule in Moslem countries. The head and brains of the Black Bond is a Jew residing in Berlin. Trotsky is its executive chief in Russia, and the true reason why the Red Army has been turned into labor armies is not so much in any expectation that economically they may bring forth important results, but that the men may be retained mobilized and under arms until the propitious moment arrives when India may be attacked. Until such time Great Britain will be kept occupied by the sowing of sedition and the instigation of civil riots in Persia.

Bludkin, von Mirbach's murderer, has been selected to murder the Emir of Afghanistan. He is now an adept in Persia and will leave in about a month's time. The Black Bond has branches throughout the world. Bill Shatoff, the Russian communist who was in America, is now in work ostensibly on railway matters, but in reality to direct the Black Bond in that portion of Russia. During the second week of April an important Islam Conference took place in Moscow, when the future plans of the Black Bond were formulated. Many Egyptians and Indians took part, who were previously in Berlin. They were not communists but nationalists, and their sole purpose seemed the liberation of their countries from the British yoke.

The Eastern Department and school for the training of Eastern propaganda students in Moscow, is rapidly growing despite the fact that Lenin and his group at present rather discourage its activities. Talat Pascha and Unver Bey are both attempting to reach Moscow.

Islam

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Statement on Revolutionary Moslem Movements, 1920 May? 11?, Moscow] / John Clayton. — 3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Clayton, a *Chicago Tribune* reporter, describes Russian efforts to organize revolutions in Moslem countries via nationalist Moslem movements. He states that Goldman is organizing American propaganda from Moscow.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. Enclosed with 810332030.

-2-

Clayton stated that his source of information was Sasha Kropotkin, who learned it in turn from her husband, Labodur, who is ignorant of her having been in American service.

An English Journalist by the name of McCullough, as also Mrs. Harrison had received the above information.

Clayton stated that he knew Mrs. Harrison to be in the secret service of the State Department, that the Bolshevik Authorities were informed of this from Berlin, but that Tschitcherine did not believe it. She was being carefully watched and could not leave Moscow, but asked Clayton to transmit the above information to me to forward to Washington.

Clayton later informed me that McCullough seemed to believe that Mrs. Harrison was in the English Secret Service, and had most imprudently made the statement in the presence of Mrs. Vuolyoki, the agent of the Finnish Reds in Helsinki, which may get Mrs. Harrison into serious trouble. Clayton further stated, John Reed, the American communist is about to be released from prison in Abo, Finland, the Finnish Government not having sufficient evidence to retain him any longer.

Emma Coleman and Alexander Birkmann and Novakoff are playing an important role in Moscow in connection with propaganda in America. A dangerous communist by the name of Malkin, who has been operating with the American Army in Siberia, will shortly attempt to enter America. He may do so on Griffin Barry's passport, this having been lost and probably obtained by the Bolshevik Authorities. Griffin Barry's photograph should be sufficiently like Malkin's to serve the purpose.

Clayton further stated that an alliance had not only been signed between Germany and Soviet Russia but also Austria and Italy are included in it. The Chief of the Austrian War Prisoners Committee now in Moscow has authority to sign the treaty on behalf of Austria and Italy. The "defensive" portion of the treaty has been agreed upon.

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444

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Statement on Revolutionary Moslem Movements, 1920 May? 11?, Moscow] / John Clayton. — 3 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Clayton, a *Chicago Tribune* reporter, describes Russian efforts to organize revolutions in Moslem countries via nationalist Moslem movements. He states that Goldman is organizing American propaganda from Moscow.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. Enclosed with 810332030.

-3-

The terms relating to common "defensive" measures have proved the stumbling block. The treaty is political as well as commercial.

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445

The Emma Goldman Papers

810402083

[Memorandum] 1920 May 17 [Washington, D.C. to H.A.] Strauss [Department Intelligence Officer?] Eastern Department [War Department], New York / A[exander] B. Cox, Acting Director, Military Intelligence [Division, War Department].— 1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Cox sends the New York office of Military Intelligence a report containing a letter from Goldman to Reitman.

Notes: Broken type; light copy. For enclosure, see 810402101.

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M.I.4-B

OFFICE OF THE

to

1920

10110-154

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May 17, 1920.

From: Acting Director of Military Intelligence,
To: Assistant Chief of Staff for Military Intelligence,
Eastern Department, New York. Attention - Major Strauss.
Subject: Letter from Emma Goldman.

1. Enclosed herewith for your information, is a copy of a letter from the Assistant Chief of Staff for Military Intelligence, Central Department, to this office, giving the contents of a letter written by Emma Goldman to Dr. Ben . Reitman, 4303 Busch Temple, Chicago.

2. This letter is stated to be the first direct word that has been received from Miss Goldman since her deportation.

A. D. Conn,
Colonel, General Staff.

By:

W. A. McCain,
Colonel, Cavalry.

1 Incl.
ens

Mailed May 18, 20.
B.C.

(encl letter taken from B. D. G. Weekly Rep: May 7
under no. 100,15-94)
4

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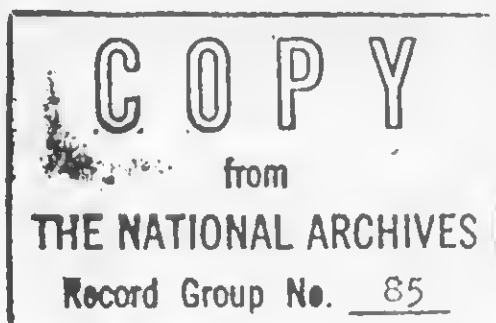
446

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 May 25, New York [to] William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Weinberger asks to meet with the secretary of labor to talk about his offer to supply transportation to Russia.

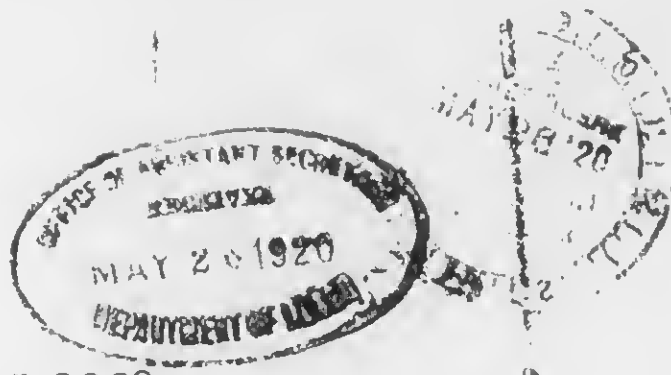
Notes: For enclosure, see 811034051. For reply, see 870728003. Follow-up to 811023041.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

HARRY WEINBERGER
COUNSELOR AT LAW
~~NEW YORK~~ NEW YORK
TELEPHONE CONNECTION

32 UNION SQUARE



May 25, 1920.

Mr. Abernethy
May 26/20
L.H.

Hon. William B. Wilson,
Secretary of Labor,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:-

I send you herewith copy of a letter this day sent to the Secretary of State. In the last correspondence I had, they informed me that the acceptance of my offer is within your hands.

I would also be glad of an opportunity to talk this matter over personally with you, as I feel that with Government officials continually clamoring for the deportation of Russian aliens, that certainly my offer to supply ships and pay all expenses ought to be accepted.

Respectfully yours,

Harry Weinberger

HW/ICW

Enc.

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447

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 May 25 [New York to] Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Weinberger asks to meet with the secretary of state to discuss his offer to supply transportation to Russia.

Notes: Dark copy. Enclosed with 811023050. Follow-up to 811023014.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 85

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

COPY.

May 25th, 1920.

Hon. Bainbridge Colby,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:-

I have had considerable correspondence with your Department re supplying a ship and paying expenses for deporting Russians back to Soviet Russia, and also allowing other Russians to go on this ship, all without expense to the Government.

I would be glad of an appointment to speak this matter over with you personally some day after June 1st, at any time convenient to you.

Hoping that you will be able to find it convenient to make such an appointment, I am

Respectfully yours,

HARRY WEINBERGER.

HW/107

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448

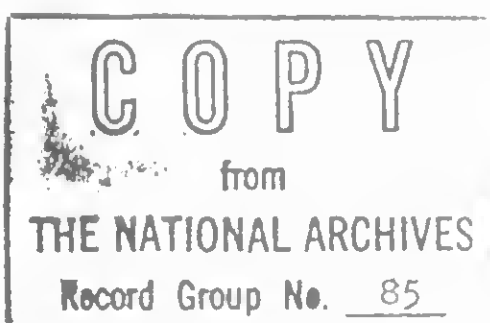
The Emma Goldman Papers

811023060

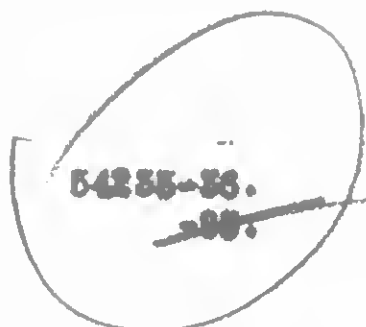
[Letter] 1920 May 26 [Washington, D.C. to] Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Montreal / [Alfred Hampton] Assistant Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Hampton sends completed cards on the Buford deportees to American immigration officials in Montreal, probably to prevent their re-entry.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*



May 26, 1920.

U. S. Commissioner of Immigration,
Montreal, Canada.

The rejection cards on account of the 249 aliens deported to Russia on the S.S. "Buford," December 21, 1919, received from your office some time ago, are herewith returned. They have been completed so far as possible from the records of hearing contained in the Bureau's files. It will be noted that the personal descriptions of these aliens are available in but few instances, but a careful search has been made in each case, and the cards are now as complete as can be made.

Assistant Commissioner General.

Incl. 5076.
ARW

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449

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 May 28 [London to Curtis C.] Williams [Second Secretary, American Embassy, London] / G.M. Liddell. — 1 p. ; 34 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 84.

Summary: Liddell sends information about Goldman's correspondents to Mr. Williams at the American Embassy.

Notes: Broken type; light copy. For reply, see 810617023.

Scotland House,
S.W. 1.

28th May 1920

to Hurley 304
2/6/20

Dear Williams,

The following information may be of interest to you:-

"Emma GOLDMAN, who was deported from the United States has asked George Lansbury for the addresses of Tom LANN, Thomas KELI, John TURNER, and Guy ALDER." *no 11*

"She has also asked him to send a wire to BALLENTINE in New York, saying, "Your Aunt is anxious for news" "Aunt" being presumably a cover for Emma GOLDMAN."

Ballentine is probably Mrs. E. J. Ballentine of 36, Grove Street, New York City.

Yours sincerely,

G. M. Liddell

320. Goldman. E.

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450

The Emma Goldman Papers

890323000

[Memorandum on Military Intelligence Reports, 19]20 May 28 [Washington, D.C.] /
[Military Intelligence Division, War Department]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Military Intelligence records the existence of a report on Goldman's Russian Friends of American Freedom, which was later destroyed.

RG 165, Military Intelligence
Div. Record Cards, 2657-D

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

2657-D

115 May 28-20. ND-0146 (Col. SOIBERT). Subject: Political (Russia) Suspects, etc: KEELEY, IAMARK, CLAYTON, & BARRY Society called "Russian Friends of American Freedom" formed by EMMA GOLDMAN & JNO. BIRKMAN, to stir up Bolshevik troubles in America. Inf. on other suspects re. Amalgamation of I.W.W. in Moscow w. I.W.W. in America. Attempt to stir up trouble in Finland, etc. Close connectn. btwn. Green Spartacists & Russ. Bol. 3pp. 3cops.

June 21-20. To Col. Miles.

(Ro

Destroyed by order of Ex. Ofcr. JUL 9 1929

116 Jun. 10-20. OD-828 (Col. FARMAN). Subject: Bolshevik Russia. Political Factor; Inf. re. numerous Generals of the old Russian Armies have joined the Bolsheviks; most prominent among these is BRUSILOFF 2pp. 3cops.

July 9-20. To Col. Miles.

(Hn

Destroyed by order of Ex. Ofcr. JUL 9 1929

117 June 9-20. ID-12 (Col. HOLLYDAY). Subject: Political Factor: Russia. Repts. interview w. MR. LAMBERT, of London Daily News, re conditns. in Russia. 3pp. 3cops.

July 14-20. To Col. Miles.

(Ro

Destroyed by order of Ex. Ofcr. JUL 9 1929

118 June 11-20. ID-16 (Col. HOLLYDAY). Subject: Foreign: Russia. Rept. re a delegatn. of Italian socialists who landed in Helsingfors en route to Russia. Said to be diplomatic mission authorized by Ital. Govt. Growth of Socialist party in Italy: now 200,000, as against 48,000 before the War. 1p. 3cops.

July 24-20. To Col. Miles.

(Ro

Destroyed by order of Ex. Ofcr. JUL 9 1929

Form 15—O. C. S.

Write nothing below this line.

3-5786

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451

The Emma Goldman Papers

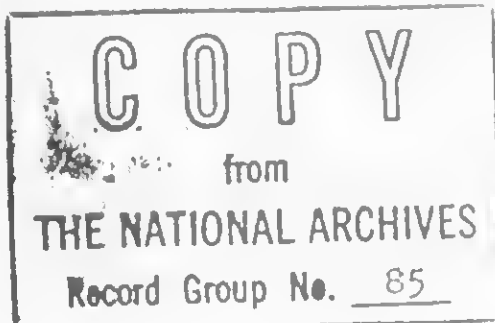
811023052

[Memorandum, 19]20 May 29 [Washington, D.C. to W.J.] Peters [Law Officer, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.] / [Anthony] C[aminetti, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor].—
1 p.; 33 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Caminetti asks Peters to follow John Abercrombie's suggestions regarding a reply to Harry Weinberger.

Notes: For enclosure, see 811023050. For response, see 870728003.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/General

June 4, 1920.

*Mr. Peters call
re Mr Abercrombie
& comply with his
suggestions
May 29/20.
See part of
memo in account
of same*

ultimo addressed to Secretary which you addressed to the Sec- was duly received. You state, ment officials continually clamor- an aliens," you are of the opinion at instance, I believe, to the to this Department) to supply snips and pay all expenses incident to such deportations ought certainly to be accepted. You further advise that the Department of State has informed you that the disposition to be made of your offer is a matter which rests in the hands of this Department.

In reply, I beg to assure you that this Department is prepared to give consideration to a definite offer, in so far as concerns aliens ordered to be deported to Russia, upon receiving acceptable written assurances that all necessary arrangements toward obtaining a suitable vessel for the purpose indicated have been made, that such vessel is at the disposal of the party or parties making the offer, and, further, that the necessary arrangements for clearing such vessel from a United States port, entering it at the proposed foreign port of debarkation, and landing the aliens thereat, have been made. In the absence of such an offer, a personal interview with the Secretary could serve no purpose.

Respectfully,

JUN 7 1920

Acting Secretary.

*Letter prepared
at suggestion of
the Acting Secretary
May 29/20
WJP:REM
MPP*

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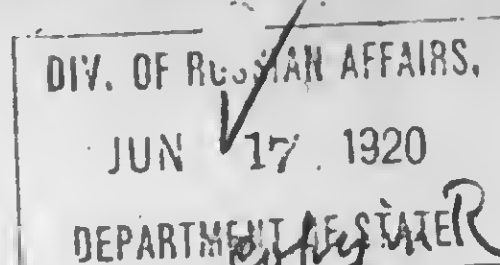
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 June 2, London [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / L. L[anier] W[inslow, Secretary, American Embassy, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Winslow sends Hurley the names of some of Goldman's correspondents, including Stella Ballantine.

Notes: For copy, see 810617022. For original report, see 810617021.



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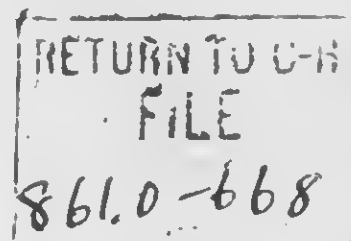
LONDON, June 2, 1920.

No. 304.

504-108

CONFIDENTIAL.

5-29-20
6-16-20
Raw



Dear Bill:

I have received the following information which may be of interest to you :-

"Emma Goldman, who was deported from the United States has asked George Langbury for the addresses of Tom Mann, Thomas Keel, John Turner and Guy Aldred. She has also asked him to send a wire to Ballentine in New York, saying, "Your Aunt is anxious for news". "Aunt" being presumably a cover for Emma Goldman."

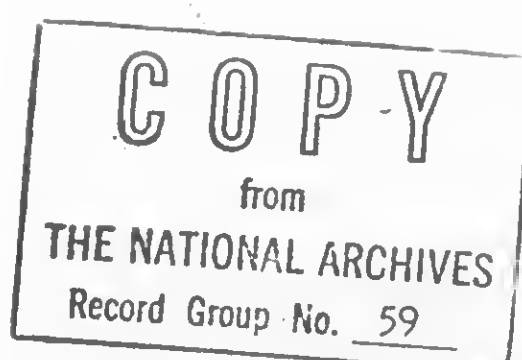
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lee

I learn that Ballentine referred to is Mrs. E. G. Ballentine of 36, Grove Street, New York City.

Yours ever,

L. L. W.

W. L. Hurley, Esquire,
&c. &c. &c.,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

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453

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 June 2, London [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary]
Department of State, Washington, D.C. / L. Lanier Winslow [Secretary, American Em-
bassy, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 27 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 84.

Notes: Copy of 810402044.

LONDON, June 2, 1920.

No. 304.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Dear Bill:

I have received the following information
which may be of interest to you :-

"Emma Goldman, who was deported from
the United States has asked George Langbury
for the addresses of Tom Mann, Thomas Keel,
John Turner and Guy Aldred. She has also
asked him to send a wire to Ballentine in
New York saying, "Your Aunt is anxious for
news". "Aunt" being presumably a cover for
Emma Goldman."

I learn that Ballentine referred to is Mrs.

E. G. Ballentine of 36, Grove Street, New York City.

Yours ever,

L. LANIER WINSLOW.

W. L. Hurley, Esquire,
&c. &c. &c.,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

CCW/FDC.

320. Goldman, E.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 June 2, London [to] G.M. Liddell, [London] / C[urtis] C. Williams
 [Second Secretary, American Embassy, Department of State].— 1 p. ; 27 × 20 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 84.
Summary: Williams thanks Liddell for his information on Goldman's correspondents.
Notes: Reply to 810617021.

LONDON, June 2, 1920.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Dear Liddell:

Many thanks for your note of
 the 28th ultimo, regarding Emma Goldman, -
 I should be glad to learn of any reply
 which the "aunt" sees fit to send.

Yours sincerely,

C. C. WILLIAMS JR.

Captain G. M. Liddell,
 &c. &c. &c.,
 Scotland House,
 S.W. 1.

CCW/FDG.

800
 -320
 Goldman, E.

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455

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 June 2, Washington [D.C. to] A[lexander] B. Cox [Acting Director]
 Military Intelligence Division, War Department, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] L. Hurley
 [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.
 Summary: Hurley informs Cox that Berkman is sending emissaries to the United States.
 Notes: For related report, see 810331040.

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
 THE SECRETARY OF STATE
 WASHINGTON, D. C.



In reply refer to
 U-H 861.0-837

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 WASHINGTON

June 2, 1920.

WAR DEPARTMENT

CAPTAIN SNOW
 M. I. 4.

JUN 7 - 1920

M. I. 10-B.L.C. 6/5

L. I. 10-B.L.C. 6/5

Colonel A. B. Cox, U.S.A.,
 Military Intelligence Division,
 War Department,
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Colonel Cox:

I have been informed that in March the Industrial Workers of the World drew up a scheme for amalgamation with the Bolsheviks and presented it to Lenin, who gave his consent and approval. Alexander Berkman, however, the author of this scheme, is working in conjunction with other American deportees and sending emissaries to America.

Very truly yours,

W. L. Hurley

for D.C.

U-H

See file on Kaniner
 or Kaniner.
 ans...

RECD ...

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456

The Emma Goldman Papers

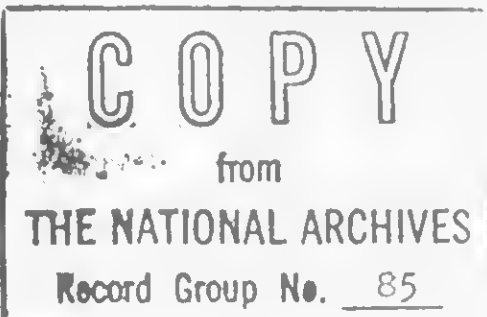
870728003

[Letter] 1920 June 4 [Washington, D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Abercrombie informs Weinberger that the Department of Labor will consider a definite offer of transport to Russia under certain circumstances.

Notes: Reply to 811023050 and 811023051. For reply, see 811023053.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

No. 54809/*General*.

June 4, 1920.

Harry Weinberger, Esq.,
32 Union Square,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 25th ultimo addressed to Secretary Wilson, inclosing a copy of one which you addressed to the Secretary of State on the same day, was duly received. You state, since you feel that "with Government officials continually clamoring for the deportation of Russian aliens," you are of the opinion that your offer (made in the first instance, I believe, to the Department of State and repeated to this Department) to supply ships and pay all expenses incident to such deportations ought certainly to be accepted. You further advise that the Department of State has informed you that the disposition to be made of your offer is a matter which rests in the hands of this Department.

In reply, I beg to assure you that this Department is prepared to give consideration to a definite offer, in so far as concerns aliens ordered to be deported to Russia, upon receiving acceptable written assurances that all necessary arrangements toward obtaining a suitable vessel for the purpose indicated have been made, that such vessel is at the disposal of the party or parties making the offer, and, further, that the necessary arrangements for clearing such vessel from a United States port, entering it at the proposed foreign port of debarkation, and landing the aliens thereat, have been made. In the absence of such an offer, a personal interview with the Secretary could serve no purpose.

Respectfully,

JUN 7 1920

Acting Secretary.

*Letter prepared
at request of
the Acting Secretary
JUN 7 1920
WJP:REM*

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on Russian Agitation in England and United States, Copenhagen] 1920 June 9 [excerpt] / [Naval Attache, Office of Naval Intelligence, Navy Department].— 1 p.; 30 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The American naval attache in Copenhagen reports on the Third International's efforts to spread revolution into the United States, with Goldman and Berkman's help.

Notes: Enclosed with 810617069.

SECRET

COPY/AB

.....The Third International has vast plans for stirring up trouble in England and America and is constantly sending out agents. It has formed a bureau for this purpose in Amsterdam. Mr. Wynkoop, a Dutch Member of Parliament being the leading spirit. Many emissaries are sent abroad with false passports and a regular manufacture of false passports is going on in Moscow. The technical equipment of the International for the alteration and imitation of British passports is very good, the most up to date machinery being employed and the best experts being engaged. A great deal of British and foreign money is to be forged and sent abroad.

Melanchonsky was the American Representative at the 3rd International and directs all work connected with American communism. He worked in the United States under the name of Mulknor and is arranging to return. Emma Goldman and Alexander Birkmann are the heads of a committee formed for the reception of deported aliens. They are likewise active members of an association called "Russian Friends of American Freedom". Couriers and communications are being forwarded by them to America. In this they are assisted by a man named Maminier. Serezhuikon, now with Krassin, formerly worked in California under the name of Schavensko and was once a member of the Y.M.C.A. His connections are dangerous. A dangerous Communist by the name of Malkin who has been operating with the American Army in Siberia will shortly attempt to enter America. He may do so on Griffin Barry's passport, this having been lost and probably obtained by the Bolshevik Authorities. Jonas Lied, of the Lied Corporation, 132 Broadway, New York City, is an agent of the Soviet Government. R. R. Keeley, now in Russia and leaving shortly for Berlin, and who is connected with the Kyle Construction Company in New York is going to act as commercial agent for the Soviet Government. In Moscow he was very intimate with Dr. Barakatulla and is probably connected with the plots in the Far East. An American Communist named Anderson has just arrived in Moscow, also Pat Quinlan, formerly identified with the I.W.W. movement, the latter has a secret mission and is in close touch with the government. Mr. La Mare, correspondent of the CHICAGO DAILY NEWS while he has been imprisoned by the Reds, seems to be their agent in certain matters. He is now attempting to return to the U.S.

(? Kaminier)

A.B., June 9th, 1920.

File 861.0-813, Records of the Office of the Counselor,
State Dept. RG 59

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458

The Emma Goldman Papers

810617069

[Letter] 1920 June 9, London [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, [Washington, D.C.] / L. L[anier] Winslow [Secretary, American Embassy, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Winslow sends Hurley excerpts from an intelligence report on communist agents' efforts to foment revolution in the United States.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870729000.

NO. 321
SECRET.

London, June 9, 1920

Dear Bill:

The Naval Attaché occasionally sends us certain reports which we look over and return to him. I have just been looking over report No. 33 from the Naval Attaché at Copenhagen, a portion of which concerns many old friends of ours. Accordingly I have taken the liberty of making an extract from this report, a copy of which I enclose herewith, as I am sure it will be of interest to you. I suppose you would get it in due course from O.N.I., but I have beaten them to it!

As always,

L. L. W.

W. L. Hurley, Esq.,
&c., &c., &c.,
Department of State.

Enclosure.

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459

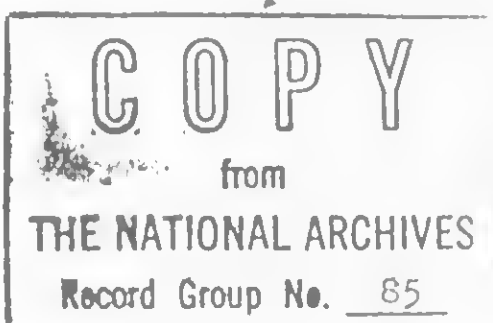
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 June 10, New York [to] William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Weinberger explains that he cannot make more definite arrangements for a ship without the government's guarantees that it will accept his offer.

Notes: Extensive margin notes by various officials. Reply to 870728003. For reply, see 811023055.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

HARRY WEINBERGER

COUNSELOR AT LAW

~~3000 Broadway~~ NEW YORK

TELEPHONE CONNECTION

32 UNION SQUARE

June 10th, 1920.

Hon. William B. Wilson,
Secretary of Labor,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:-

In answer to your letter of June 4th, signed John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary, (54809/General) re your statement that the Department is prepared to give consideration to a definite offer of supplying a ship for the carrying and deportation of Russian aliens, etc., will you allow me to call to your attention: First; that I cannot proceed with the making of an arrangement for the chartering of a ship and the sending of same without definite assurance that your Department will accept the offer. Second; of course, it is my desire to send not only Russian aliens ordered deported, but other Russians too, who desire to go, as the Russian deportees would not be sufficient to fill a ship, I believe.

As far as making the necessary arrangements for the clearing of such vessel from the United States port, that is a matter also to be granted by the United States Government, and not within my control. As far as entering it at the proposed foreign port of debarkation, when I have your assurance that my offer will be accepted, I can make arrangements with the Estonian Government.

If your Department really intends to accept this offer, and advises me to that effect, I would be able to submit acceptable written assurance that all necessary arrangements for obtaining a suitable vessel for the purpose indicated have been made, and that such vessel is at my disposal. If you desire that I come to Washington to discuss this matter, I will be pleased to do so.

Kindly advise me.

Respectfully yours,

Harry Weinberger

HW/ICW

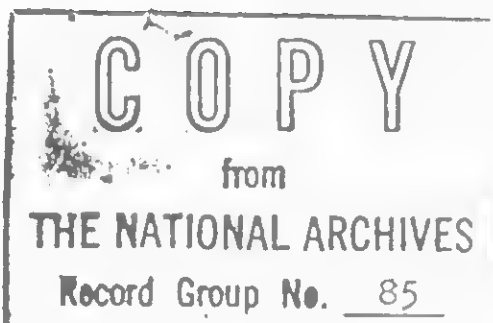
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 June 12 [Washington, D.C. to] Harry Weinberger, New York / John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary [of Labor, Department of Labor]. — 1 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Abercrombie explains that the Labor Department cannot make definite promises to Harry Weinberger without a more specific proposal.

Notes: Reply to 811023053. For reply, see 811023056.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

54809/*General*.

June 12, 1920.

Harry Weinberger, Esq.,
Attorney at Law,
32 Union Square

Dear Sir:

New York, N.Y.

In reply to your letter of the 10th instant, I can only reiterate what I stated in my letter to you of the 4th instant, viz., that the Department is prepared to give consideration to a definite offer, in so far as pertains to aliens ordered to be deported to Russia, upon receiving acceptable written assurances that all necessary arrangements toward obtaining a vessel for the purpose of returning such aliens to Russia have been made, that such vessel is at the disposal of the party or parties making the offer and that the necessary arrangements for clearing such vessel from a United States port, entering it at the proposed foreign port of debarkation, and landing the aliens thereat have been made. As the Department would have nothing whatever to do with the aliens, other than deportees, whom you desire to return to Russia, it, of course, has no suggestion to make as to them.

The Department made the suggestion that arrangements for clearing the vessel which you propose to obtain from a United States port and entering it at the proposed foreign port of debarkation was a matter which would have to be arranged for by the applying parties for the reason that it is not one over which it could exercise the slightest control.

[Handwritten signature]

Respectfully,
EXACT COPY AS SIGNED BY JOHN W. ABERCROMBIE
MAILED JUN 14 1920 BY *R.*

Acting Secretary.

WJP:JJL

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461

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 June 16 [Washington, D.C. to] J. E[dgar] Hoover [Special Assistant to the Attorney General] Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / [William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.
Summary: Hurley sends Hoover the names of some of Goldman's correspondents.
Notes: Broken type. For related document, see 810409044.

June 16, 1920.

J. E. Hoover, Esquire,
 Bureau of Investigation,
 Department of Justice,
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I received the following information which may be
 of interest to you:

"Emma Goldman who was deported from the United States has asked George Lansbury for the addresses of Tom Mann, Thomas Keel, John Turner and Guy Ardred. She has also asked him to send a wire to Ballentine in New York saying, "Your Aunt is anxious for news". "Aunt" being presumably a cover for Emma Goldman."

I learn that Ballentine referred to is Mrs. E. G.
 Ballentine of 36 Grove Street, New York City.

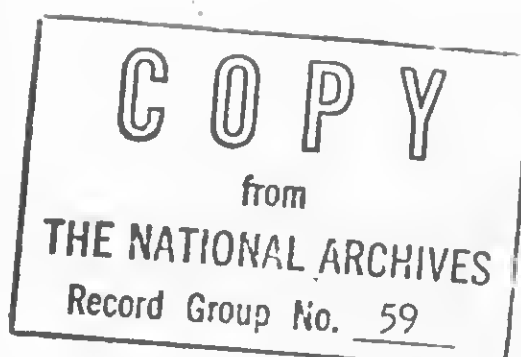
Very truly yours,

U-H

TRO/LAW

OFFICE OF THE UNDER SECRETARY

DEPARTMENT OF STATE



General Records of the Department of State
 Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

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462

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 June 16, Washington [D.C. to] W[illiam] L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State, Washington, D.C. / A[lexander] B. Cox, Acting Director, Military Intelligence [Division] War Department. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Cox sends Hurley photographs taken on board the Buford, including one photograph of Goldman.

Notes: Dark copy. For enclosure, see 870717004.

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
In replying refer to

10110-1620
M.I.4-E

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON

504-108

June 16, 1920



Mr. W. L. Hurley,
Office of the Under Secretary,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Hurley:

I am sending you enclosed herewith photostat copies of photographs of the following subjects, taken on the U.S.A.T. "Buford," when that ship carried the 249 deportees to Soviet Russia:-

- (a) Dora Lipkin, and
Ethel Bernstein.
- (b) Emma Goldman.
- (c) Group of deportees on deck.

The photograph of Emma Goldman was taken by one of our representatives, and is believed to be the only one taken of her on this trip.

Very truly yours,

A. B. Cox,
Colonel, General Staff,
Acting Director of Military Intelligence.

By: *Robert T. Snow*
Robert T. Snow,
Captain, Infantry.

1 Incl.
ems

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463

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 June 16, New York [to] Archibald [E.] Stevenson [Chief Counsel, New York State Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities], New York / George F. Lamb, Division Superintendent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Lamb sends Stevenson a list of those deportees on the Buford for whom the Bureau of Investigation has photographs, plus the photographic plates themselves.

Notes: Light copy; portions illegible.



Buford

657-11

Archibald Stevenson, Esq.
State Senate Investigating Committee
Room 2000
June 16, 1920

Dear Mr. Stevenson:

Enclosed herewith please find plates used to photograph those aliens arrested in this district who were deported on the Buford.

The following is a list of those deported, together with their photographic number:

Altschermoff, Michael
Andriak, Roman
Bernstein, Elmer
Binsky, Peter
Brock, Abe
Bukharov, Thomas
Chernoff, Alex
Chinojute, Maria
Derinich
Dehoff, John
Kankowicz, Leo
Katan, Arthur
Kislenikoff, John
Korshakoff, Antony
Kushnarev, Vladimir
Kushtak, Michael
Goldman, Emma
Korvinski, Mike
Lecine, A.
Lipin, Sam
Lipin, Anton
Martins, William
Melnikoff, Gregory
Meybock, Peter
Mendel, Peter
Gusakov, William
Russo, Dr.
Ruskin, Oscar
Rusnik, Joseph (or William)
Rusnik, Louis
Rusnik, David
Rusnik, Alex (Harry)
Rusnik, Mike

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 June 16, New York [to] Archibald [E.] Stevenson [Chief Counsel, New York State Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities], New York / George F. Lamb, Division Superintendent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Lamb sends Stevenson a list of those deportees on the Buford for whom the Bureau of Investigation has photographs, plus the photographic plates themselves.

Notes: Light copy; portions illegible.

Krasak, Harry
 Stephenson, Sam
 Schmal, Adolph
 Krasak, John
 Krasak, John
 Krasak, Harry
 Krasak, Michael (Krasakovich)
 Krasak, Sam

I am also forwarding you a photograph of the
 Krasak taken at Alexander's Bureau.

Will you kindly return these plates to this
 Bureau when they have served your purpose.

GEORGE F. LAMB
 Division Superintendent

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 June 18, Washington [D.C. to] C.H. Mason [Assistant to the Director]
 Military Intelligence Division, War Department, Washington, D.C. / Allan J. Carter
 [Division of Russian Affairs] Department of State. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.
Summary: Carter sends Military Intelligence a report on a secret Moslem organization to overthrow
 British rule in India and other countries.
Notes: For enclosure, see 810331030 and 810331031.

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
 THE SECRETARY OF STATE
 WASHINGTON, D. C.



In reply, refer to
 R. 861.00/7032.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 WASHINGTON

June 18, 1920.

Colonel C. H. Mason, U.S.A.,
 Military Intelligence Division,
 War Department.

Dear Colonel Mason:-

In accordance with my recent telephone conversa-
 tion with you, I am forwarding herewith copy of despatch
 received from Riga relating to the Black Bond a secret
 Moslem organization which it is claimed is attempting
 to stir up revolution in India and elsewhere.

Should you get any further information as to this
 organization and what it is trying to do, we would ap-
 preciate very much your informing us about it.

Sincerely yours,

Allan J. Carter

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466

The Emma Goldman Papers

Russian Soviet "Rotten," Emma Goldman Says / John Clayton. — 28 cm. In [Chicago Tribune (June 18, 1920)].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Having talked with Goldman in Russia, Clayton writes that she is disappointed in the Bolshevik state.

From the "CHICAGO TRIBUNE", June 18, 1920/

RUSSIAN SOVIET "ROTTEN," EMMA GOLDMAN SAYS

U. S. Flag on Bureau; Longs for Home.

BY JOHN CLAYTON.

[Chicago Tribune Foreign News Service.]
[By Special Cable.]

[Copyright: 1920: By the Tribune Company.]

PARIS, June 17.—On the bureau of Emma Goldman's room in Hotel Astoria at Petrograd draped over a corner of the picture of her niece is the American flag. Emma Goldman, deported from America as an anarchist, makes no apologies for this flag.

The communist leaders living at the hotel josh her a little about it, but Emma says:

"That's the flag of my niece's country. I'm going back there some day, for I love America as I love no other land."

Emma: "Bolshevism Is Rotten."

Emma Goldman is sick of bolshevik Russia. When I called on her in Petrograd she asked: "What do you think of it? You have been here six weeks. How do you feel about it?"

"It is rotten," I replied. "It's so rotten I'm sick with it."

"You're right, it is rotten," she said. "But it is what we should have expected. We always knew the Marxian theory was impossible, a breeder of tyranny. We blinded ourselves to its faults in America because we believed it might accomplish something."

"I've been here four months now, and I've seen what it has accomplished. There is no health in it. The state of socialism or state of capitalism—call it what you will—has done for Russia what it will do for every country. It has taken away even the little freedom the man has under individual capitalism and has made him entirely subject to the whims of a bureaucracy which exercises its tyranny on the ground it all done for the welfare of the work-

More Freedom in United States.

"Where did you find the greater degree of freedom, Miss Goldman?" I asked. "In the United States or in communist Russia?"

"Any form of government is bad enough," she replied, "but between this and individual capitalism, the choice lies with the latter. At least the individual has a chance to express his individuality."

Of all the deportees who entered Russia with Miss Goldman, only one or two have accepted the doctrines of communism. Miss Goldman, Barkman, and Novikoy, the leaders of the group, refused to work with the government in any way except purely humanitarian labor.

Expects to Go to Jail.

"We are studying conditions in Russia," said Miss Goldman at another time. "We want to make a trip through the country districts and talk with the peasants. Then we will be ready to speak. We probably will go to jail when we start criticizing, but that doesn't matter. We've been in jail before. We cannot be true to our principles and not speak."

Miss Goldman and Novikoy refused places in the reviewing stand at the May day procession, nor will they accept places at any government meeting.

Emma: "Hit Hard."

I spent much of my week in Petrograd with them. When I was ready to leave she said to me: "Be careful what you write, if you want to return to Russia. If you don't, then hit out from the shoulder and hit hard. You may be called an agent of the capitalist class by the people in America who don't understand."

"If you are, tell them we have been here four months and now we know. We have investigated the factories, homes, and institutions as no newspaper man can be permitted to investigate them, and we've found them bad. I know from my conversation with you you have gotten at the heart of the matter. It's up to you to tell the American people, and tell them straight."

And that is what I intend to do. Emma Goldman has found, as I did, that the best cure for bolshevism is a trip to bolshevik Russia. She told me to hit out straight from the shoulder. Well, as an American, I'll let that little flag of Emma's bureau hit for me.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

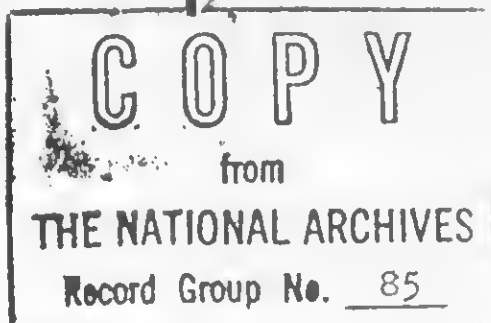
811023056

[Letter] 1920 June 21, New York [to] William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington, D.C. / Harry Weinberger. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Weinberger informs the secretary of labor that the department must either accept or reject his offer of a ship as he presented it.

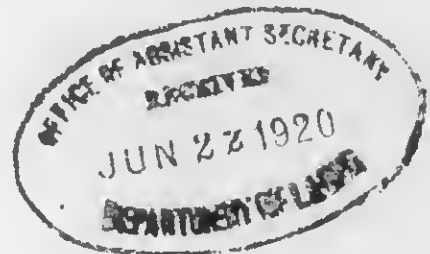
Notes: Reply to 811023055.



Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office - Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809/*General*

308

HARRY WEINBERGER
COUNSELOR AT LAW
~~100 BROADWAY~~ NEW YORK
TELEPHONE CONNECTION
32 UNION SQUARE



June 21st, 1920.

Hon. William B. Wilson,
Secretary of Labor,
Washington, D.C.

Re: #54809/ General.

Dear Sir:-

The old proposition of deporting Russians, unless it covers not only aliens ordered deported, as well as other Russians who want to go, amounts to nothing. That was the proposition as originally placed before the Department of State, and if it cannot be accepted in the entirety, in addition to the United States arranging to allow the ship to sail, there is nothing further that I can do in the matter.

Very truly yours,

Harry Weinberger

HW/ICW

*Filed 22/20
June 22
L.J.P.*

468

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 June 22 [Washington, D.C. to] Geo[rge] F. Lamb [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], New York / [Frank Burke] Assistant D[irector] and Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 25 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Burke sends Lamb information about Goldman's correspondents, including Stella Ballantine.

Notes: Barely legible. For related documents, see 810409043 and 810409044.

QPR-MHF

June 22, 1920.

Geo. F. Lamb, Esq.,
Box # 241,
New York City.

Dear Sir:

For your information and appropriate attention, I quote the following information received from the State Department:

"Emma Goldman who was deported from the United States has asked George [illegible] for the addresses of Tom Mann, Thomas Keel, John Turner and Guy Aldred. She has also asked him to send a wire to Ballantine in New York saying, 'Your Aunt is coming for news', 'Aunt' being presumably a code for Emma Goldman".

The Ballantine referred to is M. R. O. Ballantine of 847 Grove Street, New York City.

Very truly yours,

Assistant Director and Chief.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on Stella] Ballantine, New York City [Washington, D.C.?] 1920 June 26 /
 [Agent? Military Intelligence Division? War Department?]. — 1 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.
 Summary: An unnamed agent summarizes information about Stella Ballantine and John Turner.
 Notes: For related reports, see 810409043, 810409044, and 810617021.

SUBJECT: MRS. E. G. BALLANTINE
 New York City.

1920

100-154

62

JUL 10

WAR DEPARTMENT

3284-701

H. J. Neville
M.I.A.-E

Through the State Department it was learned that EMMA

GOLDMAN is anxious to obtain the addresses of the following individuals:

TOM MANN ✓
 THOMAS KEEL ✓
 JOHN TURNER ✓
 GUY ALDRED. ✓

She also requested that a wire be sent Mrs. Ballantine in New York City, saying: "Your aunt is anxious for me."

Mrs. E. G. Ballantine is a niece of Emma Goldman, and is the alleged wife of Theodore Ballantine. Both Mr. and Mrs. Ballantine are noted for their Anarchistic activities. They have considerable correspondence with Alexander Berkman, and all mail to and from Emma Goldman is handled by these individuals.

THEODORE BALLANTINE it is alleged is a Bigamist, and wanted in England.

JOHN TURNER is the author of "Barbarous Mexico," and is also known for his Anarchistic activities.

June 26, 1920.

The Emma Goldman Papers

Bulletin [of Radical Activities] No. 22 [weeks ending] June 26 and July 3 [1920, Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] / [Radical Division, Department of Justice].— 4 p.; 30 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The Justice Department's weekly bulletin excerpts a letter from Goldman, printed in *Volna*, in which she applauds the anarchist methods of the Bolsheviks in Russia.

Notes: Dark copy.

10110-1688

37

WEEKLY BULLETIN

Duplicate

No. 22
Copy

6

June 26th and July 3rd.

INDEX.

| | |
|--|--------------------|
| ORGANIZATIONS. | |
| UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA..... | 1 |
| COMMUNIST PARTY..... | 1 |
| COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY..... | 3 |
| RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY..... | 4 |
| INDUSTRIAL COMMUNISTS..... | 8 |
| PROLETARIAN SOCIALIST PARTY..... | 14 |
| I. W. W..... | 15 |
| ONE BIG UNION..... | 16 |
| ONE BIG UNION OF CANADA..... | 22 |
| UNION OF RUSSIAN WORKMEN..... | 22 |
| SOCIALIST PARTY..... | 22 |
| SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY..... | 24 |
| COMMITTEE OF FORTY EIGHT, NON PARTISAN LEAGUE, ETC.... | 24 |
| ANARCHISTS..... | 24 |
| MISCELLANEOUS ORGANIZATIONS..... | 25 |
| MARINE TRANSPORT WORKERS' STRIKE AT PHILA..... | 25 |
| INTERNATIONAL..... | 26 |
| INDIVIDUALS..... | 29 |
| RUSSIA..... | 26 |
| NEGRO ACTIVITIES..... | 31 |
| GENERAL..... | 33 |
| "VOLNA" ("The Wave")..... | 33 |
| ADDENDA..... | Following page 41. |

(Notice) Due to the inability to procure paper, the Bulletin for June 26 could not be run off. Returns for that week, therefore, are consolidated with those for July 3rd, in this issue.

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471

The Emma Goldman Papers

Bulletin [of Radical Activities] No. 22 [weeks ending] June 26 and July 3 [1920, Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] / [Radical Division, Department of Justice].— 4 p.; 30 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The Justice Department's weekly bulletin excerpts a letter from Goldman, printed in *Volna*, in which she applauds the anarchist methods of the Bolsheviks in Russia.

Notes: Dark copy.

-33-

following subjects::

- "The Dawn of a New Era for the Black Man's Opportunity"
- "The origin of the Black Race, Ethiopia Stretches Forth Her Hand unto God"
- "The Relation Between the Black Man and the Modern Anglo Saxon Civilization"
- "Ham and His Generation"
- "Africa and Her People"
- "Turn and Move the Board, the Harmony Between the Two Races"

GENERAL.

Particular attention is called to the statements which have appeared broadcast to the effect that the Department of Justice has been given broader powers by the Amendment of June 1st, to the Deportation Act of Oct. 16, 1918 and that because of this fact the Department has planned a new drive upon radicalism. This statement is both incorrect, and founded upon a misconception of the law. The Department of Justice has no powers conferred upon it either by the Act of Oct. 16, 1918 or the Amendment. Under the law the exclusion and deportation acts and amendments are vested in the Department of Labor, and the Department of Justice in all of its work in the past on this subject has acted merely in cooperation with the Department of Labor. While it is true that the most recent amendment broadens the Deportation Act in scope by including additional subjects therein, and it is only logical that the Department would consider the additional subjects; there has been no change in the administrative powers.

The District Court at Forth Worth Tex. granted an injunction restraining striking waiters from picketing restaurants and cafes.

The Japanese Federation of Labor is now known as the Hawaiian Federation of Labor and is extending its activities in the strike of the sugar cane workers in Hawaii, which has reached a deadlock.

Anti-Japanese activities on the Pacific Coast and in the Phillipines continues.

"VOLNA" ("The Wave")

The following is taken from a memorandum prepared in the office and is believed to be of interest in the field. It refers particularly to the issue of this publication for May 1920.

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472

The Emma Goldman Papers

Bulletin [of Radical Activities] No. 22 [weeks ending] June 26 and July 3 [1920, Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] / [Radical Division, Department of Justice].— 4 p.; 30 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The Justice Department's weekly bulletin excerpts a letter from Goldman, printed in *Volna*, in which she applauds the anarchist methods of the Bolsheviks in Russia.

Notes: Dark copy.

-38-

The originators of it were such among them who were of superior physical force and distinguished themselves in the battles with wild beasts and also in the wars with other wild tribes, fighting each other sometimes for a woman or the hide of an animal; or when they excelled in such prowess that they killed every one who stood in their way. And here you have in these wild highwaymen, the beginning of all our government.

"Under the mantle of a Republican statesman hides a wild highway robber, ready to murder anyone who will dare protest against his lying politics and despotism. The difference is only in this that the leaders of the wild tribes were satisfied with the flesh of the animal, while the contemporary rulers crave the flesh and blood of the human being. We can safely say that at no time the governments have reached the stage of such pillage as the present. In conjunction with the clergy, who benight the consciousness of the people and held the robbers in their work, the governments stand like buttresses on the backs of the people. What man with sane reason and with at least a spark of honesty and human feeling in his heart would not fight to the last drop of his blood for an absolute abolishment of every form and shape of governments and rulers in human society!

"The ground on which governments always stood and still stand is soaked with innocent blood; the vileness of their acts is crying to heaven for revenge. Centuries of corruption and moral filth have made their nests there. On such ground there is no place for anything that is human.

"This can never be reformed nor cured. Such plague requires an absolute annihilation and destruction. The word "government" has no place in the dictionary of free people.

"But whatever name you call the government power or the forces, its purpose will always be oppression, the forging of new chains will be its main occupation. These chains they will call laws but in reality they will be only the further means of their exploitation of the weak, the defenseless and ignorant man."

On page 24 there is a letter from EMMA GOLDMAN which is rather lengthy. The following, however, are believed to be the principal points of interests:

"Anarchism is not a theory, but a spiritual regeneration and not a practical movement of man. Isn't it peculiar as soon as the socialists end with theory and begin practice, they cease to be theorists and are permeated with the spiritual regeneration of anarchism. When the Bolsheviks took

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-39-

away the power from the Temporary Government, did they use scientific socialists laws, or did they take advantage of the prohibited direct action of Anarchism? When they have destroyed constitutional assembly which Lenin called "Bourgeois superstition" was there scientific socialism in that? Or was that what we Anarchists predicted? These revolutionary changes never were and never will be created by the majority or through direct political actions and reforms. This will be idealism together with the intelligence of a certain minority, which emphasizes the first and will continue to prove by its action the truth and logic of its ideal. I by, far, do not recognize the Bolsheviks as Anarchists but only "The blind" can refute the fact, that they have used anarchistic methods.*

* * * They came to this conclusion after the remarkable speech of Trotsky before his departure. Many anarchists were present at the meeting, amongst others Berkman and myself. In his speech Trotsky explained all the needs of Russia and gave his premeditated plans. All this was so near to us, that the anarchists have right here promised their help, and I know that they kept their promise. * * *

* * * and to accuse the anarchists for this would be just as foolish as we anarchists should accuse the American socialists for the doings of the Bourgeois, like Russel, Spargo and others.

Yours, for brotherhood,

EMMA GOLDMAN

On pages 28 and 29 there is a letter dated February, 1920, from "The Island of Tears" (The Bolshevik name for "Deer Island") which is so extreme that I believe it should be incorporated in the memorandum, although there is a question to my mind whether it can be used in the fixing of the status of the publication or editors.

"Dear Comrades:

"I received today some information from the hospital wherein several of our comrades, Communists, are slowly approaching death. I was not in condition to be able to listen to those details which one of our comrades who was four months in the hospital, furnished us with, having taken a written statement from those half-dead comrades. Some of them can hardly talk. The hair stands upright, cold runs through the veins, when you read these written statements.

"Operations were performed on six of the comrades: they had pneumonia. And in order to clean out the accumulated putridity they used a pump, the end of which, half an inch thick, was inserted into the side, and they drew out the matter. This means was used three times, but

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474

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 84.

Summary: M.E. Fitzgerald is worried about Berkman and Goldman and hopes their trip through Russia cheers them up. She discusses their clandestine mail arrangements and warns them against American journalists, since John Clayton printed a sensational interview with Goldman in the *Chicago Tribune*.

Notes: Enclosed with 810617024, 810617026, and 810618019.

COPY
E. R.

COPY of letter enclosed

addressed to Miss Emma Goldman.

New York City,

June 30, 1920.

Beloved Boy,

Yours and E's letters of March 14, 10; Feb 28, May 1st - Feb. 28th all received - the one of Feb. 28th just came a few days before yours of May 1st. On the 23d yours of May 28th arrived and E's of the 25th - a few days later her carbon copy of the one of 25th came. I am giving the dates of your letter in the order we received them. A cable dated June 6th was mailed and the Bureau received it on the 28th of June. Saying to get in touch with F or Mrs. B. if F. could not be reached that they would attend to the matter. It seems as if part of the cable is missing as I have no idea what it is to be attended to unless it is a hint about getting letters to you. I have been asked not to send cables through the main office in Copenhagen but have sent cable to Miss K. also this letter and a note to Maxim L. Three letters went off to you outside of this one which is nearly a copy of the others. Made carbon copies of the one I wrote this morning as I had an opportunity to send two off by messengers - the other was mailed to a friend to be gotten to you. Now I am trying two more. Darling own boy - have patience - my feeling for you is the same as always. Do you doubt it? Niobe and Philo are planning trip together. Do not give up hope. We have not. But it is not so easy to manage as you may imagine from this end. You must interest yourself in some work - or take advantage of the time to learn things and meet people so that you will have a good background from which to speak and write them when the time comes. Just now there is nothing

like

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- 2 -

like silence in so far as talking with American newspaper men. That Clayton fellow has played a terrible trick on E. Miserable sensational story went all over the country. You must never forget what American newspaper men are like - you both have certainly suffered enough at their hands - the lying pups. Those who know E. know of course that it is a sensational story, but you know how seriously so many of our friends still take newspaper articles and I have had my hands full trying to counteract the story and the use of capitalist press has made of her alleged statements. Stella and I were glad for her letter of the 25th. I have taken the parts not personal and given to Call, Jewish and Russian press. The Globe made a good story of it too. The comrades breathe easier since this has appeared. You both must be very careful. The same trick has been played on E. that was played on Bob in Paris. Doubtless this fellow thought a sensational story about would keep him on his paper, which I understand has done the trick.

What can I say to you that you should not already know. Try to push aside your loneliness and anxiety for letters and for us - we are all right and know that all will yet come right about F. joining you. You have a wonderful opportunity to learn things and to meet people from all parts of the world. I know that such an experience would be splendid for me and am going to get it. I have written fifteen or twenty letters - used all the ways imaginable, by hand, mailed to friends in other parts. I did not use the one St. used for her March letter that reached you as at that time things looked pretty good for me to carry out my plans - but I know that yours of the 28th of Feb helped to stop matters. Then St. was told by the friend of the lady in Fin, to be careful about that address. There are some things that you must just know and understand without having it written in a letter. Do you understand me? But whether you receive letters or know, you must know that my feeling for you and my desire to join you have not changed. I have been tested in the past - have you found me wanting? Keep in mind: "One must have a faith so strong that it comes back even after it has been slain." Whether our theories are different as to how things

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- 3 -

should be done in R. I know who their enemies are in this country and in every other country. Things are in the making there - no one expected the thing to be finished so that they could say "see what we have done." All dreamers of a better day should be able to find something to do, it seems to me. It not only seems, but I'm sure of it. So glad that you and E. are planning a trip to get close to the people - that is just the thing to do - not listen to disgruntled groups who have become disillusioned. We have them here and everywhere, but they are old - the blood no longer flows swiftly through their veins. God, it seems to me that people there (or the few as it always is) have done miracles to hold out against the whole bloodthirsty gang in all countries! After plans fell flat last spring when they so nearly went through I started the work of the Yiddish edition. I am now mailing the first volume out to the subscribers - Fr has promised the balance of translation so that the book will be ready (I mean the balance of the book) for delivery the 1st of September. Terribly expensive book manufacturing is these days - 278 pages cost \$1700 - and that after getting the cheapest book paper possible. Having the book in two volumes will cost about \$400 more - all on account of Fr laziness. Only got out 1500 when I get out (or if I'm gone whoever does it) will get out 1500 of the second and then it will put into one binding. The demand is good - had to borrow money to get the first volume out but will make it go through all right. The fact that I had 700 subscribers from whom I receive \$1.00 each and all the money spent for translation and composition and did not have it to return made me feel responsible to the comrades who had sent in their money. When this is done, the last financial responsibility will be off my shoulders. The book would have been a failure again if I had not been there to push it through. You ask about your English book, etc. etc. How did you expect it would all be done if I had really gotten away in the spring as I wanted to and you wanted me to. 1000 copies of the English will be off soon. Have borrowed money to bring that out, - but the demand is so great that I am sure it will be all right. I am sure of it. 10,000 each of the pamphlets have been printed and most all distributed. The demand was very good for them. I'm getting orders in 100 lots now. The money you and E collected for Am paid for the printing of the two pamphlets. No more deportees have been sent

out

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- 4 -

out to R. Two trunks of clothing and food have been ready for months but no way to send it as yet. I think there will be a chance for the clothing in about a month. Then the food trunk may go via the Quakers in England, but am not sure of it as yet. Max P. left before you did. Sent a letter to him in Paris but doubtless he left before it reached him, or something. Others leaving do not want anything on them. You must know these things. I feel torn to bits about your letters. I'm so eager for a word about yourself, your life, something of what you are doing and I only find your anxiety about letters from us. Darling Darling what is it - you do not seem to be you. I know you are anxious, so am I - you are not alone in your anxiety. I hold you close to my heart and comfort you. E's letter brought great joy to St and myself. The Clayton story made us sick at heart. We were so glad to have something to give out. So glad that she is planning to work with the Board of Health. Two good letters have come from Ethel. We have clothing for her and Dora and you and E. but it is still here in the office.

I had a month in Bermuda - April 10th to May 10th - it really saved me - was so down physically, spiritually and in every way. Spent a couple of days with St and Ted and Ian last week end. They are having a lovely summer in the mountains. E. will be glad to know that they are very happy together there - I enjoyed my two days with them so much. Pol. goes to Provincetown to work for Mary O for the summer. Bob is writing there. I know where Louise is - a man has come from there and has told us many things. He found her in great need and left all his money with her. You may see her on your trip S. Niobe can manage trip but you must be patient. Do not think of going to the home of Gale. That would be awful. G.B. who has just returned says that you both were talking of it. Nothing could be worse. Any other place but there. Great love to you and E. We feel so torn to pieces about you both - Hilda and Sam and Polya and all other friends send love to you. All are so eager for some word from you about things there. I'm coming to you and if I could fly I'd be there now. Love to the other friends that left with you. All were glad for the news that Bianki and Schnabel were helping with the railroad buildings. Don't mention our Friend any more - it is making it impossible for her to move about as she would like and needs to do. Devotedly now and always.

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Jook's Louise planning to go.

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Decimal File 800, Goldman, Emma, Records of the U.S. Embassy in
Great Britain, General Correspondence, 1920
vol. 37.

COPY of letter enolosed

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re: Emma Goldman, Chicago?] 1920 July 10 [excerpt] / A.H. Loula
[Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Loula includes in his report the text of a letter from Goldman in Petrograd, printed in the Chicago Socialist.

Notes: Dark copy, barely legible. Original letter, Goldman to Stella Ballantine, dated May 25, 1920.

15446
A. H. LOULA
JUL 10 1920
Merris I. Levin

Rosfel Mallen

William H. Henry

Winnie M. Branstetter

Merris Backall

J. Lewis Engdahl.

William Feigenbaum

Paul Glaser

S. Galant

George Keop.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

"The Chicago Socialist" in its issue for July 10th, 1920 prints the following letter purporting to be from Emma Goldman:

"Today I had a letter from A. B. (Alexander Berkman, who is in Moscow since the 15th, with copies of your two cables enclosed. Also received your letter written the latter part of March. This was the first word from any of you in America.

"We were very glad to learn that we were not mistaken in the friend who brought you our letters from the Buford. Of course, the officials would say that our letters were 'faked'. We expected as much. That is because officials never learn that the truth will out somehow. I wish that we were able to send out letters from here for the press, but for the present it is impossible.

"The English Mission was here and is now in Moscow. Bertrand Russell is with them. He is a very interesting man.

"If only they will grasp the black crime that the world is committing against Russia! They are very touched by the hospitality they received here in Russia. Will their protests, when they reach home, express itself in mild words?

Flame for Tongue of Fire.

Berkman and I spent much time with the labor men and with Russell. We left nothing undone to impress upon their minds the debt the world owes to Russia - to the marvellous people who have already suffered so much.

I wish I had a tongue of fire; I would burn it into the hearts of the American people what a crime is being committed against this great country.

About ourselves there is not much to say. We are quite all right physically. So far we have not w

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wanted for anything. The things we took along lasted until quite recently, and then a lot of stuff was brought to us by a friend coming from Raval.

"We soon leave Petrograd for a month's trip thru Russia. We need to get in touch with the new Russia, which is so different from the old. We will come back to Petrograd.

"I may then go into the work of the Board of Health. They are doing wonderful work. They have asked us to join them. In fact, we have had all sorts of offers. But we want to do what will bring the greatest good to the Russian people and yet let us remain true to our ideal. But first of all we must get close to the Russian people.

"Tell our friends that we had direct word from the Comrade who used to be editor of the Arbeiter-Freund. He is very active in the trade unions in Germany.

"Berlman writes us that Max Fine and Pat Quinlan are in Moscow, also Fisher of Chicago. You will be surprised to know that we received copies of the New York Call dated December 21, 22 and 23. Love to all our friends and Comrades.

"EMMA GOLDMAN"

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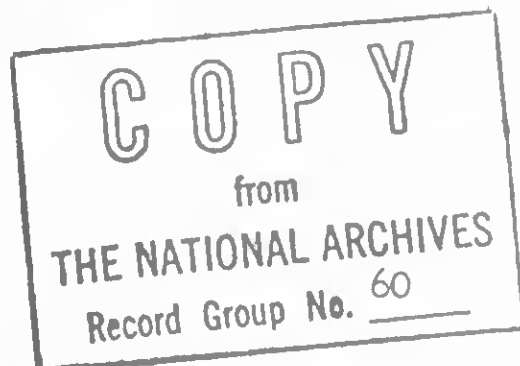
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 July 26 [Washington, D.C. to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 32 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Hoover sends Hurley a list of the Buford deportees.

Notes: For versions of the list mentioned, see 800321001 and 811023038.



General Records of the Department of Justice
D. J. Central Files - Straight Numerical Files
File Number 202600-65

202600-65

GPA-IMP

July 26, 1920.

W. L. Hurley, Esquire,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Hurley:

At your request I am inclosing
list of aliens on board the "Buford".

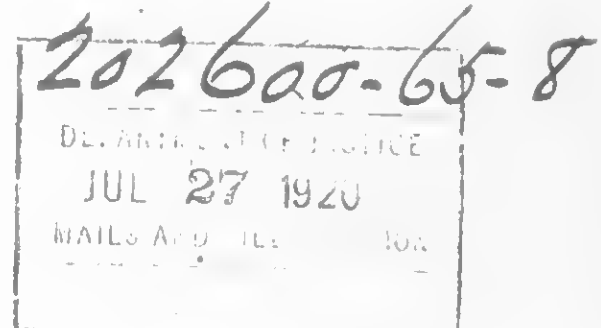
Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. E. Hoover.

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

Enc.

14



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484

The Emma Goldman Papers

810402085

[Memorandum] 1920 Aug. 5, Berlin [to Marlborough Churchill] D[irector] M[ilitary]
I[n]telligence Division, War Department, Washington, D.C.] / Edward Davis, American
Mission. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Davis calls Churchill's attention to a report on Berkman and Goldman's disillusionment with
Russia, printed in the weekly situation survey for June 30, 1920.

Notes: Handwritten postscript by R.J.S. refers to letter from Goldman to John Reed, which is actually a
letter from Goldman to Stella Ballantine, taken from Reed's possession. For letter, see 870717010.

AMERICAN MISSION
7 Wilhelmplatz
BERLIN

OFFICE OF THE
MILITARY ATTACHE

1920

10110-154

63

WAR DEPARTMENT

D 422

August 5, 1920.

From: Lt. Colonel Edward Davis, American Mission, Berlin,

To: D. M. I.

Subject: Emma Goldman on Soviet Rule.

CAPTAIN
M. I. D.

1. Reference Confidential Weekly Situation Survey for week ending
June 30, 1920, Section M. I. 4, page 7, "Emma Goldman's estimate of Soviet
Rule", an observer from this office had a conversation with Mr. Udino, an
Italian newspaper correspondent of the "Corriere della Aero", who very
recently returned from Moscow. Mr. Udino states that he talked with Emma
Goldman and Alexander Berkman. They both expressed themselves as sick of
conditions in Russia and wished that they were back in America.

Edward Davis

EDWARD DAVIS
Lt. Colonel, Cavalry, U. S. Army.

See also letter from Emma Goldman to John Reed
to be found in File 10058-24, pgs 129-131.

R.J.S.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870717022

[Memorandum] 1920 Aug. 9, Paris [to Bainbridge Colby] Secretary of State [Department of State, Washington, D.C.] / American Consul in Charge, Passport Department [Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The American consul in Paris suggests that Military Intelligence interview Harry Kagan, who is returning to the United States after six months in Russia.

Notes: For related documents, see 810331039, 870717020, and 870717021.

INDEXED

Form No. 315.
Published January, 1920.
(See General Instruction Consular No. 699.)

AUG 31 1920

AMERICAN CONSULAR SERVICE
American Consulate-General,
Passport Department,

Paris, France, Aug. 9th, 1920.

NOTED: M.L.2

NOTED: M.L.2

THE HONORABLE
THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
Department of State.

SIR:

The person named below is leaving for the United States after considerable foreign residence, and is, in my opinion, capable of giving information on present conditions in the foreign country named. This information is transmitted in order that he may be interviewed by officials of the Government if deemed desirable.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,

[Signature]
American Consul,
in Charge

1. Name of traveler Kagan, Harry

2. Citizenship (native-born or naturalized) American (naturalized)

3. Foreign country known to traveler Russia.

4. Length of residence in said country During last six months (Moscow until recently)

5. Occupation of traveler Welfare worker with Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

6. Character of information possessed by traveler Confidential, on internal conditions.
(M., P., E., or G.)

7. Scope and accuracy of the information in possession of traveler Obtained from personal observation
and travel in and about Moscow, Russia.

8. Port of arrival in United States New York.

9. Probable date of arrival in United States for permanent residence in U.S. About Aug. 15, 1920.

10. Probable length of stay in United States Permanent.

11. Permanent address in United States 431, South Dearborn St., Care Jacobs Woolen Co., Chicago, Ill.

12. Does traveler expect to be in, or pass through, Washington, D. C.? No, but New York address will be:-
Care Joint Distribution Committee, 20, Exchange Place, New York.

13. Will traveler spare from one to three days in giving information to the Military Intelligence Division? Yes.

Prepared by A.D. Beeler.

FILED
AUG 31 1920

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486

The Emma Goldman Papers

880429013

[Letter] 1920 Aug. 14, Washington, D.C. [to] A[lexander] B. Cox[e, Acting Director]
Military Intelligence Division, War Department, Washington [D.C.] / J. E[dgar] Hoover,
Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice. — 2 p.; 28 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.
Summary: Hoover sends Cox a false passport taken from John Reed when the Finnish government arrested him. He reports that Reed was carrying large amounts of money and several letters from Goldman.
Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. For related document, see 811222078. For letter mentioned, see 870717010, which Goldman wrote to Stella Ballantine, not to John Reed.

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF

MIL. INTEL. C. V.

JEH-GPO

610058-94

128

328X

AUG 17

August 14, 1920.

Colonel A. B. Cox,
Military Intelligence Division,
War Department, Washington.

LEWIS MCGONNELL
MIL. INTEL. C. V.
817

My dear Colonel:

I am inclosing herewith a photostatic copy of a passport issued to one SAMUEL ARNOLD, Jr., by the American Ambassador at Paris, under date of September 20, 1919, together with a letter of recommendation from the Committee on Public Information, at London, October 27, 1919, together with two photographs of the individual named, SAMUEL ARNOLD, Jr.

You will no doubt recognize the photograph as that of JOHN REED. It appears that in March of this year Reed was arrested on board the steamer "OIHONNA" at Abo. He was secreted in the coal bunkers of the vessel prior to its departure for Stockholm and with him there was found a large amount of money and precious jewels. He stated that he was an American newspaper man named JAMES GORNICH and later that he was a seaman named JOHN REED and gave his age as 33 years. The money found on him included 100 Bolshevik Rubles, \$500, sixty lbs., 2140 Swedish crowns and five tons of Norwegian marks and 10,000 German marks, and in addition over 100 precious stones valued at 880,000 Finnish marks, including one valued alone at 85,000 marks. A quantity of photographs, size 4 square centimeters were also found on Reed which according to his statement were to be enlarged for use in the magazine of the Communist International. On his person were found in addition some letters from EMMA GOLDMAN which proved to be rather spioy reading and show that Emma and John were friends of the most intimate hue.

I am submitting the above to you in hopes that there may be some information in your files which will prove illuminating along this line. I am particularly anxious to ascertain whether or not your records show any information concerning SAMUEL ARNOLD, Jr., as I assume of course that the passport issued by the Ambassador at

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487

The Emma Goldman Papers

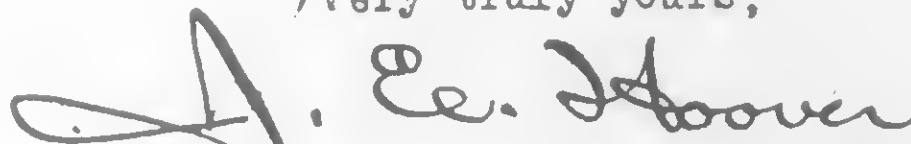
[Letter] 1920 Aug. 14, Washington, D.C. [to] A[lexander] B. Cox[e, Acting Director]
Military Intelligence Division, War Department, Washington [D.C.] / J. E[dgar] Hoover,
Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice. — 2 p.; 28 × 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.
Summary: Hoover sends Cox a false passport taken from John Reed when the Finnish government arrested him. He reports that Reed was carrying large amounts of money and several letters from Goldman.
Notes: Dark copy, barely legible. For related document, see 811222078. For letter mentioned, see 870717010, which Goldman wrote to Stella Ballantine, not to John Reed.

Colonel A. B. Cox, -2- JEH-GPO 8/14/20
re Samuel Arnold, Jr., John Reed.

Paris was not issued to Reed in person.

I might state that Reed has also been going under the alias of "K. FANSEN". This may enable you to find some information upon this individual who in fact is Reed.

/Very truly yours,



Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

Incl.

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488

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Aug. 17 [Washington, D.C. to] A[lexander] B. Cox[e, Acting Director]
Military Intelligence Division, War Department, Washington [D.C.] / [J. Edgar Hoover]
Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 27 × 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Hoover sends Cox copies of letters from Goldman to John Reed, taken from Reed.

Notes: Light copy; barely legible. For related documents, see 880429013 and 811222077. Enclosed letters are probably 870717008, 870717010, and 870717012.

182787

August 17, 1920

Colonel A. B. Cox,
Military Intelligence Division,
War Department, Washington

My dear Colonel:

I am pleased to inclose herewith photostatic
copies of letters from the person of [redacted] written to
[redacted] which seem to be rather interesting.

Very truly yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Aug. 25 [London to Curtis C.] Williams [Second Secretary, American Embassy, Department of State, London] / [G.M. Liddell?]. — 1 p. ; 26 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 84.

Summary: An official from Scotland House sends Williams a letter from Stella Ballantine to Goldman.

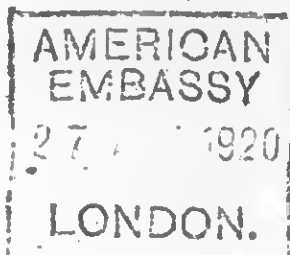
Notes: Enclosed letter, 810617025, is from M.E. Fitzgerald to Berkman, but is addressed to Goldman.

Scotland House, *enf*

S.W. 1.

Harley No. 300. Aug 27. 1920.

enf
25th August, 1920



Emma
E.C. Goldman
CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Williams,

I am forwarding herewith a copy of a letter for Emma Goldman from her niece in America which I think may interest you. It was, as you will see, sent through Litvinoff.

Yours sincerely,

H. Liddell

800

820 Goldman, Emma

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490

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Aug. 27 [London to] W[illiam] L. Hurley, Department of State, Washington, D.C. / L. Lanier Winslow [Secretary, American Embassy, Department of State].— 1 p. ; 27 x 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 84.

Summary: Winslow sends Hurley a letter from Stella Ballantine to Goldman.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; barely legible. Enclosed letter, 810617025, is from M.E. Fitzgerald to Berkman, but is addressed to Goldman. For related document, see 810617026.

LONDON, AUGUST 27, 1920.

Mr. _____

CONFIDENTIAL.

Dear Sir:

I enclose, for your information, copy of letter from Stella Ballantine to Goldman, which is a copy of what I said only last night to you. It was, as you can see, sent the night before.

Yours ever,

L. LANIER WINSLOW.

B

W. L. Hurley, Secy.,

Ad.

Ad.

Ad.

Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

Enclosure

Copy of letter to Hurley
Goldman.

800

~~880~~

Goldman, Emma

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491

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Sept. 9, Washington [D.C. to] J. E[dgar] Hoover [Special Assistant to the Attorney General] Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State. — 1 p. ; 28 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Hurley sends Hoover a letter from Stella Ballantine to Goldman.

Notes: Enclosed letter, 810617025, is from M.E. Fitzgerald to Berkman, but addressed to Goldman. For related documents, see 810617024 and 810617026.

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

SEP 10 1920

15446



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

September 9, 1920.

J. E. Hoover, Esquire,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.



Notes
F.D.W.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am enclosing for your information copy of a
letter for Emma Goldman from her niece in America which
I think may interest you. It was, as you can see, sent
through Litvinoff.

Very truly yours,

W. L. Hurley

X

enclosure.

U-H

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]20 Sept. 12, Odessa [U.S.S.R. to V.I.] Lenin [Chairman of the Soviet Republic of People's Commissars, Moscow] / Emma Goldman [and] Alexander Berkman. — 4 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Moscow.

Summary: Goldman and Berkman urge Lenin to have their friend and traveling companion, Nation reporter Henry Alsberg, released from detention.

W?

Odessa, September 12. 20

3

Dear Comrade Lenin: —

It may be known to you that we are members of the special expedition sent by the Museum of Revolution, of Petrograd, to collect material on the Ukraina, Don and the Caucasus in connection with the revolutionary movement of Russia, since its inception, and the revolution of 1917 up to the present day.

The Expedition consists of six persons, carrying mandates of Comrades Galinin, Zinoviev, Petrovsky etc. By special permission of Comrade Zinoviev, the well-known correspondent of the London "Daily Herald" and of the New York "Nation" ^{Mr. H. Alsberg} was permitted to join our party. He travelled with us from Moscow, through

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]20 Sept. 12, Odessa [U.S.S.R. to V.I.] Lenin [Chairman of the Soviet Republic of People's Commissars, Moscow] / Emma Goldman [and] Alexander Berkman. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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Summary: Goldman and Berkman urge Lenin to have their friend and traveling companion, Nation reporter Henry Alsberg, released from detention.

2) Харков and Kiev, in the car of an Expedition.

On August 30th, at the Station of Kharkov, Mr. Alsberg was arrested by members of the local police, on telegraphic orders of the Moscow "Z. K." No reason for the arrest was assigned, and we are in absolute ignorance as to the cause for the arrest. Now, dear Comrade, we are confident that the deplorable incident is due to some misunderstanding. The occurrence is the more unfortunate because we know Mr. Alsberg as a most worthy person, thoroughly reliable and fully in sympathy with the

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]20 Sept. 12, Odessa [U.S.S.R. to V.I.] Lenin [Chairman of the Soviet Republic of People's Commissars, Moscow] / Emma Goldman [and] Alexander Berkman. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Moscow.

Summary: Goldman and Berkman urge Lenin to have their friend and traveling companion, Nation reporter Henry Alsberg, released from detention.

3) Russian Revolution. His con-⁴
tributions to the English and American
press were always of the most
favorable character and were effective
in shaping public sentiment in
behalf of Russia.

On the day of Mr. Alsberg's
arrest we wired you about the matter.
But we do not know whether the
message reached you. We also wired
and wrote to Comrade Chicherin, who
knows Mr. Alsberg personally. Till now
we have received no word concerning
Mr. Alsberg's fate. We urge you,
Comrade Lenin, to look into this
matter immediately and to use your
best efforts toward the liberation

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]20 Sept. 12, Odessa [U.S.S.R. to V.I.] Lenin [Chairman of the Soviet Republic of People's Commissars, Moscow] / Emma Goldman [and] Alexander Berkman. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Moscow.

Summary: Goldman and Berkman urge Lenin to have their friend and traveling companion, Nation reporter Henry Alsberg, released from detention.

4) of Mr Alsberg, who surely deserves better treatment at the hands of Russia.

We may add that all the papers of Mr. Alsberg were in the best of order. He even had a special paper of the O. O. B. R., giving him permission to leave the country at any time desired.

Hoping that you will at once give this serious matter your attention,

We remain, fraternally,
Alexander Berkman
Emma Goldman

P.S. Mr. Alsberg was arrested by order of Mensheviks, of the O. O. B. R. in Moscow.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Sept. 18, Washington [D.C. to William J.] Neale [Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / Alice Pettus Hall, Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. — 1 p. ; 25 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Shocked to find Goldman's books still on the shelf at the Washington Public Library, Hall hopes the Justice Department will have them removed.

Notes: For reply, see 810618022.

OFFICE OF
THE DIRECTOR

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

WASHINGTON

September 18, 1920.

My dear Mr. Neale:

I was at the Public Library (Carnegie) last night and in looking for a certain book of essays noticed the name "Emma Goldman" on a card, which card contained a list of her essays, the first one being "Anarchism". I was naturally astonished to see that her works were still kept in a public library, and in order to get hold of this book I made a slip out, requesting that I be given it on my card. The slip was returned marked "Out." I then made a "reserve" slip, and if the book is returned I will doubtless get it.

Would you not suggest that I let the Department of Justice know if the book is still kept in the Library? Of course there is a possibility that the card is retained and the book taken out of the circulation department.

Emma Goldman is a very brilliant and convincing writer when writing of plays and other matters not forbidden, but the fact that she has been deported ought, I should think, prevent her works of any character whatsoever from being circulated here in this country where she has had such an evil influence.

Hoping I am not overly officious in taking the liberty of writing you for advice, I am,

Sincerely,

Alice Pettus Hall
of Mr. M. J. Neale,
Census Bureau,
Washington D.C.

CC

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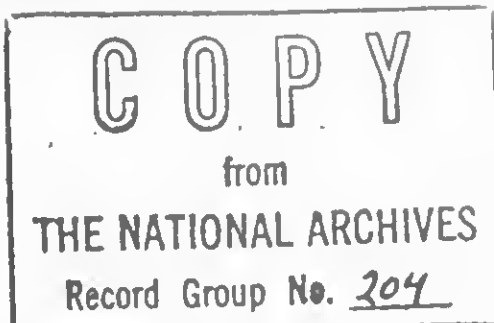
The Emma Goldman Papers

890708004

[Memorandum] 1920 Sept. 20 [Washington, D.C. to A. Mitchell Palmer] Attorney General [Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / Assistant Attorney General [Department of Justice].— 3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 204.

Summary: An assistant attorney general recommends that the Justice Department deny Dr. Marie Equi's request for a pardon, in part because she was associated with Goldman.



Records of the office of the Pardon Attorney
Memoranda Prepared for the Attorney General. Nov. 13, 1918
(See Preliminary Inventory Entry 25.) Sept. 15, 1927

RPS

HAF-muh

September 20, 1920.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.

Dr. Marie V. Equi.

PARDON.

I cannot agree with Mr. Finch that the sentence in this case should be commuted to a fine. Reports from the Bureau of Investigation show that petitioner has been associated with Elisabeth Gurley Flynn, and Anita Whitney, who are both known to the Bureau, and also Emma Goldman as well as the I. W. W. Mr. Finch states that the testimony of the Government's many witnesses upon which the conviction rests is very unsatisfactory to him and there is grave doubt in his mind that the utterances of the Doctor were correctly and accurately stated by these witnesses. He further states that in his judgment no conviction should be permitted to stand on testimony of the character outlined. As presented in the brief submitted in behalf of the petitioner, it would seem that the testimony of these witnesses was not satisfactory, but it is clear that the jury must have believed them at the time and it is admitted in the record the charge to the jury by the court in the matter was

The Trial Judge opposes the extension of
also the District Attorney, and Mr. Haney, who prosecu.

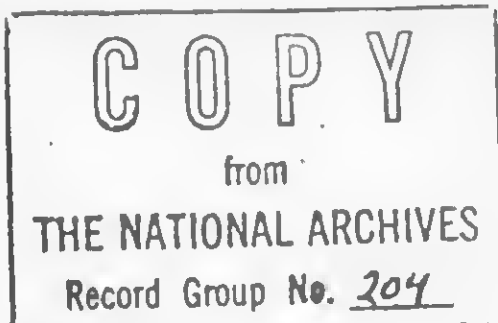
The Emma Goldman Papers

890708004

[Memorandum] 1920 Sept. 20 [Washington, D.C. to A. Mitchell Palmer] Attorney General [Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / Assistant Attorney General [Department of Justice].— 3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 204.

Summary: An assistant attorney general recommends that the Justice Department deny Dr. Marie Equi's request for a pardon, in part because she was associated with Goldman.



Records of the office of the Pardon Attorney
Memoranda Prepared for the Attorney General. Nov. 14, 1918
(See Preliminary Inventory Entry 25) Sept. 15, 1927

2.

If the judgment of Mr. Finch that "no conviction should be permitted to stand on testimony of the character outlined" is to be accepted, it would seem that there would be no justification in commuting the sentence even to a fine, but it would naturally follow that petitioner should be pardoned. I cannot, however, accept this view of it. Petitioner has prosecuted her case through all channels and failed. A further review is now sought of the case in consideration for executive clemency; in addition, it is stated in the brief "but further, a pardon should be granted Dr. Equi, because all the larger social considerations call for it." From the discussion which follows under this head, it is deemed advisable to call particular attention to Point 4, in petitioner's voluminous brief, the caption of which reads as follows:

"Industrial Unrest in the Pacific Northwest, Long and Acute Problem, Will Be Appreciably Aggravated by Denial of Clemency to Defendant in the Circumstances".

A report of the Bureau Agent dated April, 1920, reads in part, as follows:

"Within the past two weeks, Dr. Marie Equi told Miss Ball, Court Reporter in Judge Bean's Court, that her pardon was all fixed up and that she would have it within a few days. She pretends eternally that she is in close communication with high officials in Washington. She implies by indirection that it is the Private Secretary to the President of the United States. Marie Equi also adds the information that as soon as she receives her pardon she is going out to justify herself; whatever that means."

It appears in one of the many letters of endorsement that petitioner has only one lung. This is merely a statement which is not corroborated in any way.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1920 Sept. 20 [Washington, D.C. to A. Mitchell Palmer] Attorney General [Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / Assistant Attorney General [Department of Justice].— 3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 204.

Summary: An assistant attorney general recommends that the Justice Department deny Dr. Marie Equi's request for a pardon, in part because she was associated with Goldman.

C O P Y
from
E NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 204

Records of the office of the Pardon Attorney
Memoranda Prepared for the Attorney General. Nov. 13, 1918 - Sept. 15, 1927
(See Preliminary Inventory Entry 25)

-3-

In view of all the circumstances, I believe that some clemency would be warranted in this case, and therefore recommend that the sentence be commuted to one year and one day.

Respectfully,

Assistant Attorney General.

500

The Emma Goldman Papers

810717071

[Letter] 1920 Sept. 21, London [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Under-secretary] Department of State, [Washington, D.C.] / L. L[anier] W[inslow, Secretary, American Embassy, Department of State].— 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Winslow sends Hurley a list of delegates who attended the Third International in Moscow.
Notes: For enclosure, see 870729001.



*Go Phillips (Signed)
Gunnther (Pence)
Harrison (Paris)
DQ
md 10-9-20
LWT*

LONDON. September 21, 1920.

No. 565.
CONFIDENTIAL.

RETURN TO U-H
FILE
861.0-888

Dear Bill:

With reference to your telegram No. 836, August 4, 6 p.m., requesting information in regard to the recent Congress of the Third Internationale at Moscow, I am now sending along a complete list of the delegates who were present. This, I believe, is fairly accurate, but naturally I refuse to vouch for the spelling in all cases.

Yours ever,

L. L. W.

W. L. Hurley, Esq.,
&c., &c., &c.,
Department of State.

Enclosure:-

List of delegates who attended the recent Congress of the Third Internationale at Moscow.

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501

The Emma Goldman Papers

870729001

[List of Delegates to the Congress of the Third International in Moscow, 1920 Sept. 21? London] / [L. Lanier Winslow? Secretary? American Embassy, Department of State].— 4 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Someone in the American Embassy in London prepares a list of delegates to the Third International in Moscow, which includes Goldman.

Notes: Enclosed with 810617071.

COPY
E. R.

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| <u>Armenia</u> | Georges Kharadjian (Armenian Communist Party) |
| <u>Austria</u> | Steinhardt, Reichler, Friedlan (alias Kampfner), Tomman. |
| <u>Bulgaria</u> | Kabaktchiew, Schablin, Dr. Stoikoff |
| <u>Czecho-Slovakia</u> | Hugo Sonneaschein (a former anarchist) |
| <u>Estonia</u> | One delegate, name unknown. |
| <u>Finland</u> | Manner, Santeri Huorteva (said to be recently arrested in England) |
| <u>France</u> | Frossard, Cachin, Rosmer, Guilbeaux, Jacques Sadoul, R. Delinierd, Pol Michels (French Syndicalist), Reno Marchard (a former French officer, actively associated with Guilbeaux, and said to be one of the most important leaders of the French Bolshevik movement), Rosmer (of the C.G.T.) Goldenberg, Alfons. |
| <u>Georgia</u> | Victor Tevsala, Nicolas Kidnadzo. |
| <u>Germany</u> | For the U.S.P.D. Crispian, Dittmann, Dauemig, Stoecker.

For the K.P.D. Dr. Paul Levi, Walter

For the K.A.P.D. Otto Richler, August Merges, Franz Jung Appel.

For the Jewish Communist Party:
Max Barthel.

Monkman, Munzenberg are also reported to have attended. |

Great Britain

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502

The Emma Goldman Papers

[List of Delegates to the Congress of the Third International in Moscow, 1920 Sept. 21? London] / [L. Lanier Winslow? Secretary? American Embassy, Department of State].— 4 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Someone in the American Embassy in London prepares a list of delegates to the Third International in Moscow, which includes Goldman.

Notes: Enclosed with 810617071.

- 2 -

Great Britain

Purcell, Williams, W. Maclean, Tom Quelch, Tanner, G.M. Murphy, Gallagher (for Scotland), Consler (for shop stewards)

Holland

Wynkoop, Van Leuven, Reverend Kruyt, Wolda. The Dutch East Indies were represented by H. Sneevliet, who left Moscow after the Congress to go to Japan.

Hungary

Rudianski (represented pro tem by Kakotchi), Levai (alias ? Alexander Garbai), Zoltan Ronal.

India

Roy. (Mahendra Nath Roy).

Italy

Bombacci, Serratti, Bordiga, Polano. Two "proxies" were also sent: Viccirka and Cratiadei. Gracciano, Bacci (of the P.C.I. Delegation) Posdana. Graziadei, Zinocci (at present in Russia on an economic mission). D'Argona, Colombino, Vacirca, Pavivani. Brussani. A. Cratiadel.

Korea

Cham-Chen-Choun. Pak.

Lettland

Five delegates, names unknown

Norway

Friis. Alfred Madson, John Modley, Gerhard (Gerhardson)

Persia

Sultan-Zado.

Poland

T. Marschlowski (also known as Karski) Korzalowsky.

Rumania

Ilie Moscovici, Gheorghe Christescu, Flueraș, Popovici, Fabian. (These names were received from Bucharest. According to other sources the Rumanian representatives were Marco Valerian Rakowski).

Russia

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503

The Emma Goldman Papers

[List of Delegates to the Congress of the Third International in Moscow, 1920 Sept. 21? London] / [L. Lanier Winslow? Secretary? American Embassy, Department of State].— 4 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Someone in the American Embassy in London prepares a list of delegates to the Third International in Moscow, which includes Goldman.

Notes: Enclosed with 810617071.

- 5 -

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| <u>Russia</u> | (incl. Ukraine, Caucasasia, Siberia, etc.) 46 delegates amongst whom were the following: Lenin, Trotsky, Zinovieff, Chicherin, Rader, Angelica Balabanoff, Bucharin, Kalinin, Stalin, Bersin, Tomskey, Kobosky, Lozowsky, Pawlowitsch, Rakowski, Kabelstski, Berzine, Staline, L. Karakhan, Anton Meyer, Rudzianowski, Kobilski Kluger, Sozotski, Pryanisch-nikow (Director of Foreign propaganda), Schlapnikow. (Commissar for espionage against the contro-revolutionary movement). A. Gorowitsch and Michael Lomow (courier organisers), Strumikin and Kritzman (Commissars for the Jewish question), Kaplun (Minister for Education), Smirnow, M. Pokrowski, Worowski (Members of the Committee concerned with economic questions), Wityz (for Ukraine), Klinger (at present engaged in Russia as an engineer). |
| <u>Spain</u> | Angel Partela (Spanish Federation of Labour), Besteiro, Alexander Leroux. |
| <u>Sweden</u> | Frins |
| <u>Switzerland</u> | Herzog, Humbert-Droz |
| <u>Turkey</u> | Khalil, Fuad Pasha (Delegates from the Turkish Nationalist Party). |
| <u>U.S.A.</u> | John Reed, Louis Fraina, Alexander Borkman, Emma Goldman, Etoklenski (naturalised American, formerly a Russian Jew), A. Balan. |
| <u>Yugo-Slavia</u> | Milkitch |

The Executive Committee is as follows:

Austria

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504

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- 4 -

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| <u>Austria</u> | Steinhardt |
| <u>Bulgaria</u> | Schablin |
| <u>Far East</u> | Pak (Korean delegate to the Congress) |
| <u>Finland</u> | Mankcarr or Mayer |
| <u>France</u> | Rosmer |
| <u>Germany</u> | Dr. Levi |
| <u>Great Britain</u> | Tom Quelch |
| <u>Holland</u> | Wynkoop |
| <u>Hungary</u> | Rudniansky |
| <u>Italy</u> | Serrati |
| <u>Near East</u> | Sultan-Zado (Persian delegate to the Congress). |
| <u>Russia</u> | Semenoff, Bucharin, Radek, Tomskey, Kobosky, as delegates. Lenin, Trotsky, Borsin, Stalin, Pawlowitsch, Chicherin, as delegates' proxies. |
| <u>Scandinavia</u> | Friis |
| <u>U.S.A.</u> | John Reed |
| <u>Yugo-Slavia</u> | Milkitsch |

The Board of the new Executive Committee consists of:

| | |
|------------|---------------------------------|
| President: | Semenoff |
| Secretary: | Kobosky |
| Members: | Bucharin, Rudniansky and Mayer. |

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505

The Emma Goldman Papers

870717020

[Memorandum] 1920 Sept. 28, Washington [D.C. to Raymond Sheldon] Assistant Chief of Staff for Military Intelligence [War Department], Governor's Island, N.Y. / John M. Dunn, Chief, Negative Branch, Military Intelligence Division, War Department. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Dunn instructs the New York office of Military Intelligence to interview Harry Kagan about conditions in Soviet Russia.

Notes: For reply, see 870717021 and 810331039. Response to 870717022.

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

In replylog refer to

2338-U-5
M.I.5-3

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF : 2338-4-5
WASHINGTON

September 28, 1920.

From: Director of Military Intelligence.

To: Assistant Chief of Staff for Military Intelligence,
Second Corps Area, Governor's Island, New York.

Subject: Mr. Harry Kagan.

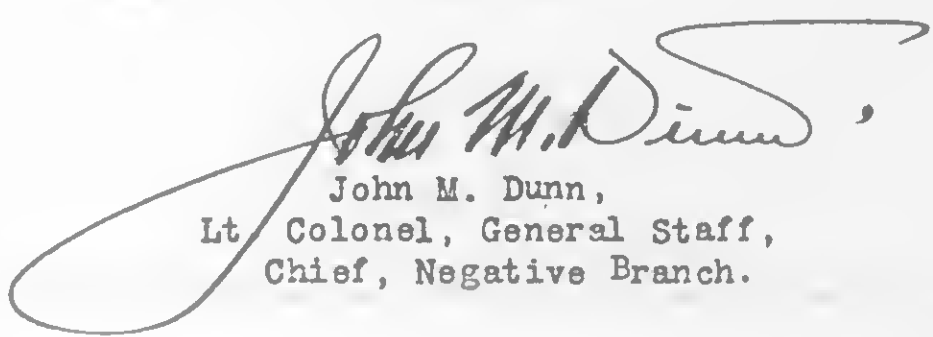
1. This office is in receipt of a communication from the American Consul in Paris stating that Mr. Harry Kagan, a naturalized American citizen, was returning to the United States for permanent residence after spending about six months in and around Moscow, Russia, as a welfare worker with the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. He gave as his permanent address in the United States: Care of Jacobs Woolen Company, 431 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill., but his New York address is: Care Joint Distribution Committee, 20 Exchange Place, New York City.

2. It is requested that you interview Mr. Kagan if he is still in New York and secure his opinions on the following points:

- (a) Durability of the present Soviet regime.
- (b) Extent and strength of peasant unrest.
- (c) Attitude of the Moscow population to the Soviet Government.
- (d) Dissension between Moscow and Petrograd Soviets.
- (e) Differences between Extremists and Moderates, or between Bucharin and Lenin?

3. If you find that Mr. Kagan has gone to Chicago, please forward this communication by indorsement to the Assistant Chief of Staff for Military Intelligence, Sixth Corps Area.

For the Director of Military Intelligence.


John M. Dunn,
Lt Colonel, General Staff,
Chief, Negative Branch.

No incls.
rbc

506

The Emma Goldman Papers

General Intelligence Bulletin No. 31, Oct. 2, 1920 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] / [Department of Justice]. — 10 p. ; 30 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The Department of Justice reprints the American Legion's report on its investigation of Louis F. Post, recommending his dismissal. The report includes a letter from Goldman to Post, urging him to prevent Ludwig Martens's deportation.

10110-1683

47

Oct 20 1920

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE BULLETIN.

Capt Carmichael

Number 31.

October 2, 1920.

NOTED: M.L.M.

I N D E X.

ORGANIZATIONS

| | |
|--|----|
| United Communist Party..... | 1 |
| Communist Party of America..... | 7 |
| I. W. W..... | 8 |
| Socialist Party..... | 11 |
| The Proletarian Party of the United States.... | 13 |
| International Bible Students Association..... | 24 |

| | |
|--------------------------|----|
| INDIVIDUALS..... | 24 |
| NEGRO ACTIVITIES..... | 34 |
| INTERNATIONAL..... | 36 |
| ENGLAND..... | 38 |
| JAPANESE ACTIVITIES..... | 38 |
| MEXICO..... | 41 |
| HINDU..... | 42 |
| GERMAN ACTIVITIES..... | 42 |

Capt K. J. see p 8 especially

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507

The Emma Goldman Papers

850418011

General Intelligence Bulletin No. 31, Oct. 2, 1920 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] / [Department of Justice]. — 10 p. ; 30 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The Department of Justice reprints the American Legion's report on its investigation of Louis F. Post, recommending his dismissal. The report includes a letter from Goldman to Post, urging him to prevent Ludwig Martens's deportation.

The following is a complete copy of the report made by investigating committee to the National Commander of the American Legion recommending action against Assistant Secretary of Labor Louis F. Post.

Washington, D. C.

The National Commander American Legion,
Indianapolis, Indiana.

Dear Sir:

Report of investigation of Official Attitude of Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor, toward the Deportation of Aliens, advocating the over-throw of the Governments, or the unlawful destruction of property.

1. Pursuant to telegraphic appointment by the National Adjutant of the American Legion, dated August 7th, 1920, the undersigned Committee met at the office of the American Legion, National Legislative Committee, Washington, D. C., at 10 a.m., August 16th, 1920, and elected Mr. M. K. Gordon, Chairman of the Committee.

2. The Secretary of the National Legislative Committee handed us a letter containing more detailed instructions for our work. This letter reads in part as follows:

"The published report of the House sub-committee on Immigration indicates that Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor, has wilfully failed and refused to enforce the Act of Congress of October 16th, 1918, relating to the deportation of aliens who are advocating the over-throw of the Government and the unlawful destruction of property. If National Headquarters is convinced that this report is sustained by sufficient facts it is recommended that it use its best efforts to secure either the dismissal or the impeachment of Mr. Post."

"It is to establish or disprove the allegation in this paragraph that this committee is called together."

3. The Committee then called upon Mr. J. E. Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General of the United States, in charge of Investigation of anarchists, communists and alien enemies, at the Department of Justice. We also had an interview with Mr. Louis F. Post, the Assistant Secretary of Labor. We have proceeded, and have examined, so far as necessary, all documents, published by the different committees of Congress, relative to the

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questions coming before us, a full set of which, is herewith transmitted as follows:

1. Immigration Laws of the United States.
2. Conditions at Ellis Island.
3. Administration of Immigration Laws.
4. Communist Labor Party deportation Cases.
5. Hearings of the Committee on Rules on H. R. 5229.
6. I. W. W. Deportation Cases.
7. Communist and Anarchist Deportation Cases.
8. Hearings of the Committee on Rules.

(Reply of the Attorney General, Parts #1 and #2)

These documents show that different Committees of Congress have made full investigation of the work of Mr. Louis F. Post, as Assistant Secretary of Labor, in regard to the deportation of aliens. Unfortunately, however, the adjournment of Congress prevented a final report from the Congressional Committees. We do not know what recommendations will ultimately be made by one or all of these Committees.

4. In order properly to understand the situation and the attitude and decisions of Mr. Post, we summarize the machinery and methods, provided by Congress, for the deportation of aliens.

There is now no federal statute making unlawful anarchy or agitation for the forcible overthrow of the Government or resistance to its laws. The immigration laws apply exclusively to aliens.

The Immigration Laws Provide:

"Any alien shall, upon the warrant of the Secretary of Labor, be taken in custody and be deported" Sec. 19 of the Act of February 5th, 1917.

They provide that the Secretary of Labor on his warrant may deport to the country from which they came aliens unlawfully admitted to this country (a) who are anarchists; (b) who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law; (c) aliens who disbelieve in or are opposed to all organized government; (d) aliens who advocate or teach the assassination of public officials; (e) aliens who advocate or teach the unlawful destruction of property; (f) aliens who are members of or affiliated with any organization that entertains a belief in, teaches or advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States, or of all forms of law, or that entertains or teaches disbelief in or opposition to all organized governments, or that advocates the duty, necessity or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or

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killing of any officer or officers, etc.

Application for a warrant may be made by any person to the Secretary of Labor, and if satisfied that probable cause exists, for deportation, the Secretary issues the warrant, which is forwarded to an immigration inspector of the Department of Labor. This examining inspector, under the customary procedure, examines the alien who is informed that he may have counsel. The examining inspector forwards a written report containing a transcript of the testimony to the Commissioner General of Immigration, together with his recommendation in the premises. The Commissioner General of Immigration sends the report with his own recommendation to the Secretary of Labor. In practice during Mr. Post's term of Office, these reports have come to him, for what in practically every instance has been the final decision. Mr. Post either orders the deportation of the alien or the cancellation of the warrant. Of course, if he deemed another investigation necessary, because of insufficient evidence, he might order a re-examination of the alien. Instances of such re-examination have been extremely rare, so far as we are able to determine.

Little public attention seems to have been attracted by Mr. Post in the discharge of his duties until about the month of March, 1920, when, in the absence of the Secretary of Labor and of Acting Secretary Abercrombie, who theretofore had been giving attention to immigration matters, he assumed the administration of duties pertaining thereto. It had been the practice of the Commissioner General of Immigration to investigate deportation cases and to forward his report with a memorandum of finding and recommendations to the Secretary or Acting Secretary for approval. Mr. Abercrombie appears to have given weight to these recommendations.

The law fixing the duties of the Commissioner General and Assistant Secretary respectively is broad enough to allow the growth of this custom of making recommendations. Mr. Post, however held that the Commissioner General was merely his "sheriff" and had no legal authority to make a memorandum or recommendation and that he, Mr. Post, the "alter ego", as he says, of the Secretary, personally assumed original jurisdiction of these cases. It is very significant that this change in practice, which had existed since 1903, was simultaneous with the development of a vast number of alien deportation cases for membership in our affiliation with an organization that believed in the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States.

When Mr. Post assumed jurisdiction there were in the custody of the Department under detention warrants, about two thousand aliens who had been arrested on warrants procured from the Secretary of Labor by the Attorney General, and held for deportation.

This action was taken in an effort by the Department of Justice to break up a world-wide movement for the forcible overthrow

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of established government seriously threatening the peace and safety of our people. Mr. Post states that in his opinion no such serious movement existed in reality but that there was a systematic newspaper campaign to deceive the public, financed by great interests, to create a psychological condition from which he intimated that the American Legion might now be suffering.

Before the Rules Committee, he attempted to leave the same impression, and to charge that some newspaper reporters were drawing salaries from outside interests, but he was then called upon for names and facts, and could not give a single instance in point. With this as his declared viewpoint, and under these conditions, Mr. Post set aside departmental precedent and took to himself the original and final decision of the cases of radical aliens held for deportation. The Department cancelled from January 1st to June 15th, 1920, 2,115 deportation warrants, ordered deportation in 530 cases and deferred 60.

Forty-two persons were actually deported, but none since Mr. Post took charge of the matter. Naturally, this situation drew an inquiry from Congress, comment from the Press, and a full investigation ensued, which had not been completed before the adjournment of Congress, and hence no report for recommendation was made on the general subject or on the resolution introduced by Mr. Hoch of Kansas, calling for the impeachment of Mr. Post. Many cases were produced and examined in this investigation, but it would unduly extend this report to cite or summarize more than a very few.

In practice the Department of Justice because of its vast corps field agents has applied to the Secretary of Labor for the warrants of arrest, and has furnished evidence to the Inspector in some instances. Mr. Post informed the Committee that the Attorney General had always been notified when the hearings were to be had by the Examining Inspector. Mr. Hoover contradicts this statement, and informs us that the Department of Justice is practically never represented at the hearings. He further informs us, that Mr. Post never calls upon the Department of Justice nor for any additional evidence which that Department may have procured, subsequent to the arrest of the alien. The alien usually has adroit counsel to represent him on the hearing. Leading questions seem to be the rule on these hearings, so that in effect the counsel is giving testimony for the alien. No counsel is present to cross-examine the alien in behalf of the Government, the examining Inspector being the only person to bring out any contractions or inconsistencies in the alien's testimony. In fact, Mr. Hoover, informs us that the Department of Justice is not only not informed of the time and place of hearing, but also that he personally was denied the right of direct cross-examination of Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, the so-called Ambassador from Soviet Russia. He states that he was required to present his questions through an intermediary, and thereby his cross-examination was deprived of all its effectiveness. Mr. Post contradicts this statement, and says that Mr. Hoover, not only had the right of direct cross-examination, but also, that he permitted the Department of Justice to state its choice of the

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... examining inspector to Marten's case, and that such inspector was appointed to conduct the hearing.

Mr. Post requires strict technical legal testimony and confronting of witnesses by the government, but letters and affidavits of sympathizers testifying for the alien, are admitted by him, as in one case he endorses his personal testimonial to her veracity upon a telegram of Emma Goldman directed to him personally as follows:

"Hon. Louis F. Post,
Washington, D. C.

"Deportation may prove fatal to our friend.
Urge you to interest yourself in the case. Special letter follows:

"Emma Goldman"

We have not seen the letter.

(Page 37, Hearings of Rules Comm. H. Doc. 180387.

The law says that a detained alien "may be admitted to bail in the sum of not less than \$500.00" Mr. Post holds that he may be admitted to bail without bond or surety, in any amount, under this law, and has acted accordingly, and as a result several cases were brought to the attention of the Committee where undoubtedly dangerous aliens had been released, and had escaped surveillance and deportation.

Mr. Post in several instances, which we now discuss has gone contrary to these recommendations for deportation, and has cancelled the warrants.

6. It was impossible for this Committee to make a personal examination of all cases decided by Mr. Post. We selected a few that appeared to us to be among the most flagrant instances and took them up with Mr. Post personally.

The flagrant abuse of discretion on the part of Mr. Post, which has virtually nullified the real purpose and intent of the law providing for the deportation of undesirable aliens is conclusively demonstrated from a review of some of the cases where deportation has been refused and leads your committee to conclude that it is not error in judgment but is an attempt to negative an act of Congress and is a most radical tendency inimical to the principles of Americanism.

The Paul Bosco case is a most striking case, which impressed your Committee with the nullification of a law by one charged with its interpretation. Passing over the facts leading to the issuance of the warrant for Bosco, we find that during the war he was convicted under the Espionage Law for the distribution

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of Seditions literature, and sentenced to serve a term of ten years in the Federal penitentiary, which sentence was later reduced to two years. At the time sentence was passed upon Bosco he defiantly declared that he hoped when he should be released he would find the red flag waving over the American flag. He was given a hearing on the warrant of the Atlanta Penitentiary, and he waived the right to an attorney stating that he did not see the necessity of one, and that he was willing for the hearing to proceed. He stated that he was not an anarchist, but that he had no objections to anarchists or their principles. He further stated that whenever laws are against the people, he saw no reason why the people should not resist their enforcement by force, if the law were attempted to be enforced by force. He further stated that if the United States authorities were not willing for working men to exercise industrial democracy, then he would not object to going back to free Russia. In the course of the hearing this question was asked Basco:

"When your sentence and term in penitentiary was announced in the crowded court at Parkersburg, did you not state definitely that you hoped that when you were released from the penitentiary that you would find the red flag waving over the American Flag?"

Answer: "Yes, I said that."

Question: "Do you still hope that?"

Answer: "Yes."

The inspector reported that Bosco was an anarchist of the worst type, and recommended deportation at the end of his penitentiary sentence. Mr. Post, upon the record as presented, ordered his deportation. Later on, in pursuance of the order of deportation, Bosco was taken to New York. Several attorneys interceded for him, but it seems that Harry Weinberger, Esq., of New York, was his principal counsel, and we find that in a letter to the Department of Labor he states: "I want to make certain requests in the case and you may even consider them demands", - which unusual effrontery to an official department your committee can not comprehend. In this file a letter was addressed Weinberger and never sent, stating that owing to the activities of Bosco and his general dangerous character, the Department cannot consider his release under bond in a sum of less than \$5,000. Later on, however, Bosco upon order of Mr. Post, was released from custody on bail of \$1,000. The case was reopened, and upon the rehearing the only evidence presented was that of Bosco who was not so opposed to government at that time, and who made statements inconsistent with his former testimony, and upon this record the warrant was cancelled by Mr. Post, for reasons only satisfactory to him since your committee can see no justification in new evidence for the cancellation of the warrant.

The Emma Goldman Papers

850418011

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and the release of Bosco.

Attention is here invited to Mr. Post's disposition evidenced by this and in other instances to reopen a case against an alien in order that he may make his proof clearer for his defense; but rarely if ever is he so tender of the public interest as to send any case back to the investigating agent to correct or complete the record of the testimony for the government, however violent or dangerous the alien may be shown to be.

Louis Wirth. (Page 162 Hearings, Committee on Rules) This alien was a German attending Chicago University, who intended returning to Germany on the completion of his post graduate course.

He admitted "knowing" membership in the Communist Party, which Mr. Post, following the rules of his department, holds is a proscribed organization.

Mr. Post cancelled the warrant for his deportation because alien said he joined the Communist Party to study social conditions as an aid to preparing his thesis.

Wirth is now doing "social service" in the Boys' Court at Chicago; in a position to employ his pernicious doctrines to the perversion of youth.

Franz Widmar. This alien was an Austrian who admitted that he had been in this country since 1897, without seeking naturalization, and since 1903, an anarchist, the publisher and editor of "L'Era Nuova" and other anarchistic publications in which he published articles commending the assassination of the "hyena," former Governor Steunenberg, of Idaho, and articles with such headings as "Do We Want Bloodshed? Yes: Much of it!" The publication of this paper was stopped by the war power of the Government in 1917. Mr. Post cancelled this deportation warrant, on the unsupported statement of Widmar that he was no longer an anarchist. Mr. Post in explaining this to your Committee declared that he does not hold as a maxim "once an anarchist, always an anarchist."

We also asked Mr. Post for his file in the case of Jack Carney, but unfortunately could not see this file, although we waited for more than an hour and a quarter. We wanted to see the Jack Carney file particularly, because Mr. Post had cancelled his warrant, and we are now informed that a jury in State Court in Illinois has convicted Carney of treasonable acts which would seem to show that Carney was a most proper subject for deportation.

A striking instance of the manner in which Mr. Post has exercised the authority conferred upon him, by virtue of

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the Immigration Laws is that of Enrique Magon. The facts in the Magon case are in brief:

Magon is a Mexican who fled to the United States to avoid punishment for his acts in Mexico. After entering the United States, the alien and his brother affiliated themselves with well known and acknowledged anarchists. They located in California and published an anarchistic paper. They were arrested and convicted of violation of the postal regulations, while in the Federal prison at Leavenworth, a deportation proceeding was accorded Enrique Magon. On his examination we find:

"Q. In this paper and in other literature that is published by you or over you signature, you have advocated anarchy?

"A. I do."

Q. "Do you believe in anarchy?"

A. "I do."

Q. "You are an anarchist?"

A. "I am a communist anarchist."

Mr. Post disregarded this testimony and decided that Magon was not an anarchist and cancelled the deportation warrant. There is other testimony which clearly shows that Magon was an anarchist and advocated "between the two social classes a war to the death."

A very instructive case is that of Thomas Truss. Truss was shown to be a member of the Communist Party. The Secretary of Labor made a ruling by which membership in the Communist Party was held to be cause for deportation of an alien. Mr. Post held that Truss was an "automatic" member. We direct attention to the fact, that the Act of Congress does not enter into any discussion of "automatic" or "conscious" membership.

Conclusions: We submit therefore that Mr. Post disregarded recommendations of Inspectors and the Commissioner General of Immigration, and introduced technicalities every one of which has operated for the benefit of the alien and against the United States. As well said by Congressman Vaile at the hearing, Mr. Post introduced "technical defense to defeat an actual condition." We were much impressed by the concern Mr. Post felt for the sufferings of the alien, and the rights of the alien, but we did not hear from him a single expression of concern for the rights of the United States.

That Mr. Post's record clearly shows that he is not in sympathy with the deportation laws, he has cancelled 2,115 warrants, and has deported only 42 from January 1st to June 15th, 1920. Every technical ruling that has come to our attention, has operated to prevent the deportation of the alien. Mr. Post

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has absolute power under the present situation since the Secretary of Labor does not seem to decide the individual cases Mr. Post practically nullified the deportation laws. He has not availed himself of services of the Department of Justice that were easily within his reach. This Committee does not believe that he will ever give a reasonable enforcement of our deportation laws.

Recommendation. We therefore recommend:

1. That the National Commander of "The American Legion take all necessary steps to procure the dismissal of Mr. Louis F. Post; as Ass't Secretary of Labor and that a copy of this report be forwarded to the sub-committee of the Committee on Naturalization and Immigration, Hon. Albert Johnson of Washington, Chairman.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) M. K. Fordon, Chairman
Kentucky.

(Signed) Wilbur C. Hall, Virginia

(Signed) Crampton Harris, Alabama

The Emma Goldman Papers

810402086

[Report on] Reactions [from] Russia, 1920 Oct. 4 / [Agent? Military Intelligence Division, War Department].— 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Military Intelligence transmits a translation of an article in *Revaler Bote*, describing Goldman and Berkman's discontent in Russia.

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1920

10110-154

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32870

SUBJECT - REACTIONS - - - RUSSIA -

From - M. O. B. - - - PSYCHOLOGIC FACTOR -

No. - 546 - Date - OCTOBER 4TH, 1920 - , 19

Replying to No. - Date - , 19

FROM M.O.B. 4

1/8

#7C

M/A-Jarsaw
Chief of Staff, G-2, Coblenz

REACTIONS 58.

Translation from the "Revaler
Bote" of September 18, 1920.

American Anarchists about Conditions in Russia:

At the Hotel "Astoria" in Petrograd, at present there are living two hundred and forty anarchists banished from America, among them the wellknown Emma Goldman and Bergmann. Their discontent with the order in Russia grows daily; they call the Russian matter:- "Such a big fraud towards the European Proletariat as has only been perpetrated by Christianity up to the present time." The position of these anarchists has become worse by reason of the fact that their comrades, the Russian anarchists, are mostly in jail. In the near future, they intend publishing an energetic protest. They wish to return to America.

Binding Margin.

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517

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Oct. 5 [Washington, D.C. to] Alice Pettus Hall, Washington, D.C. / L[ewis?] J. Baley, Chief [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 25 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Baley thanks Hall for her letter about removing Goldman's books from the public library.

Notes: Light copy; barely legible. Reply to 810618021.

October 5, 1920.

Miss Alice Pettus Hall,

c/o H. J. Hall,

Central Bureau,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Madam:

The Bureau desires to thank you for the suggestions contained in your communication of the 18th instant, relative to Emma Goldman's books being circulated by the public library.

Very truly yours,

L. J. Baley
Chf.

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518

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1920 Oct. 5, Detroit, Mich. [to William B. Wilson] Secretary of Labor [Department of Labor], Washington [D.C.] / [Harry?] Weinberger and Zeigler. — 1 p.; 35 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 85.

Summary: Attorneys Weinberger and Zeigler ask the secretary of labor if persons ordered deported to Russia may pay for their own transport and arrange their own deportation.

COPY
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 85

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service
Central Office — Subject Correspondence, 1906-1932
File Number 54809

*To Mr. Peter for
immigration
letter of like character*

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
TELEGRAM

WU 20 Q 110 -Extra Night Letter.

From... Detroit, Michigan. October 5th, 1920.

Secretary of Labor,
Washington.

Russians who have been arrested and held under bond pending deportation if they want to pay their own transportation to Russia will they be permitted to leave the United States. (Stop). Local immigration officer does not seem to know the ruling on these cases. (Stop). Would you kindly give us your decision? (Stop). There are quite a number of such cases here in Detroit. (Stop).

These men want to pay their own fare and if necessary the expenses of an inspector to accompany them to port of embarkation. (Stop). Can they leave and what are the requirements? Please give your answer in detail, our expense.

Weinberger and Zeigler,
268 Gratiot Ave. Detroit.

945am Oct 5th

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519

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1920 Oct. 6, Governor's Island, N.Y. [to John M. Dunn, Chief, Negative Branch, Military Intelligence Division, War Department], Washington, D.C. / Raymond Sheldon, Assistant Chief of Staff, Military Intelligence Division, War Department]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Sheldon submits a report on Harry Kagan to the head of Military Intelligence.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810331039. Reply to 870717020.

32021

1st Ind.

RS/CHG.

Hq. 2d Corps Area, Governor's Island, N.Y., Oct. 6, 1920. To Director
of Military Intelligence, Washington, D.C.

Mr. Kagan was interviewed by a representative of this
office. Two copies of his report are inclosed.

NOTED: M. L. 2.

HPLC 1104

Raymond Sheldon
RAYMOND SHELDON
Lt. Col., Gen. Staff
A.C. of S., G-2.

Incls.

RECEIVED

1920 OCT 8 PM 3 36

RECORD SECTION
M.I.D.

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520

The Emma Goldman Papers

810331039

[Memorandum] 1920 Oct. 6, Governor's Island, N.Y. [to Raymond Sheldon] Assistant Chief of Staff for Military Intelligence [War Department], Governor's Island, N.Y. / Melvin J. McKenna, Inspector [Military Intelligence Division, War Department].— 2 p.; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: McKenna reports on his interview with Harry Kagan about conditions in Soviet Russia. Kagan assesses the strength of internal opposition to the Bolsheviks. He states that the Soviet government mistrusts and watches Goldman.

Notes: Enclosed with 870717021. Reply to 870717020.

2-2 2338-6-5
3
Governor's Island, N.Y., Oct. 6, 1920. *my*

From: Melvin J. McKenna, Inspector.
To: Assistant Chief of Staff for Military Intelligence,
2d Corps Area, Governor's Island, N.Y. *Chm*
Subject: Mr. Harry Kagan.

1. Interviewed Mr. Kagan, who stated that while he was in Mosoow he met a Mrs. Harrison who represented herself as a reporter for the Associated Press. After gaining her confidence Mrs. Harrison admitted that she was not a reporter but was employed by the United States Secret Service. Her address is o/o The Press Quarters provided by the Soviet Government in Mosoow. *Excluded from file*

2. As for the durability of the present Soviet regime, Kagan stated that in his opinion it will not stand up very long for the reason that the Bolshevik soldier is under a misapprehension due to the fact that the Soviet officials are spreading propaganda that Poland is trying to conquer Russia. For that reason the Bolshevik soldier in Russia is supporting Bolshevism indirectly in defense of his country. It appears that the working class is dissatisfied with the present form of Soviet government in Russia. There is very little harmony among the officials of the government. The army has no strength and is short of ammunition. It also appears that the old Russian officers are leading the Bolshevik forces, not directly for Bolshevism but for the national question "Poland is trying to conquer Russia." To this end Kagan claimed it is splendid propaganda for Lenin and Trotzky in their attempt to conquer the world.

3. As to the extent and strength of peasant unrest, Kagan stated that about seventy-five percent of the peasants are dissatisfied because they are compelled to give all to the government. It appears that only ten percent of the peasants are Bolsheviks, and that the balance have no faith in the present form of government.

4. As to the attitude of the Moscow population to the Soviet Government, Mr. Kagan stated that due to the fact that Moscow is the capital that out of the population of 1,500,000 about fifteen percent is Bolshevik and the balance anti. The anti-Bolshevik is made up of professional men, ex-business men and the working class. They want a republic. It appears that the feeling all over Russia is against the present form of government, and if it were not for the national question (Poland) Soviet Government would fall immediately.

5. As for the dissension between Moscow and Petrograd Soviets, Kagan stated that he is unable to answer this question as he knows nothing about it. Today Petrograd is deserted, and those who

The Emma Goldman Papers

810331039

[Memorandum] 1920 Oct. 6, Governor's Island, N.Y. [to Raymond Sheldon] Assistant Chief of Staff for Military Intelligence [War Department], Governor's Island, N.Y. / Melvin J. McKenna, Inspector [Military Intelligence Division, War Department].— 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: McKenna reports on his interview with Harry Kagan about conditions in Soviet Russia. Kagan assesses the strength of internal opposition to the Bolsheviks. He states that the Soviet government mistrusts and watches Goldman.

Notes: Enclosed with 870717021. Reply to 870717020.

are there are starving, but five percent of the Petrograd population is Bolshevik.

6. As for the differences between Extremists and Moderates, or between Buoharin and Lenin, Kagan stated that the moderates only want to nationalize large institutions whereas the extremists want everything, large and small, nationalized, including children. Kagan knows nothing further on this subject. It appears that the Soviet Government is spreading propaganda that the world is fighting her, and for that reason the Soviets are able to control the army. Kagan believes that if the war stopped tomorrow the Soviet Government would fall immediately, and that the army and the people would revolt. That war is propaganda for the Soviet Government, and is helping the aims of Lenin and Trotzky. The working class under the present form of Government are getting nothing, whereas the Soviet officials, grafters and politicians, are getting all. The working man has no representation. The government is the dictator, and through its many dictators has caused great dissension among the working class. It appears that the one great aim of the Soviets today is to educate the school children with the hope that the future generation of Russia will be Bolshevik, whereas Trotzky and Lenin are very much afraid of the present adult population. It also appears that out of the population of Russia, namely 120,000,000, about 600,000 are actually "Reds" supporting the Soviet government.

7. Kagan further stated that while he was in Russia he met Emma Goldman, who took from his coat pocket an American flag and kissed it, saying "as much as I hate America I love it, and I wish I were there." As for those reds deported from America, including Emma Goldman, the Bolshevik government in Russia bears no great love for them, nor is there any partiality shown. As for Emma Goldman, Trotzky and Lenin are afraid of her, for the reason that she may be too smart for them, and through her influence overthrow their present form of government. Emma Goldman is closely watched, and if she were to do anything out of the way against the government she would no doubt pass out of existence.

Respectfully submitted,

MELVIN J. McKENNA.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Oct. 11, New York [to] A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / Charles D. Or[th?]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: The president of the National Security League asks for the attorney general's permission to publish three of Goldman's letters, supposedly taken from John Reed.

Notes: Light copy; portions illegible. For letters mentioned, see 870717008, 870717010, and 870717012.



RECEIVED

OCT 15 1920

*Letter to Mr. [illegible]
[illegible]*

Hon. A. Mitchell Palmer,
Attorney General,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Palmer:

I have received the purport to be conveyed to John Reed. The letters from Emma Goldman, which have been taken from me by the original of those who said to have been taken from me by the British authorities, contain a number of statements regarding conditions in Russia which the National Security League would like to publish, and I am sure you would be glad to give them the space and prominence which they deserve.

One of the letters is dated January 10, 1920, and signed "John Reed". Another is dated January 11, 1920, and signed "Emma Goldman". The third is dated January 12, 1920, and signed "John Reed".

I am sure that the Department of Justice will be glad to publish these letters, and I am sure that the National Security League will be glad to give them the space and prominence which they deserve.



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Oct. 30, Washington, D.C. [to Dennis] E. Nolan, Director, Military Intelligence [Division] War Department, Washington [D.C.] / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 27 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Hoover returns a copy of a proclamation in Russian, plus a translation, which indicates that the document is not authentic.

Notes: For enclosures, see 810331022 and 810331023. Reply to 810331007. For reply, see 810331005.

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Copy No.....

JEH-GPO

1920

10058-515

6

WAR DEPARTMENT

328X

October 30, 1920.

Brigadier General C. E. Nolan,
Director of Military Intelligence,
War Department, Washington.

My dear General:

Referring to your communication of April 20, 1920, (10058-515 M.I. 10) I am returning herewith the copy of the proclamation which has been carefully examined in this office. I would appreciate it if you could advise me more definitely as to the source through which this was obtained. I take pleasure in inclosing herewith a copy of the translation of the same which has been made by a translator in this office and you will note certain comments made by the translator upon the authenticity of this document.

Very truly yours,

J. E. Hoover

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

Incl.

*enc
on
ad*

RECEIVED
NOV 1 1920
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

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524

The Emma Goldman Papers

810331005

[Letter] 1920 Nov. 9 [Washington, D.C. to] J. Edgar Hoover, Special Ass[istan]t to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / [Dennis E. Nolan] Director, Military Intelligence [Division, War Department]. - 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Nolan explains the steps he is taking to find the source of a revolutionary proclamation of dubious authenticity.

Notes: Reply to 810331006. For related documents, see 810331004, 810331007 through 810331010, 810331022, and 810331023.

1053-515
M. I. 10.

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
JUL 20 1921
10058-575
7
WAR DEPARTMENT
MAR 25 1922

November 9, 1920.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Special Ass't. to the Attorney General,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Hoover:

With reference to your letter of October 30, 1920, returning copy of a revolutionary proclamation in Russian, a copy of the translation is being sent to the Military Attache, Berne with the suggestion that he try to obtain further light on the origin of the document.

The original copy was furnished to the Military Attache, Berne by Mr. Serge Persky who is reported to be a true Russian and has published numerous anti-Bolshevist articles in reliable Swiss newspapers. He is said to be well informed on Bolshevik activities.

Very truly yours,

For the Director of Military Intelligence,

W. W. HICKS,
Major, U. A. C.,
Chief, M.I.A.

bmd

Nov. 11-17 20
Hgm.

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525

The Emma Goldman Papers

810331004

[Memorandum] 1920 Nov. 9 [Washington, D.C. to] Military Attache, Berne, Switzerland / [Dennis E. Nolan] Director, Military Intelligence [Division, War Department].—
1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The director of Military Intelligence asks the military attache in Switzerland where he obtained a proclamation in Russian.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810331023. For report and enclosure mentioned, see 810331010 and 810331022. For related document, see 810331005 and 810331006.

10058-515
M. I. 10.

10058-515-676-
JVA/KLO
8
MAR 20
232

November 9, 1920.

From: Director of Military Intelligence.
To: Military Attache, Berne, Switzerland.
Subject: Bolshevist propaganda.

1. Reference is made to your report No. 2054 of February 28, 1920, and enclosure.

2. Herewith is copy of a translation made in the Department of Justice, with comments by the translator which cast some doubt upon the authenticity of the document.

3. It is suggested that you may be able to secure information throwing further light on these points.

For the Director of Military Intelligence,

SHERMAN HILES,
Major, General Staff,
Chief, M. I. 5.

1 encl.
bml

RECEIVED MAR 20 1921

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526

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Nov. 20 [Washington, D.C. to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, [Washington, D.C.] / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 33 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Hoover asks Hurley to verify a newspaper report that Goldman and Berkman have fled Soviet Russia.

Notes: For reply, see 891216036.

COPY

from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

186233-13

November 20, 1920.

W. L. Hurley, Esq.,

Department of State.

Dear Mr. Hurley:

I have noted in the "New York American" for November 18, 1920, an article headed "Goldman and Berkman Flee From Russia". This article is a dispatch from the Universal Service and apparently emanates from Washington, setting forth the fact that Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman have made a hurried exit from Russia after a disagreement with Trotzky and Lenine and are now in the Ukraine.

I would appreciate it if you could obtain any confirmation of this report from our foreign representative, in order that we may be kept fully informed upon the migratory expeditions of Goldman and her consort Berkman.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. E. Hoover.

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

RECORDED

186233-13-256

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|--------------------------|
| DEPT. OF JUSTICE |
| NOV 22 1920 A. M. |
| MAILS AND FILES DIVISION |

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527

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1920 Dec. 9, Washington [D.C. to] J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to [the] Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State. — 1 p. ; 33 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Hurley is unable to confirm a newspaper report of Goldman and Berkman's departure from Russia.

Notes: Reply to 891216035.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

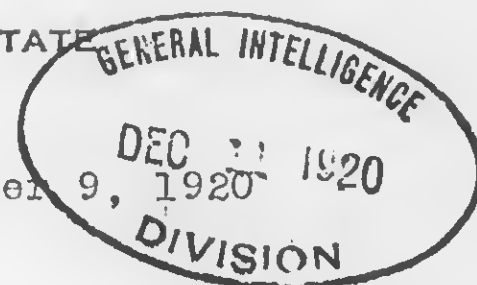
Records of the Department of Justice
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

December 9, 1920



J. E. Hoover, Esquire,

Special Assistant to Attorney General,

Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.

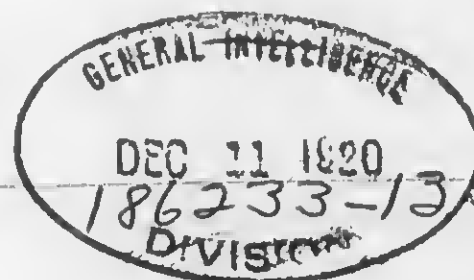
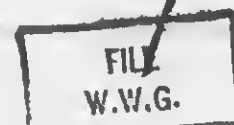
NOTE
J.E.H.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Please refer to your letter of November 20 in which you requested information confirming a report that Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman have made a hurried exit from Russia after a disagreement with Trotsky and Lenin, and who are now supposed to be on their way to the Ukraine. I would advise you that we have been unable thus far to obtain any information that would tend to verify this report. I shall not fail to communicate with you immediately in case anything is received which would prove of interest to your Department.

Very truly yours,

W. L. Hurley



RECORDED

528

The Emma Goldman Papers

850418002

Reds U.S. Deported Attempt to Blow Up Soviet Government — 21 cm. In
[Washington Post (Dec. 12, 1920)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The Washington Post reports that two people deported with Goldman and Berkman are in a Moscow jail on bombing charges.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible.

Reds U. S. Deported Attempt to Blow Up Soviet Government

Washington Post, Dec. 12, '20
(By the Associated Press.)

Members of the party deported nearly a year ago on the "soviet ark" Buford with Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman have attempted to blow up officials of the Russian soviet government, according to information received yesterday at the Department of Justice. The advices said Marcus Orodowsky and Arthur Kattles were in jail at Moscow for attempting to plant bombs in a building occupied by the general executive committee of the soviet government there.

Schnabel, formerly head of the union Russian workmen, the reports said, had been killed by the Japanese in Siberia while engaged in railroad work there. Peter Branky was reported to have entered the ranks of the communist party and to be in the international propaganda bureau at Petrograd. Hyman Perkins was said to be employed in Odessa, both the Schatz brothers in Kief, Kushneroff working in the soviet bureau in Moscow and Paul Kovaloff working on a tugboat near Petrograd.

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529

The Emma Goldman Papers

890825000

Martens' Deportation — 28 cm. *In* [Washington Post (Dec. 18, 1920)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: An editorial writer deplores the delays of Ludwig Martens's deportation. He expects Martens will appeal his deportation, as did Goldman and Berkman.

Notes: From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

Washington Post,
December 18, 1920.

Martens' Deportation

After many weary months of delay Secretary of Labor Wilson has ordered the deportation of Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, who has posed as the soviet ambassador to the United States. The official verdict is that Martens is an alien and affiliated with an organization which advocates the overthrow of the United States by force. So the bolshevik representative must be sent back to Russia, but the blow of this edict is softened by the express instructions of Secretary Wilson that "he must be treated with the utmost courtesy and given the best available accommodations in transit," for which, of course, the United States government will pay. This excessive consideration for the comfort of Martens is so touching that Secretary Wilson might have gone further and requested the Navy Department to place a cruiser at Martens' disposal to carry him back to Lenine.

This order of Secretary Wilson does not end the case, since it is anticipated that Martens will appeal to the courts, as did Berkman, Goldman and the rest of the anarchist crew who were shipped out on the Buford. But in view of the strong case against Martens made out by the Department of Justice there seems little likelihood that the deportation order will be overruled.

The hesitancy displayed by the Department of Labor in reaching a conclusion in this case was past all understanding to those conversant with the facts. Martens' impudence in assuming to be the ambassador of the soviet government of Russia, with which the American government has no relations whatever and which has been denounced in severest terms by the American Secretary of State, was monumental. When it was established definitely that he was hand in glove with the bolshevist organizations which connived to substitute soviet rule in the United States for existing government and that he was spreading bolshevist propaganda broadcast in the land, there remained no reason why he should not be ordered out. Yet through some incomprehensible influence he lingered on, and when the order for his deportation came it was accompanied by solicitous provisions for his comfort not justified by the circumstances. Final disposition of the case is much to be desired.

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530

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum in re:] International Bolshevik Congress of Moscow [1921? Jan.?] /
[Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The State Department notes that Goldman and Berkman participated in the international congress in Moscow.

9860
3 Copies made.

ADD
100-8-342
105
WAR DEPARTMENT
31 DEC

C O P Y .

On the subject of

THE INTERNATIONAL BOLSHEVIST CONGRESS OF MOSCOW.

The following persons took part in the international bolshevist
Congress of Moscow:

AMERICA: Alexander BERGMANN, Emma GOLDMAN (both ex-anarchists).

courier service
Chiefs of the ~~mail service~~ ~~messenger or courier service?~~: AL-

PEROWITSCH and Michel LOMOW.

Financial director for foreign propaganda: STRUMICHIN.

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531

The Emma Goldman Papers

810331038

[Telegram] 1921 Jan. 8, Ft. McPherson, Ga. [to] Military Intelligence Division, War Department, Washington [D.C.] / Chaffee [Military Intelligence Division? War Department]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Chaffee reports that Flora Clark is in Atlanta.

Notes: For related report, see 810331037.

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
WASHINGTON

Original for action

1261 10111-2260 24

COPY OF TELEGRAM

Ft. McPherson, Georgia.
Dated January 8, 1921.
Recd. January 8, 3:05 p.m.

C O D E

Milstaff,

Washington.

No. 11.

✓ In Atlanta now is a woman named Mrs. Flora Clark who closely corresponds to description of Miss Eva Adams, alias Eva Zlotchever, given by 9th Corps Area. Request that any record of Flora Clark, believed to have been under surveillance at Camp Custer winter of 1917 - 1918, be sent.

C H A F F E E

bbm

532

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—[Proposed] Return to the United States, Pittsburgh, Pa., 192[1] Jan. 1[2?] / [Agent 1076, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

Obtained from

Summary: An undercover agent reports that Goldman wrote Stella Ballantine that she wanted to leave Russia. She plans to marry a New York *World* correspondent and return as an American citizen.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; portions illegible. Incorrectly dated 1920.

Report Form No. 1

| | | | |
|------|-----------------|---------------|----------|
| 1920 | Pittsburgh, Pa. | Jan. 14, 1920 | 173:1,73 |
| | | | 1920. |

In re: Emma Goldman
Proposed Return to the United States.

At New York, N. Y.

In all of the letters which Emma Goldman has written to her friends in this country, the one most prevalent, and that is that she is not getting along in Russia and does not find this situation ideal to her liking.

In the confidential six-page letter which was sent by personal courier to Stella Dorn by Emma Goldman, she states that she positively must get out of Russia and that arrangements are being made for her to get out. She stated that for some time the New York *World* had a correspondent in Russia, and that this correspondent had been with her and her husband at every opportunity and had become a close friend of theirs.

She stated that for some time the New York *World* have been working to make some arrangements for her to return to this country and that they had hit upon a scheme of her marrying a Russian-born citizen. He would have the backing of an organization of importance in Russia and would be able to protect her when she returned here.

She stated that the New York *World* would like to arrange through this correspondent to land her in New York, her experiences there, etc., and that they were willing to go to any means to assist her and that the New York *World*, for this assistance, is willing to give her rights exclusively to them. She therefore decided to go and connect with this newspaper at - who is a single man - to help her in Russia or in case of the

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533

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—[Proposed] Return to the United States, Pittsburgh, Pa., 192[1] Jan. 1[2?] / [Agent 1076, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

Obtained from

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Notes: Broken type; light copy; portions illegible. Incorrectly dated 1920.

Page 2

In re: Emma Goldman
Proposed Return to the United States
1/5:1/10-1920

country near there, and return to this country as his wife and an American citizen. She stated that said proposition had met with the sincere and instant approval of the correspondent, and that he had sent this proposition to the New York *World* in the same envelope who had brought this confidential letter to Stella. Stella stated she felt very optimistic in regard to this proposition, and stated that if the New York *World* does not deem it advisable to go to this extreme at this time to get her story, that the correspondent will get it from the New York *World* - marry her and complete his story accordingly.

As above stated, Stella feels very optimistic as to the outcome of this scheme, and knowing the New York *World* for their past veracity, it would not be surprising if the attempt would be made.

Stella has held conferences with a number of the best liberal attorneys in New York, as to whether the United States Government could in any way keep Emma out if she should attempt to return in this way. She states that they all advised her that there would be no grounds on which to exclude Emma from this country.

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534

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Jan. 13, Washington, D.C. [to] Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor, Washington [D.C.] / J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 20 × 20 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Hoover notifies Caminetti that Goldman plans to marry an American citizen and return to the United States.

Notes: For response, see 830214023. For original report, see 870708000.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

52410
43

January 13, 1921.

Honorable Anthony Caminetti,

Commissioner-General of Immigration,

Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

My dear Sir:



MAILED FILES

Information has been received from a reliable and confidential source that EMMA GOLDMAN, the notorious anarchist who was deported by order of the Secretary of Labor in December 1919, contemplates marriage with an American citizen who is at the present time in Russia as a representative of the New York World. It is her expectation that by such an act it will enable her to return to this country. This information is submitted to you in order that, if you deem it advisable, you may advise the various immigration officers of the plans of this individual.

Very truly yours,

J. E. Hoover

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

action was taken
Jan 16 - 1921

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535

The Emma Goldman Papers

810331003

[Letter] 1921 Jan. 14, Washington, D.C. [to Dennis E.] Nolan, Director, Military Intelligence [Division] War Department, Washington [D.C.] / J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Hoover notifies the director of Military Intelligence that both Louise Bryant and Emma Goldman may return to the United States.

Notes: For original report, see 870708000.

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

JAN 15 1921
10058-94
147
WAR DEPARTMENT
328X

January 14, 1921.

Attention Major Hicks.

Brigadier General C. E. Nolan,
Director of Military Intelligence,
War Department, Washington.

My dear General:

I am in receipt of reliable information from a confidential source that LOUISE BRYANT, wife of JOHN REED, who has been in Russia as correspondent for the International News, will shortly depart for the United States, endeavoring to enter this country by way of Canada. I have also received information from the same source that EMMA GOLDMAN contemplates marrying an American citizen who is at the present time in Russia, representing the "New York World", which she considers will enable her to be admitted to the United States.

Any information which you may be able to obtain upon either of these situations, I would appreciate being forwarded to me specially.

Very truly yours,

J. E. Hoover
Special Assistant to the Attorney General

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536

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Jan. 14, Washington, D.C. [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington [D.C.] / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hoover notifies Hurley that both Louise Bryant and Goldman may return to the United States soon.

Notes: For reply, see 891216037. Same letter as 810331003, sent to different person.

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

January 14, 1921.

W. L. Hurley, Esq.,
Department of State,
Washington.

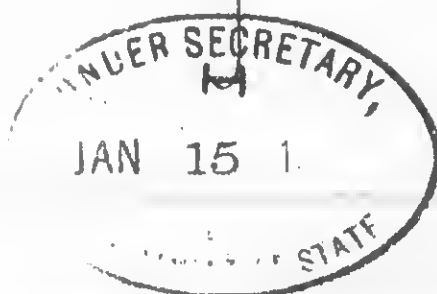
Dear Mr. Hurley:

I am in receipt of reliable information from a confidential source that LOUISE BRYANT, wife of JOHN REED, who has been in Russia as correspondent for the International News, will shortly depart for the United States, endeavoring to enter this country by way of Canada. I have also received information from the same source that EMMA GOLDMAN contemplates marrying an American citizen who is at the present time in Russia, representing the "New York World", which she considers will enable her to be admitted to the United States.

Any information which you may be able to obtain upon either of these situations, I would appreciate being forwarded to me specially.

Very truly yours,

J. E. Hoover
Special Assistant to the Attorney General.



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537

The Emma Goldman Papers

810331037

[Letter] 1921 Jan. 15 [Washington, D.C. to] L[ewis?] J. Baley, Chief, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / [Dennis E. Nolan] Director, Military Intelligence Division [War Department]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Nolan notifies Baley that Eva Adams, Goldman's cousin, is in Los Angeles collecting subscriptions to *Revolution*.

Notes: For related document, see 810331038.

PLANE COPY OF STATE
MIL. INTELL. DIV.

1921

10110-2260

JAN 17

WAR DEPARTMENT

729X

January 15, 1921.

Mr. L. J. Baley,
Chief, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Baley:

We are in receipt of information from a reliable source that Miss Eva Adams, alias Eva Zlotchever, a cousin of Emma Goldman and a close relative of Alexander Berkman, has, according to reports, made her appearance in Los Angeles. It is rumored that she is an organizer of revolutionist activities and a representative of "Revolution" a New York radical paper. She is getting most of her subscriptions in the vicinity of Los Angeles from Italians, Mexicans, and Spaniards. It is understood that on this trip she will cover most of the states before her return to the East.

Very truly yours,

For the Director, Military Intelligence Division:

MATTHEW C. SMITH,
Colonel, General Staff,
Chief, Negative Branch.

tk

DELIVERED TO DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

JAN 18 1921

M. A. Harvey
M. I. D.

Information contained in this letter was taken from the Weekly Situation Survey - 8th Corps Area, dated January 3, 1921 - No. 255-D-18.

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538

The Emma Goldman Papers

830214023

[Letter] 1921 Jan. 18 [Washington, D.C. to] Commissioners of Immigration [Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Montreal, Boston, Ellis Island, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New Orleans / Alfred Hamp[ton] Acting Commissioner Gene[ral], Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor]. — 1 p. ; 24 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Hampton notifies immigration officials at various ports of entry that Goldman may return married to an American citizen. He instructs them not to admit her without first informing him.

Notes: Bleedthrough; dark copy. Response to 830214024.

No. 52410/43.

January 18, 1921.

Copies to
Commissioners of Immigration, Montreal, Boston, Ellis Island,
Philadelphia, Baltimore and New Orleans.
Inspectors in Charge, Norfolk, Jacksonville and Galveston.

Information, reputed to have come from a reliable and confidential source, has reached the Bureau to the effect that Emma Goldman, deported from the United States on the U. S. S. "Buford," on December 21, 1919, and who is now in Russia, contemplates marriage with an American citizen (name unknown) who is in Russia at the present time, it being her intention to thereupon embark for the United States.

As Emma Goldman was deported Under the Act of October 16, 1918, there is a possibility that the Department of Justice would be disposed to endeavor to bring about a prosecution of her, under the terms of Section 3 of that Act, should she return. It is also possible that that Department would wish to have raised, with a view to having the matter authoritatively determined by the courts, the question of whether or not she could acquire citizenship, under the circumstances, by reason of marriage to a citizen of the United States. Therefore, should she arrive at a port of this country, the Bureau would like to be advised, by telegram, before any action looking to her admission is taken.

EXACT COPY AS STATED BY ALFRED HAMPTON

MAILED

WJPH:EM

Acting Commissioner General

Confidential

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

539

The Emma Goldman Papers

810402122

[Letter] 1921 Feb. 1 [Washington, D.C. to] L[ewis?] J. Baley, Chief, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / [Dennis E. Nolan] Director, Military Intelligence Division [War Department]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Nolan informs Baley that Yetta Gabin, a former associate of Goldman, is organizing radical female propagandists in Chicago.

10110-1946
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16

FEB 6 1921

WAR DEPARTMENT

328X

February 1, 1921.

Mr. L. J. Baley,
Chief, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Baley:

A recent report has been received to the effect that the United Communist Party is organizing a corps of radical female propagandists in Chicago under the leadership of Yetta Gabin, a former associate of Emma Goldman. Miss Gabin's assistant is Mrs. C. V. Cook now employed at the headquarters of the Farmer Labor Party. It is expected that 25 female workers will be placed in the field as soon as industrial conditions improve.

Very truly yours,

For the Director, Military Intelligence Division.

MATHEW C. SMITH,
Colonel, General Staff,
Chief, Negative Branch.

hcr.

DELIVERED TO DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEB 3 1921

Matthew C. Smith

M. C. S.

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540

The Emma Goldman Papers

891216037

[Letter] 1921 Feb. 12, Washington [D.C. to] J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, [Washington, D.C.] / W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.
Summary: Hurley advises Hoover that he has no information on either Goldman or Louise Bryant's plans to return to the United States.

COPY

from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE
Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D.C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

February 12, 1921.

J. E. Hoover, Esquire,
Special Assistant to the Attorney General,
Department of Justice:

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Please refer to your letter of January 14 relative to the desire of Emma Goldman to return to this country, and also to your statement that Louise Bryant will shortly depart for the United States endeavoring to enter this country by way of Canada.

I would advise you that a thorough search of the records of this Department fail to throw any light on either of these situations. However, I shall not fail to advise you should any information come to hand.

Very truly yours,

W. L. Hurley



186233-13-259

RECORDED

541

The Emma Goldman Papers

810402120

[Letter] 1921 Feb. 14, Washington [D.C. to] Dennis E. Nolan [Director] Military Intelligence Division, War Department, [Washington, D.C.] / W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Hurley sends the director of Military Intelligence information about James Hajek.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810402121. For related document, see 810331117.

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



In reply refer to
U-H/

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

February 14, 1921.

Dear General Nolan:

With reference to previous correspondence regarding JAMES HAJEK, alias COUNT POTOCKI, I would advise you that I have been informed by a reliable source in Prague, under date of January 12, 1921, that it is understood that Hajek was born in Bohemia and that he bears an American passport. He went to Canada from America and finally found himself in England. It is also reported that he has recently been doing intelligence work in Prague for the British.

For your information I enclose herewith a copy and summary of pamphlets he has written and had printed, probably in this country, outlining a most thrilling record while in the employ of the Department of Justice and the Navy. Of course, these enclosures will have to be taken with a grain of salt.

Very truly yours,

Enclosures:
Pamphlets.

Brig. Gen. Dennis E. Nolan, U. S. A.,
Military Intelligence Division,
War Department.

542

The Emma Goldman Papers

810113038

[Letter] 1921 Feb. 24 [Washington, D.C. to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General [Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Hoover notifies Hurley that Harry Weinberger has applied for a passport to Eastern Europe.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

186233-13

JEH-EMR

February 24, 1921.

W. L. Hurley, Esq.,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hurley:

My attention has just been called to the fact that Harry Weinberger, the attorney for Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman and the legal representatives of many anarchists and Communists in the United States, has applied for a passport to certain European countries adjacent to Soviet Russia. I am bringing this to your attention in order that you may make such inquiries into the matter as you deem advisable.

I have had one inquiry of a rather significant nature in connection with the passport application of Sidney Hilman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers fame. The person inquiring is attached to the Department but in no way connected with the work of this office and I am frank to admit that his inquiry has created in my mind some suspicion as to the motive actuating the same. I would appreciate being advised as to any developments in the Hilman case which may come to your attention in the Department of State, particularly as to individuals who may interest themselves in obtaining a passport for this person.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. E. Hoover.

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

186233-13-258

RECORDED

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543

The Emma Goldman Papers

830523033

Cancels Warrant Against Martens — 28 cm. In [Washington Post (Feb. 26, 1921)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: The Washington Post reports that the Department of Labor canceled the deportation order of Ludwig Martens and Gregory Weinstein, but not those of Goldman and Berkman.

Notes: From FBI, J. Edgar Hoover Memorabilia Collection.

CANCELS WARRANT AGAINST MARTENS

Labor Department, However,
Denies Soviet "Envoy" May
Return to U. S.

Wash Post 2/26/21
ALSO DROPS WEINSTEIN CASE

Counsel for Deported Men Insists
Action Permits Them to Come
Back—Both Now in Russia.

New York, Feb. 25 (By the Associated Press).—The Department of Labor has canceled its warrant of arrest and order of deportation against Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, recently deported "ambassador" of the Russian soviet government, his counsel Charles Recht, announced today. This gives Martens a "clean slate" and makes him free to return immediately to America, he asserted.

Gregory Weinstein, Martens' deported secretary, also was cleared, according to Mr. Recht, who said he received a telegram yesterday from the Department of Labor, announcing that the two men "having been deported and having arrived in Russia, the warrant of arrest and deportation order against them has been canceled."

New Warrant Possible, He Says.

Mr. Recht said that it had not been his intention to make known this action until he had consulted the Department of Labor, but explained that in "some mysterious manner" the blue-penciling of the formal charges against Martens and Weinstein had leaked out and had been published in a foreign-language newspaper here.

"Martens and Weinstein are given a clean slate and are free to return to the United States at any time," he added. "Of course, another warrant of arrest and deportation order could be issued against them after their arrival."

Deny He Is Free to Return.

Officials of the Department of Labor acknowledged last night that the warrant of arrest and order of deportation against Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, the Russian soviet agent who was recently deported, had been canceled, as announced in New York by his counsel, Charles Recht, but denied that this action would serve to permit his return to the United States. The same laws which operated to expel Martens, they said, would serve to exclude him from this country in the future.

Although Martens was never recognized as the ambassador of soviet Russia, department officials said, he was recognized as a representative of that country and as such it was felt that he merited certain consideration. Orders previously had been issued, they explained, that he be shown every courtesy and consideration and upon the receipt of official advice that he had arrived in Russia, the warrant was canceled.

Washington Post,
February 26, 1921.

Warrants for deported aliens have previously been canceled, the officials added, so that the action in this case was not without precedent. Inquiry, however, developed that the warrants of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, who were deported several months ago, never have been canceled by the department.

The same considerations which applied to Martens, it was said, had led to similar action in the case of Gregory Weinstein, his secretary, who was deported with him.

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544

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1921 March 12 [Washington, D.C.? to J. Edgar] Hoover [Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / S. R. [Department of Justice?]. — 1 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: An assistant to Hoover informs him that Pat Quinlan has returned to the United States and reports that Goldman wants to leave Russia.

COPY

from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 60

General Records of the Department of Justice

D. J. Central Files — Straight Numerical Files

File Number 133149

133149
March 12, 1921

Saturday afternoon

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HOOVER:

Noted
F.D.W.

At noon today Mr. Skully called on the telephone and advised that he had just talked with Mr. West in Boston over the long distance; that Mr. West said that Pat Quinlan entered the United States under his own name on a U.S. Emergency passport, No. 372, issued to him at Copenhagen. That he was coming back to the United States for no reason other than to write; that before leaving, he met Emma Goldman who told him that she would rather spend her whole life in the penitentiary here than remain in Russia another year.

Mr. Skully stated that this was practically all the information on this subject.

S. R.

RECORDED

NOTED
G.F.B.

MAY 31 1921

133149-11

545

The Emma Goldman Papers

820331002

General Intelligence Bulletin No. 44, week of April 2, 1921 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] / [Department of Justice]. — 3 p. ; 35 x 22 cm.

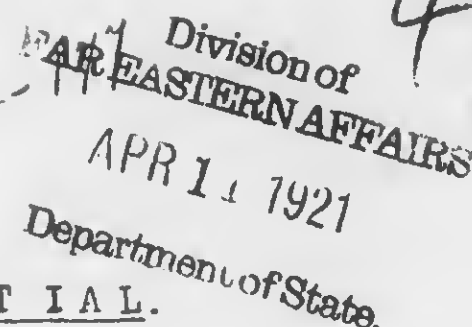
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The General Intelligence Bulletin reports that Louis Post has been speaking before liberal organizations about political deportations, the Salsedo case, and the communist raids. He minimized Goldman and Berkman's dangerousness.

COPY

from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Dept. of State
Office of the Counselor, 1918-1927
File Number 504-177



~~STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.~~

~~DIV. OF RUSSIAN AFFAIRS,~~

~~APR 11 1921~~

~~GENERAL INTELLIGENCE BULLETIN~~

~~DEPARTMENT OF STATE~~

No. 44
Copy: 10

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

APR 13 1921

INDEX.

WESTERN EUROPEAN

APR 16 1921
Week of April 2, 1921.
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS.

| | |
|--|--------|
| Note | Page 1 |
| United Communist Party | 1 |
| Communist Party of America | 2 |
| I. W. W. | 3 |
| Socialist Activities | 3 |
| Miscellaneous Organizations: | |
| Amalgamated Clothing Workers | 4 |
| American Civil Liberties Union | 4 |
| American Red Star League | 5 |
| Church League for Industrial Democracy | 5 |
| Disabled American Veterans of the | |
| World War ... | 6 |
| Independent Propaganda League | 6 |
| Inter-Collegiate Liberal League | 6 |
| International Council of Trade and | |
| Industrial Unions | 7 |
| National Foundation and International | |
| Educational Society | 8 |
| Political Amnesty Committee | 8 |
| Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee | 8 |
| III Russia All Colonial Convention .. | 9 |
| Unemployment League | 9 |
| Union of Russian Workers | 9 |
| Workers Relief Society | 9 |
| World War Veterans | 9 |
| Individuals | 12 |
| Unemployment | 12 |
| Japanese Activities | 12 |
| Mexican Activities | 15 |
| Russians Leaving the United States | 16 |
| International | 17 |
| Russia | 17 |
| Finland | 19 |
| Great Britain | 20 |
| Turkey | 20 |

RETURN TO U-H
FILE
504-177

546

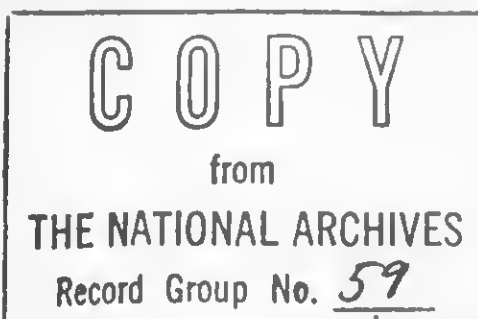
The Emma Goldman Papers

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General Records of the Dept. of State
Office of the Counselor, 1918-1927
File Number 504-177

-9-

THIRD RUSSIAN ALL COLONIAL CONVENTION.

Reports are beginning to arrive from the field offices indicating what had been expected, — that the various delegates at the convention grossly exaggerated the membership and financial standing of their organization.

UNEMPLOYMENT LEAGUE.

JACOB FELMARK, a Communist whose deportation proceedings were cancelled, has been very active in Chicago and nearby cities organizing what is known as the "Unemployment League of Russians". A small organization has been formed in Milwaukee and several meetings held where attempts were made for free rent, light and gas. The organization also is known as the "Ex-Service and Unemployed League". It is referred to in a previous bulletin showing the various demands.

UNION OF RUSSIAN WORKERS.

It has been learned through a confidential source that a number of members of this organization are carrying revolvers and one of the leaders has made the statement that the American Policeman must be shown that the Russian anarchists mean business.

WORKERS' RELIEF SOCIETY.

This organization continues to be active particularly in Baltimore where it has purchased a number of bonds issued by the Union of Russian Workers, the proceedings of the sale to purchase a printing machine for "Amerikanskaya Izvestia".

WORLD WAR VETERANS.

This organization is holding meetings in the Rand School in New York and have their offices at the headquarters of the Civil Liberties Bureau. At a recent meeting, NORMAN THOMAS acted as chairman and BENJAMIN SCHLOSSBERG and one MISS MC DONALD spoke. ROGER BALDWIN and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN are active in the organization.

INDIVIDUALS.

LOUIS F. POST, former Assistant Secretary of Labor, and apostle of the radicals, has been making addresses during the week, appearing twice in Boston. On the 23rd he appeared before the Harvard Students' Liberal Club, — the organization of ZACHARIAH CHAFEE, JUDGE AMDERSON, and other "pinks". During this address he made some statements which would be humorous had they come from a confessed radical. For instance, he told the Liberal Club that practically all of the appropriation for detection and prosecution of crimes, allotted to the

547

The Emma Goldman Papers

820331002

General Intelligence Bulletin No. 44, week of April 2, 1921 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] / [Department of Justice]. — 3 p. ; 35 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The General Intelligence Bulletin reports that Louis Post has been speaking before liberal organizations about political deportations, the Salsedo case, and the communist raids. He minimized Goldman and Berkman's dangerousness.

COPY
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Dept. of State
Office of the Counselor, 1918-1927
File Number 504-177

-10-

Department of Justice, is used as a salary for private detective agencies hired by the Department. Also that during the Communist raids, the chains used to chain the aliens in Boston alone, when piled upon the floor, made a pile up to one's waist. He also used the old radical argument in connection with SALSEDO, stating "now do we know he humped out of the window? There are several ways of getting out; he might have walked out, he might have been taken in a swoon and fell out, or he might have been thrown out". This is a good indication of Post's mental makeup. He also referred to EMMA GOLDMAN and BERKMAN. He said the worst that could be said about them was that Goldman had said she was an anarchist, and that Berkman had once shot a man but had served his term and had been living in this country as a peaceful resident. This is another indication of Post's mental makeup. The Harvard Liberal Club was a fitting setting for Post's address and it was felt that he could not be out of the service long without connecting with the bunch of parlor bolsheviks and notoriety seekers which he had so much favored during his occupancy of the office of Assistant Secretary of Labor. Of course, he was cordially received and has been accepted into the fold of the "modern intellectuals". An interesting side-light on this organization will be found under the title "Miscellaneous Organizations", - "Inter-Collegiate Liberal League".

BENJAMIN GITLOW, formerly N.Y. State assemblyman who was recently sentenced to not less than five years in prison under the State Criminal Anarchy Act, came before the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court on the first of April. Justice Laughlin for the entire court affirmed the conviction. In his opinion he takes a stand directly opposed to that of Judge Anderson in the COLYER CASE.

DR. ISAAC A. HOURWICH, formerly Counsel for Martens, and his Bureau, together with J. W. HARTMAN, editor of "Soviet Russia", are active on behalf of the Society for Relief of Soviet Russia. Recently Hartman has been in the middle west active among the Communists.

According to press reports, ERRICO MALATESTA, the well-known anarchist leader who is now confined in prison in Milan, where he has been since last October, has declared a hunger strike. Malatesta is at least 66 years of age. He is becoming very weak and his condition is critical. It is expected that he will not survive.

FLOYD RAMP, referred to in last week's bulletin, continues to be active in the middle west giving particular attention to unemployment and labor unrest.

JACOB ABRAMS, HYMAN LACHOWSKY, SAMUEL LIPMAN and MOLLIE STEIMER are known to the field. Their sentences of twenty and fifteen years respectively, with certain fines, have been commuted so that within a comparatively short time they will be released, subject to deportation provided the Department of Labor orders the deportation. In any event, it is deemed advisable that the field offices have on file likenesses of these individuals. Therefore, the same appear on the following page.

548

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 April 23, Beverley Hills, Calif. [to] Harry [M.] Daugherty, Attorney General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / W[illia]m B. Joyce.—
1 p.; 35 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Joyce thinks the Justice Department should allow Goldman back into the United States to describe her dissatisfaction with Russia.

Notes: For enclosure, see 891216008.

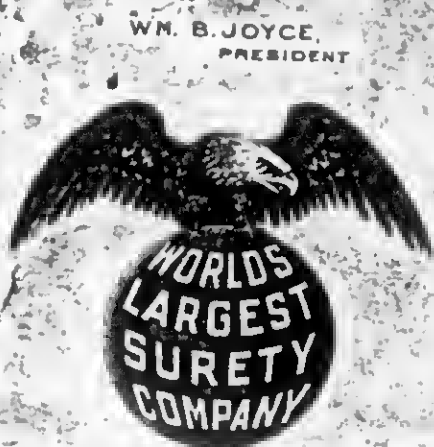
COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)



W. B. JOYCE,
PRESIDENT

WE BOND MORE PEOPLE THAN ANY OTHER COMPANY IN THE WORLD

National Surety Company

CAPITAL AND SURPLUS OVER \$10,000,000.00

file New York 186233-13

CATESBY C. THOM
MANAGER
WILLIAM M. CURRAN
ASSISTANT MANAGER
(AUTHORITY LIMITED)
702-4-6 CITIZENS NAT'L BANK BLDG.
NORTHWEST COR. 5TH AND SPRING STS.
TELEPHONES 13754
MAIN 6859

ROSCOMERESOCAL

Beverly Hills, California,
April 23, 1921.

Hon. Harry J. Daugherty,
Attorney-General,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Daugherty:

Note the enclosed, about Emma Goldman wanting to come back to this country.

I think it might be well for you to consider having her come back if she will agree to tell the people all about the rotten conditions existing in Russia. It certainly would disillusion a lot of these radicals and probably would be a very great factor in putting an end to the "Red" agitation in this country.

With best wishes,

Very truly yours,

W. B. Joyce

EJ

Enclosure.

RECORDED

186233-13-260

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549

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Emma Goldman on Russia] — 36 cm. In [unknown periodical (April? 23? 1921, fragment)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: A newspaper reports an interview with Mr. Rubin, recently returned from Russia, who describes Goldman's desire to return to America.

Notes: Dark copy. Enclosed with 891216007.

COPY
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE
Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

Mr. Rubin, who had been in Russia for some time, told Emma Goldman that the revolution in Russia was not as successful as it was supposed to be. He said that the only places where they might meet with a little success are Odesa, Kiev and Charkoff, which have not yet been made Soviet strongholds. Mr. Rubin told Emma Goldman that he was working for the Government, compiling data on the industrial movement since the present Government has been established. They are both very much dissatisfied with their lot and Miss Goldman has complained to the interviewer frequently that she was sorry she left America. He said:

"But you have free speech now and should be satisfied," Mr. Rubin said to her.

"I regret it," was her reply.

In the course of her conversation with him, she said:

"Mr. Rubin, if you use your influence in getting me back to America I promise I'll be a good little girl." Emma is only one out of many who has seen the mistake in Bolshevism," said the former Socialist.

Every one in Russia is eyed with suspicion by every one else. Even Americans in Moscow refuse to talk openly to other supposed Americans for fear they might be spies. Mr. Rubin said that he was no different from the others. When it became known that he had a brother who is an officer in the American Organization of Labor and a daughter who had been active in collecting money for the various drives in this country during the war, he was looked upon by every one with suspicion. But when they learned that he had sent a letter to a St. Louis newspaper saying that he was disappointed with practical socialism, their suspicion became greater and he was thought to be a spy.

Surrounded by spies, Mr. Rubin said, I know I would be shot if I let them know what I thought of them. He said he decided to be careful with whom he spoke. One day a man who said his name was Williams came to me and declared he too was an American and occupied the room next to mine. When he began denouncing the Government and praised America, I realized he was a spy, so I praised Russia and complained for conditions in America. I thought I had convinced him that apparently I had no opinion of my own.

Regularly every week the Rubins' room was entered either while he was out during the day or at night while he was asleep, and the raiders searched for papers which they thought he might have in his possession. He was out of prison three times while he was in Moscow, he declared, but was never longer than one night.

Mr. Rubin, however, is not a Communist, he said, for he was forced to join the Communist Party at the time he was in Russia.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871102008

General Intelligence Bulletin No. 52, week ending May 28, 1921 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] / [Department of Justice].— 2 p. ; 31 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The Justice Department's General Intelligence Bulletin reports that Goldman wants to leave Russia.

Notes: Dark copy. Enclosed with 871102009.

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WAR DEPARTMENT

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STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE BULLETIN.

No. 52.

For the week ending May 28, 1921.

Copy: 70

I N D E X

| | Page |
|-----------------------------------|------|
| United Communist Party | 1 |
| Italian Anarchist | 3 |
| Anarchist Communists | 3 |
| Socialist Party | 3 |
| Miscellaneous organizations | 5 |
| Individuals | 10 |
| Mexican matters | 12 |
| Japanese Activities | 14 |
| German Propaganda | 29 |
| Russia | 29 |
| "The Liberator" | 31 |

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-18-

represented himself as in charge of the American Y.M.C.A. work in Manila had allied himself with the party (as travelers will). In Seoul had some trouble with his passports and BENEDUM and KIRKLAND nearly had blows with Japanese authorities over the treatment accorded BROWN. KIRKLAND said they saw BROWN thrown from a train and have heard nothing since as to what might have become of him. Thereafter at Shimoneseki, Kobe, Tokio and Yokohama, Benedum and Kirkland were harried by Japanese agents.

Arriving on the "Creole State", at the Port of San Francisco May 2nd., 1921;

L. M. FOSTER - This man who made his ways a mystery said that he could not talk for publication because of the importance of his mission abroad. He makes the following assertions:

Son of Jacob Foster; born in Iowa; speaks Russian fluently; married a daughter of General Charpentier, Russian; killed in battle; went to Russia two years ago; was with various Russian retreats at Petrograd, Ukraine, with Denikine in Caucasus, with Wrangell in Crimea; was last man to see Capt. EMMETT KILPATRICK before his capture by Bolsheviks; Says he knows Kilpatrick is in prison at Moscow; alleges Kilpatrick grew to anger and exceeded orders; says he saw Emma Goldman in Russia and that Emma wants to come back to United States.

His wife with him refused to pose; both made mystery of their hotel. They expect to go to Chicago and he can be found there through C. L. McQuire Co.,

Claimed that Russia is sick of Red rule.

Supposed to have sailed for Japan on the "Ventura" May 3, 1921:

THOMAS STAPLETON - This man for six years was head waiter on the Ocean Liner "Venture". We have confidential information that he acted for the British Secret Service for a time and then became quite radical. His last trip caused so much trouble that he was not reshipped and is now staying at the Alpine House, 480 Pine St. He is quoted as saying that he will be O. K. next trip and will again sign on with the Company.

Among the recent Japanese arrivals at the port of New York were the following:

S. S. "OLYMPIC"

SUZUKI YITARO: Age 41; occupation - chauffeur; had been living in Paris, France, and stated that he intended to remain permanently in the United States and will reside at 2345 Broadway, New York.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871102009

[Letter] 1921 June 4, Washington, D.C. [to] D[ennis] E. Nolan, Director, Military Intelligence [Division] War Department, Washington [D.C.] / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Hoover sends the General Intelligence Bulletin to the director of Military Intelligence.
Notes: Light copy; barely legible. For enclosure, see 871102008.

ADDRESS REPLY TO
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

June 4, 1921

Mr. Kan
Brigadier General L. E. Nolan

Director of Military Intelligence

War Department, Washington

My dear General:

I am inclosing herewith a copy of the General Intelligence Bulletin No. 10, for the week ending June 3, 1921.

Very truly yours,

J. E. Hoover

Special Assistant to the Attorney General

Incl.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

871102011

General Intelligence Bulletin No. 60, week ending July 23, 1921 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] / [Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 31 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The General Intelligence Bulletin notes that M.E. Fitzgerald is arranging the publication of the Yiddish translation of Berkman's *Prison Memoirs* and that she investigated the case of Leon Green, a communist who returned disillusioned from Russia.

Notes: nclosed with 871102010. For related document, see 810409019. Enclosed with 871102010. For related document, see 810409019.

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GENERAL INTELLIGENCE BULLETIN.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 60

Copy:

71

Week ending July 23, 1921.

INDEX.

| | Page |
|-----------------------------------|------|
| Communist Matters: | |
| At Home | 1 |
| Abroad | 8 |
| Anarchist Matters | 10 |
| Syndicalist matters | 11 |
| Miscellaneous Organizations | 13 |
| Individuals | 15 |
| Japanese Affairs | 17 |
| Mexican Situation | 28 |

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COMMUNIST MATTERS.

AT HOME: The "Penza" and "Tobolsk" case at New York is developing important because of the motive behind the filing of the bill. It has been admitted (confidentially) that the Soviet Government don't care what happens to the boats, if they can get a favorable ruling from the court. It is an admiralty proceeding to which the United States is not a party, but - being in a Federal court, the Soviet representative feels he can get a ruling from at least one branch of the government which will give them an entering wedge.

LEON GREEN of Chicago has been referred to previously because he went to Soviet Russia a Communist and returned to America thoroughly disgusted. He has openly attacked the Bolsheviks several times since his return. The Chicago radicals were much upset on account of his charges, and have ostracised him. Miss Fitzgerald, of New York, has lately been in Chicago in an endeavor to smooth matters out, because the communists charged Green as being an agent for a foreign government, - that's the best answer they could give.

Incidentally Miss Fitzgerald also was arranging for the publication of a new "memories of an anarchist" by Alexander Berkman, which is to be published in Yiddish or Hebrew (not known which, as yet) and a large fund for which has been subscribed by the Jewish radicals.

Runs on banks in the far Northeast recently are alleged to have been caused by Communists, who claimed they had sympathizers and agents in the banks, as well as in various government establishments, including the Department of Justice. It was co-incidental that depositors were called on the phone anonymously and advised of the amounts of their deposits or balances and advised to withdraw them. The Communists previously had boasted they knew the depositors and balances.

The new due stamps issued by the unified party have been distributed throughout the east.

When the S S "Eastern Tempest" docked at Philadelphia recently, several packages containing Bolshevik literature were found in the fore-castle, in a sack which evidently had been secreted by a courier who had belonged to the crew but had left ship before it left the last port en route to America. The literature included works in several languages, some addressed to individuals and organizations. The man responsible for the attempt has been reasonably identified as A. ALSEN, an Estonian, who had to be disciplined several times for leaving ship at Reval, Helsingfors and other places, and who, because of sudden illness, had to be left at Stockholm.

According to information from reliable sources, the communists are giving particular attention to the organization, and training of rifle clubs and is attempting to place trusted communists in positions in the powder mills and ammunition

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[Letter] 1921 July 26, New York [to Alexander Schapiro, Moscow? (government transcript)] / M. Eleanor Fitzgerald. — 7 p. ; 32 x 22 cm.

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Notes: Handwritten margin notes by State Department official. Enclosed with 810409018, 810409049, 810402125, and 810402129. For related document, see 871102011. For copy, see 810409047.

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General Records of the Department of State

Decimal File Number 311.6124 K47/8

45 Grove St., New York City,
July 26, 1921.

CLASSIFICATION CANCELED Authority: letter
of 1-8-58 from W. H. Anderson, State Dept.
By R. J. Heise Date 4-19-64

My dear Sasha:-

I have been away from New York for nearly a month and find your letter upon my return. Spent considerable time in Chicago on the Léon matter, and with my sister in Wisconsin. Found her very ill - now I must make arrangements to have her brought here for operation where I can look after her and at the same time attend to my work. I am telling you this because I did not have the time to do all the investigating for Leon that I needed.

It looks to me like a damn outrage and an attempt on the part of the Communists to discredit him. I can't help feeling this very strongly after following up some of the accusations and getting the facts. In such matters personal feelings do not enter into it so far as I am concerned, Sasha dear. I am telling you my feelings, impressions and facts that I was able to gather. I cabled you from Chicago after receiving Stella's letter telling me that she had received a letter from E.G. that E. had written you, Rucker and had also sent a letter for Harry K. These "friends of long standing" from whom E. gets her information are doubtless Ben Agursky (sometimes called Ben August, brother of Sam Agursky in R. - this Sam somehow seems to have sense enough to get back and forth across the water and acts as a good poodle dog for the C's) and the other is Bob Robins. Bob is a good fellow and means well, but is too apt to repeat rumors without actually finding out things for himself. Ben A. took with him to Russia a photograph of a letter written by this self-confessed detective Bailen stating that L is a spy for the Burns detective agency. Bailen made no charges against L at the time he gave out such a mass of accusations against so many in the radical and labor movement. It was only after Sam Agursky was here and gave out the information both here and in Chicago that L was arrested in R and if evidence could be found against doubtless would be shot.

These are the charges that Ben A took with him to Russia:

- 1) He had passport and went and came legally;
This I cannot answer very well until I see you in person.
There is no cause to worry about that accusation.
- 2) Two boys of ours were arrested and L. is accused of informing on them.

I was told by a person supposed to be reliable that one of the boys stated to him that L. was the only one who had knowledge of the affair. I saw the boy, talked with him personally, asked him if he had made such a statement to any one and if he felt that L. was responsible for their arrest. He told me that he never made such a statement - he found out that five others had knowledge of the affair - he did not know how many others had knowledge from others mixed up in the case consciously or unconsciously - that he always had the greatest confidence in L. still has - that people had come to him almost forcing him to accuse L. insisting on that "don't you think he is the one", and "would you trust him now knowing what you do" - the boy, after

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810409019

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- 2 -

being almost pushed to the wall, (those are his exact words to me) said, "noo I wouldn't trust any one as I have learned by experience". The boy said that his meaning had been misinterpreted and the statement went out that "he did not trust him". I cannot go into the details of this case, but I was entirely satisfied that L. could not possibly be accused of having a hand in bringing them to trouble.

3) Where does he get so much money for traveling?

Before L. made arrangements to go to R. he did some organizing work for a group of leather men - small shopkeepers, all of them workers themselves, handling soles, heels, etc. I saw many of these little shops on Halsted Street, in basements, small one-room stores, etc. L. also worked out some kind of a credit system whereby they could keep their accounts more systematically. Leon got them all together to agree on prices, plan of work, etc. - sort of a protection from the big wholesale dealers. I went to see the treasurer of this leather organization, who has a shop in a little store on Halsted street. He told me that L. received \$1600. for the work of organizing, \$75.00 a week salary and \$25.00 a week for expenses. This work was done by the consent of L's union - the Secretary of L's union told me this - and the girl that works in the office of the Retail Clerks Union (L's union) did the correspondence and helped L with the work for the leather men while she was doing the regular work for the Retail Clerks. In fact, one of the old members of the Retail Clerks told L. that there was a chance to pick up some extra money - that the leather men wanted him to organize their work. Leon said, all right - send them in. L. asked \$2000. and a weekly salary, but the leather men finally agreed to the amount stated above. L. was doing the work for his own union at the same time - the work for the leather men lasted for five or six weeks. L. receives \$75.00 a week from his own union. L. told me before he went to R. that he had made some extra money and was able to leave something for the children in case anything had happened to him. He didn't tell me particulars - I didn't ask for any - it was none of my business. But I made it my business to find out while I was in Chicago. L. tells me that it cost him practically nothing except while he was in Germany. Olga works in some dressmaking establishment and she receives \$75. weekly - I didn't have time to investigate this personally - but one of the friends in Chicago said that he saw one of her checks and it was for \$75.00.

The Secretary of the Union where L works could not say enough in L's praise. He told me that "our men just laugh at all these rumors and accusations - we know what he had done for us". When L. returned from R. they immediately asked him to come back into their union to work. L. told them that first he must go to Seattle - the union even advanced him money when he left for the Seattle trip, before he had started work for them again.

4) That he organized a bosses union to compete with his own union. I have explained this above. These little leather shops cannot in any way compete with the Retail Clerks. This accusation is absurd.

5) Confessed detective Bailon claims that L is a spy and that he knows L's number.

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- 3 -

This I have not been able to investigate. I am trying to get a letter from Uritz (Bailen's lawyer also lawyer for the Communists) asking Bailen to talk with me. Uritz has given Bailen instructions to give no reports or interviews without his consent. Bailen has made sweeping statements against a great many active persons in the radical and labor movement. I am told that some of the stories have proved to be true. Bailen also claims to have reports of Fraina who is now in Russia - says Fraina is a spy. Uritz, the lawyer in Chicago, who is using Bailen's material to defend the Communists, says himself that B is a d--n liar and a scoundrel, but some of his stuff is true. Bailen claims that he had reports of L to the Detective agency. It is not a difficult matter for spies to get the fac-simile signature stamp of union officials and stamp so-called reports with them. This has been done in the past, could be done again. The truth of it could be obtained only by having a handwriting expert go over the original signature. I would want good proof before I took any stock in Bailen's reports.

Bailen has also made reports against a man by the name of Bellow, an official in the progressive branch of the cigar makers' union - Bellow has been known as an Anarchist for the last fifteen or twenty years - E. knows him well. (I'm telling you about Bellows to show you how mixed up the whole Bailen matter is). Bailen claims that Bellow has given information about his union and that he "sold out the cigar-makers' strike". After Bailen had been paid \$200. he hands over reports against Bellow. The fact that Bailen received money for reports is not known by the lawyer (Uritz), or the men in the Jewish Forward office, in Chicago, who published Bailen's reports against Bellow. The man who says he paid Bailen \$200. told me that Bailen would not give reports until he had received money. An expert was called to go over the copies (photographs of reports), he said that he could tell nothing without the originals, and the lawyer refused to allow the originals out of his safe. When I told Siskin (one of the men in the Forward office) that it looked to me like a blackmailing affair on the part of Bailen and a means to get money for his own defense, Siskin said, "Oh no, he is not allowed by his lawyer to receive any money, that the lawyer would drop him immediately if he took money". I told Siskin that the man who gave Bailen \$200. for the reports claims that he would not give up the reports without first receiving money and that \$200. had been sent to Bailen. Siskin said, "this cannot be true". You can see from this how mixed up the whole business is, and even the men working together on the matter do not seem to tell one another what is being done to get these reports out of this miserable dog of a Bailen. I'll do my best to see Bailen and see what I can get out of him. Hillman of the Amalgamated refused to ask Bailen to come to see him (he would do it for Hillman) said that he would have nothing to do with Bailen, would not talk with him or permit him in his office - that he was too dangerous.

After Sam Agursky came from R and told that Leon was in prison in R. many of these so-called radical friends began to rake up some mysterious action on the part of L (or what seemed unexplainable to their small minds). This one mentioned one thing and another something else until it has gathered into quite an avalanche. Each one repeating what others have wondered about, then some one repeating this "wonder" as a fact and adding something with each repetition. Sam Agursky claims to have discovered the fact that L's children spent their vacation

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- 4 -

L = Leon G?

last summer with a mother-in-law of Bailen, at Warren, Wis. Leon said that he didn't even know the name of the people where his children went. He asked Olga when he returned to Chicago from his trip abroad. Olga says that a Mrs. Holmes, who works in the Blume Bldg. Michigan Ave., Chicago, suggested this Maple Dell Fruit Farm, owned by Ebert, Warren, Wis., as a good place for the children. The Eberts are relatives of this Mrs. Holmes, and Mrs. Holmes says that there are no Bailens in their family. The name of the son-in-law of the Eberts' is Victor Orchard. Mrs. Holmes scoffed at such an accusation. I did not have time to go to Warren, Wis. (on account of my sister's illness) to investigate personally about this Ebert farm. I have asked one of my friends to do it for me, some one I can trust to get whatever facts there are about it.

It is quite apparent that the ones so eager to take information about L to Russia, did not take the trouble to ascertain facts, but simply repeated the gossip floating about - and this gossip started after Sam A. said Leon is in prison in R., and that he had been asked to get "facts" about L. Dr. Cohn wrote Rucker after speaking to Isaac Hourwich about L. and he told Dr. C. that word had come from Russia to look up L.G.'s record. I understand that Dr. Hourwich's son is now in Russia and he is a raving maniac against any one who might say anything against the tactics of the Bolsheviks. I know him from N.Y. and know how intolerant he is, and Leon tells me that he had some words with him while he was in R.

I had a few of the old friends and comrades to my place to meet L. and to hear his impression of affairs in R. I did not have to depend on L for the facts he told - others had told me, but no one coming out was able to tell such a concise, well constructed story and who had such a grasp of the whole situation as Leon. It is very hard for even the Anarchists to swallow the truth as it comes to us now and then - they have their hearts set on this "land of promise", particularly the Russian born. It is a religion with them. During the course of L's talk, Dr. C. became quite heated and finally put the question to L. "Which would you prefer, the Bolsheviks or say the reactionary general Kolchak?" Leon had been talking for about three hours, answering heated questions that were being put to him and interrupting his general story - he answered, "I prefer Kolchak". I knew what Leon meant as I had talked with him until four in the morning the night before. Dr. C. jumped up and as he was leaving he said to me, "Something must be wrong with him to say he preferred a reactionary general to, after all, our own comrades, the Bolsheviks". I tried to explain to him by telling him that Leon meant that a reactionary general would be much more easily overthrown. Within a few days, Dr. C. called up Isaac Hourwich (who knows nothing about L. after all) who told him the news from Russia wanting information, etc. Dr. C. then wrote Rucker.

The foundation of E.'s statement that there had been some talk against Leon some years ago is this: During the Mooney case in San Francisco, when there were only four or five to do anything for those labor people arrested, a couple of Jewish young men and Lucy Robins (wife of Bob Robins, now in Russia) - the same type of minds as the Sara Grubers who did so much to spread the rumors against Leon when Agursky said Leon was arrested - came to me and said: "We are not sure about L.G. - he went to Europe one time and we don't know how he got the money

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- 5 -

and he never made any explanations. L. was helping Bob Minor in the defense work for Mooney and the others. A. B.'s and my office was being raided and we were under suspicion on account of our paper The Blast being used to create publicity and solicit funds for defense work, etc., etc., times were too strenuous to go on any hunt for facts about Leon's trip to Europe several years previous. I told Bob Minor what had been stated to me. His reply was: "Fitz, Leon is the only one working with me that has brains enough to carry out any work that needs to be done - the only one I can depend on to do the job given him to do. I don't believe it". I said, "All right, Bob, use your own judgment and go ahead - I'm only telling you what was told to me and I have no time to get any facts". I did not know L. intimately then - he came to our office a few times with a little money for the paper and secured some subscriptions for the paper, talked with him a few moments at different times. He looked all right to me. Then met him again in Chicago, three years ago, during the Mooney Convention (a delegation of about 1000 labor men, met on behalf of Mooney and Billings) I had corresponded with him on different occasions, about the work for the Mooney case, books, etc. You know the kind of acquaintances one makes in the radical movement. Then before he went to R. he came to N.Y. to see me, to ask my advice and asked if I could arrange a certain thing for him. We talked for awhile, my intuition regarding him said O.K. - I told him to come the next day, I would then tell him whether I would do the thing he wanted. I did it.

Before he left for his trip, I told him about this San Francisco talk and about their coming to me when he was helping Bob Minor. He only smiled. His time was short, I was up to my ears on a case that needed help badly - and the matter dropped. Then when he came back from R. I got together the ones who had done the talking in N.Y. They admitted that some one told them, or this was the impression of some one else, nothing to any of their definite statements that had been made before they faced L. When we were alone I again asked L. about the trip to Europe long ago that bothered the S.F. friends. Well, it was a story that took about two hours to tell - he went into his whole life's history. His trouble with Olga when they were first together - how she had him arrested for non-support - his sentence of six months, his escape and changed name. Then in San Francisco he wondered if he could not take a tramping trip working his way to and from Europe. Had been reading Jack London's stories and wanted to find out if he was self-reliant enough to do such a stunt. After one of the numerous misunderstandings with Olga one day he put on a flannel shirt, took a tooth brush, a pencil and pad and a few dollars in his pocket and made his way to Europe and back - gave no explanations, didn't think it necessary - and then the wonder started. He went into details in telling me his life's story, talking rapidly and in his excitement in one part of his story, he said, "There's nothing wrong with me, it's the net I seem to be in". It was not so much this statement, but the manner in which he said it, breaking into his story with this side remark. I spent three days and nearly three nights talking with L. when he returned from R. He rang true to me, and for this reason I took this trip to Chicago to see if I could not get to the bottom of this miserable talk against him. The more I talk with him and come to know him well, the more fully I believe in him and the more keenly I feel the whole situation. Pauline, the girl friend who lives with me, heard his talk one evening, has the same feeling about him that I do. I can't help thinking that it is an attempt on the part of those with less ability (I found considerable petty

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Summary: Fitzgerald tells Schapiro of her efforts to investigate the accusations against Leon G[reen]. She concludes that he is trustworthy.

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THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State

Decimal File Number 311.6124 K47/8

- 6 -

personal feeling on the part of the ones making accusations) to discredit him, and it also seems to be the tactics on the part of government officials to discredit active labor men by crying "spy". Nothing kills a man's efforts quicker.

The Superintendent of the building where the Chicago Federation of Labor have their offices told me that two Department of Justice men offered to give him money if he (Superintendent) would leave L's office door so that they could get in and search his desk and office. The Superintendent refused to do it. The Superintendent also told me that he had been arrested for speeding and while at headquarters he had been questioned about L.G. — was told that he was a s. o. b. and caused them more trouble during the Retail Clerks' Strike than all the rest of the unions put together. Fitzpatrick told me that when L. first came to Chicago and they helped L. to arrange speaking dates, etc. for the Mooney case, L. was arrested, beaten and held in prison for several days. L. got word out to him and Nockels — they went down to inquire about him and was told by the Department of Justice men to keep their hands off (meaning Fitz and Nockels) that they should have nothing to do with a fellow like L. who was an An. and they were going to deport him. Fitzpatrick had some talk with the D. of J. men, told them they the Chicago Federation of Labor would not stand for their men being picked up and beaten and held for no apparent cause. After much talk L. was finally paroled in charge of Fitzpatrick and Nockels. Fitz told me that those rumors and gossip had come to him — that L. had asked on his return from R. to have a committee from the Chicago Fed. of L. appointed to investigate these rumors. Fitzpatrick told me that when anyone brought him facts they would consider it, that until then they would do nothing about it. They had nothing against L. — he was doing good work for them. He said that many labor men had been framed on and this may be another attempt. Bring me facts and proofs, otherwise we will not listen, Fitz. said.

When Agursky was in Chicago (Sam) he said that Leon had shown in Russia credentials from Fitzpatrick and Bill Haywood. Fitzpatrick said that the Chicago Federation of Labor had a policy of never issuing credentials outside of Chicago and that he had not given L a credential for R. Fitz. told Agursky and the committee with him, L. does have a Federation card, and he also has a letter from the Federation authorizing him to work under their auspices for the Mooney case in Chicago. When Leon was asked about giving Fitzpatrick credentials and one from Bill Haywood he said he never presented such credentials in R. He did have his Chicago Fed card and a letter from one of the I.W.W. Secretaries which has Bill Haywood's name on it, of course, but it was not signed by Bill. I have forgotten the name, Prady or Proud, something like that.

L. works every day in his union — is now living at the Washington Hotel — brought his boy to the Stelton School to be cared for — he is very unhappy about all this — particularly unhappy about such disturbing news going to Rucker and to you. His face was so animated and "lit up" when talking about Rucker and you, the work that you are planning and can do in the movement that I couldn't help saying, "you are very fond of Sasha". He smiled and said, "It is the greatest thing in my life". — Then when

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561

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- 7 -

I was in Chicago running around trying to find out about these rumors, I saw him one evening, he broke down and wept. I asked what has happened. He said, "they are poisoning Sasha too". It was my own woman's intuition that really told me anything. It is this part of the whole business that is killing him - he doesn't care much about all this talk except that it is beginning to destroy your faith. I believe in him, Sasha, honestly and truly to the bottom of my heart. I want to find out about Bailen's accusations against him but the proofs must be A 1. This is a long story that I have tried to tell - I hope that I have made what I wanted to say clear. I shall be so glad to meet you when you come - you say early in September. If possible, send copy of this letter, or part concerning L to Sasha B. and E.G. I am also writing them and Rucker. Dear Sasha Berkman thinks that I have failed him - I did write several letters since the last one he received sending them by people going - gave some to the deportees - but finally they were not allowed to go as Russia would not receive them. I expected to get to London as manager of the "Emperor Jones" that was to open in London July 18th in one of Cochran's theatres. Our star, Charles Gilpin, was taken ill and so the trip was called off. I lost an opportunity to have my fare paid to London and back. I expected to get into Russia from England. Do you know how serious Sasha's injury is? Feel terrible about it. I'm anxious to know how they manage to live. Isn't there really any opportunity for them to work? It seems strange. I am including Max Eastman's reply to Lsberg's article.

Dr. Ben Reitman is leaving within a few days for London - he will try to make his way to R. to see E.G. If possible, get this word to her. Also send word to Sasha B. that I am writing - that my feeling for him is the same as of old and one day we will meet again and be able to talk over things face to face when there can be much better understanding than through letters that one never knows will reach.

One of the Directors of the Provincetown Players, James Light, may call on you within a month. He left for Germany yesterday and will go from Berlin to London then to Paris where his sweetheart is spending a few months. I have been manager of this group of players the past three years. He is authorized by the American Play Co., to get stories, articles and plays - you might be able to seal some of your things through Mr. Light. He is a fine fellow and can be trusted.

I am anxious for the time for you to come to hear direct about our dear S. and E. If I got to Germany, do you think I could get in to R? From reports the country is in a state of starvation. If you can, write me fully. Send letters to my house address: 45 Grove St., New York City.

Greetings and affection,

Fitzie.

M. Eleanor Fitzgerald,
45 Grove St.,
New York City.

*Sweetheart of Alex. Berkman
and Secretary to his
Balderson? 7/27/21 Rucker*

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562

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810409047

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COPY

4 Grove St., New York City.
July 26, 1921.

My dear Sasha:-

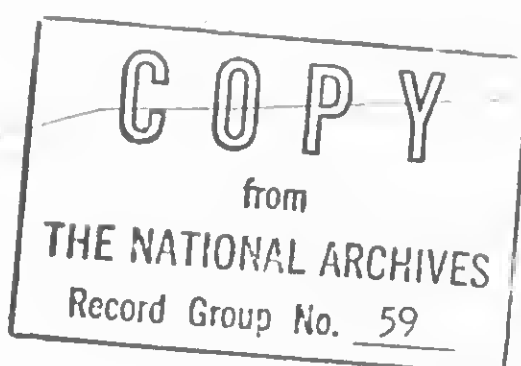
I have been away from New York for nearly a month and find your letter upon my return. Spent considerable time in Chicago on the Leon matter, and with my sister in Wisconsin. Found her very ill - now I must make arrangements to have her brought here for operation where I can look after her and at the same time attend to my work. I am telling you this because I did not have the time to do all the investigating for Leon that I needed.

It looks to me like a darn outrage and an attempt on the part of the Communists to discredit him. I can't help feeling this very strongly after following up some of the accusations and getting the facts. In such matters personal feelings do not enter into it so far as I am concerned, Sasha dear. I am telling you my feelings, impressions and facts that I was able to gather. I cabled you from Chicago after receiving Stella's letter telling me that she had received a letter from E.G. - that E. had written you, Rocker and had also sent a letter for Harry K. These "friends of long standing" from whom L. gets her information are doubtless Ben Agursky (sometimes called Ben August, brother of Sam Agursky in R.-this Sam somehow seems to have sense enough to get back and forth across the water and acts as a good poodle dog for the C's) and the other is Bob Robins. Bob is a good fellow and means well, but is too apt to repeat rumors without actually finding out things for himself. Ben A. took with him to Russia a photograph of a letter written by this self-confessed detective Bailen stating that L is a spy for the Burns detective agency. Bailen made no charges against L at the time he gave out such a mass of accusations against so many in the radical and labor movement. It was only after Sam Agursky was here and gave out the information both here and in Chicago that L was arrested in R and if evidence could be found against doubtless would be shot.

These are the charges that Ben A took with him to Russia:

- 1) He had passport and went and came legally;
This I cannot answer very well until I see you in person.
There is no cause to worry about that accusation.
- 2) Two boys of ours were arrested and L. is accused of informing on them.

I was told by a person supposed to be reliable that one of the boys stated to him that L. was the only one who had knowledge of the affair. I saw the boy, talked with him personally, asked him if he had made such a statement to any one and if he felt that L. was responsible for their arrest. He told me that he never made such a statement - he found out that five others had knowledge of the affair - he did not know how many others had knowledge from others mixed up in the case consciously or unconsciously - that he always had the greatest



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563

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-2-

confidence in L.- still has - that people had come to him almost forcing him to accuse L. insisting on that "don't you think he is the one", and "could you trust him now knowing what you do" - the boy, after being almost pushed to the wall, (these are his exact words to me) said, "no, I wouldn't trust any one as I have learned by experience". The boy said that his meaning had been misinterpreted and the statement went out that "he did not trust him". I cannot go into the details of this case, but I was entirely satisfied that L. could not possibly be accused of having a hand in bringing them to trouble.

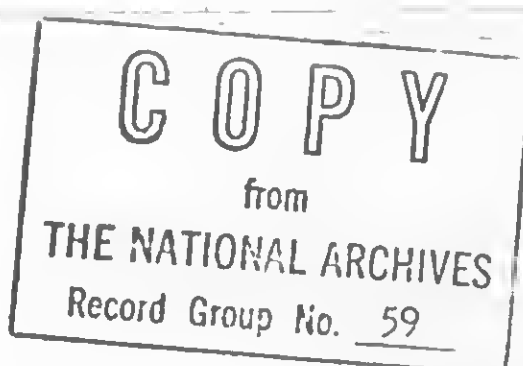
3) Where does he get so much money for traveling?

Before L. made arrangements to go to R. he did some organizing work for a group of leather men - small shopkeepers, all of them workers themselves, handling soles, heels, etc. I saw many of these little shops on Halsted Street, in basements, small one-room stores, etc. L. also worked out some kind of a credit system whereby they could keep their accounts more systematically. Leon got them all together to agree on prices, plan of work, etc. - sort of a protection from the big wholesale dealers. I went to see the treasurer of this leather organization, who has a shop in a little store on Halsted Street. He told me that L. received \$1600. for the work of organizing, \$75.00 a week salary and \$25.00 a week for expenses. This work was done by the consent of L's union - the Secretary of L's union told me this - and the girl that works in the office of the Retail Clerks Union (L's union) did the correspondence and helped L with the work for the leather men while she was doing the regular work for the Retail Clerks. In fact, one of the old members of the Retail Clerks told L. that there was a chance to pick up some extra money - that the leather men wanted him to organize their work. Leon said, all right - send them in. L. asked \$2000. and a weekly salary, but the leather men finally agreed to the amount stated above. L was doing the work for his own union at the same time - the work for the leather men lasted for five or six weeks. L. received \$75.00 a week from his own union. L. told me before he went to R. that he had made some extra money and was able to leave something for the children in case anything had happened to him. He didn't tell me particulars - I didn't ask for any - it was none of my business. But I made it my business to find out while I was in Chicago. L. tells me that it cost him practically nothing except while he was in Germany. Olga works in some dressmaking establishment and she receives \$75.00 weekly - I didn't have time to investigate this personally - but one of the friends in Chicago said that he saw one of her checks and it was for \$75.00.

The Secretary of the Union where L works could not say enough in L's praises. He told me that "our men just laugh at all these rumors and accusations-we knew what he had done for us". When L. returned from R. they immediately asked him to come back into their union to work. L. told them that first he must go to Seattle - the union even advanced him money when he left for the Seattle trip, before he had started work for them again.

4) That he organized a bosses union to compete with his own union. I have explained this above. These little leather shops cannot in any way compete with the Retail Clerks. This accusation is absurd.

5) Confessed detective Bailen claims that L is a spy and that he knows L's number.



General Records of the Department of State
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564

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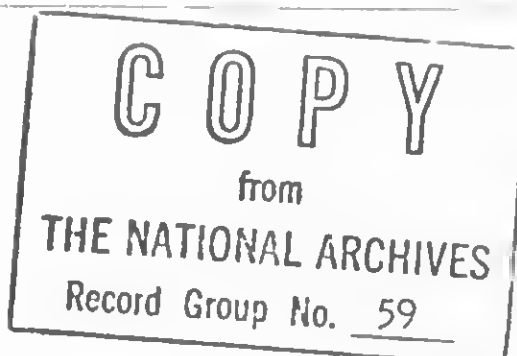
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-3-

This I have not been able to investigate. I am trying to get a letter from Uritz (Bailen's lawyer also lawyer for the Communists) asking Bailen to talk with me. Uritz has given Bailen instructions to give no reports or interviews without his consent. Bailen has made sweeping statements against a great many active persons in the radical and labor movement. I am told that some of the stories have proved to be true. Bailen also claims to have reports of Fraina who is now in Russia - says Fraina is a spy. Uritz, the lawyer in Chicago, who is using Bailen's material to defend the Communists, says himself that B is a d-m liar and a scoundrel, but some of his stuff is true. Bailen claims that he had reports of L to the Detective agency. It is not a difficult matter for spies to get the fac-simile signature stamp of union officials and stamp so-called reports with them. This has been done in the past, could be done again. The truth of it could be obtained only by having a handwriting expert go over the original signature. I would want good proof before I took any stock in Bailen's reports.

Bailen has also made reports against a man by the name of Bellew, an official in the progressive branch of the cigar makers' union - Bellew has been known as an anarchist for the last fifteen or twenty years - E. knows him well. (I'm telling you about Bellew to show you how mixed up the whole Bailen matter is). Bailen claims that Bellew has given information about his union and that he "sold out the cigar-makers' strike". After Bailen had been paid \$200. he hands over reports against Bellew. The fact that Bailen received money for reports is not known by the lawyer (Uritz), or the men in the Jewish Forward office, in Chicago, who published Bailen's reports against Bellew. The man who says he paid Bailen \$200. told me that Bailen would not give reports until he had received money. An expert was called to go over the copies (photographs of reports), he said that he could tell nothing without the originals, and the lawyer refused to allow the originals out of his safe. When I told Siskin (one of the men in the Forward office) that it looked to me like a blackmailing affair on the part of Bailen and a means to get money for his own defense, Siskin said, "Oh me, he is not allowed by his lawyer to receive any money, that the lawyer would drop him immediately if he took money". I told Siskin that the man who gave Bailen \$200. for the reports claims that he would not give up the reports without first receiving money and that \$200. had been sent to Bailen. Siskin said, "this cannot be true". You can see from this how mixed up the whole business is, and even the men working together on the matter do not seem to tell one another what is being done to get these reports out of this miserable dog of a Bailen. I'll do my best to see Bailen and see what I can get out of him. Hillman of the Amalgamated refused to ask Bailen to come to see him (he would do it for Hillman) said that he would have nothing to do with Bailen, would not talk with him or permit him in his office - that he was too dangerous.

After Sam Agursky came from R and told that Leon was in prison in R. many of these so-called radical friends began to make up some mysterious action on the part of L (or what seemed unexplainable to their small minds). This one mentioned one thing and another something else until it has gathered into quite an avalanche. Each one repeating what others have wondered about, then some one repeating this "wonder" as a



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565

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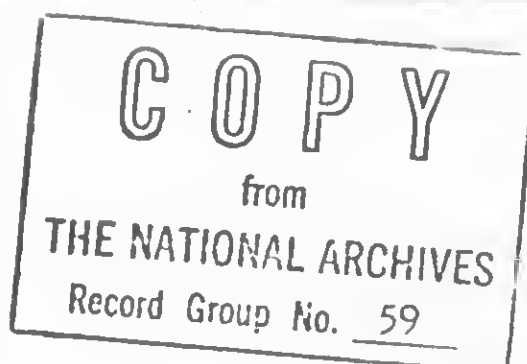
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fact and adding something with each repetition. Sam Agursky claims to have discovered the fact that L's children spent their vacation last summer with a mother-in-law of Bailen, at Warren, Wis. Leon said that he didn't even know the name of the people where his children went. He asked Olga when he returned to Chicago from his trip abroad. Olga says that a Mrs. Holmes, who works in the Blume Bldg. Michigan Ave., Chicago, suggested this Maple Dell Fruit Farm, owned by Ebert, Warren, Wis., as a good place for the children. The Eberts are relatives of this Mrs. Holmes, and Mrs. Holmes says that there are no Bailens in their family. The name of the son-in-law of the Eberts' is Victor Orchard. Mrs. Holmes scoffed at such an accusation. I did not have time to go to Warren, Wis. (on account of my sister's illness) to investigate personally about this Ebert farm. I have asked one of my friends to do it for me, some one I can trust to get whatever facts there are about it.

It is quite apparent that the ones eager to take information about L to Russia, did not take the trouble to ascertain facts, but simply repeated the gossip floating about - and this gossip started after Sam A. said Leon is in prison in R., and that he had been asked to get "facts" about L. Dr. Cohn wrote Rucker after speaking to Isaac Hourwich about L. and he told Dr. C. that word had come from Russia to lock up L.G's record. I understand that Dr. Hourwich's son is now in Russia and he is a raving maniac against any one who might say anything against the tactics of the Bolsheviks. I know him from N.Y. and know how intolerant he is, and Leon tells me that he had some words with him while he was in R.

I had a few of the old friends and comrades to my place to meet L. and to hear his impression of affairs in R. I did not have to depend on L for the facts he told - others had told me, but no one coming out was able to tell such a concise, well constructed story and who had such a grasp of the whole situation as Leon. It is very hard for even the Anarchists to swallow the truth as it comes to us now and then - they have their hearts set on this "land of promise", particularly the Russian born. It is a religion with them. During the course of L's talk, Dr. C. became quite heated and finally put the question to L. "Which would you prefer, the Bolsheviks or say the reactionary general Kolchak? Leon had been talking for about three hours, answering heated questions that were being put to him and interrupting his general story - he answered, "I prefer Kolchak". I know what Leon meant as I had talked with him until four in the morning the night before. Dr. C. jumped up and as he was leaving he said to me, "Something must be wrong with him to say he preferred a reactionary general to, after all, our own comrades, the Bolsheviks". I tried to explain to him by telling him that Leon meant that a reactionary general would be much more easily overthrown. Within a few days, Dr. C. called up Isaac Hourwich (who knows nothing about L. after all) who told him the news from Russia wanting information, etc. Dr. C. then wrote Rucker.

The foundation of E's statement that there had been some talk against Leon some years ago is this: During the Mooney case in San Francisco, when there were only four or five to do anything for these labor people arrested, a couple of Jewish young men and Lucy Robins (wife of Bob Robins, now in Russia) - the same type of minds as the Sara Grubers



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566

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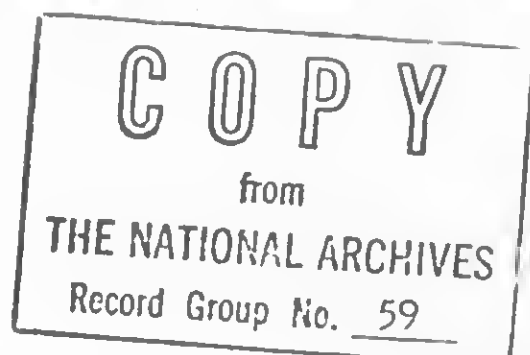
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-5-

who did so much to spread the rumors against Leon when Agursky said Leon was arrested - came to me and said: "We are not sure about L.G.- he went to Europe one time and we don't know how he got the money and he never made any explanations. L. was helping Bob Minor in the defense work for Mooney and the others. A. B.'s and my office was being raided and we were under suspicion on account of our paper The Blast being used to create publicity and solicit funds for defense work, etc., etc., times were too strenuous to go on any hunt for facts about Leon's trip to Europe several years previous. I told Bob Minor what had been stated to me. His reply was: "Fitsi. Leon is the only one working with me that has brains enough to carry out any work that needs to be done - the only one I can depend on to do the job given him to do. I don't believe it". I said, "All right, Bob, use your own judgment and go ahead - I'm only telling you what was told to me and I have no time to get any facts". I did not know L. intimately then - he came to our office a few times with a little money for the paper and secured some subscriptions for the paper, talked with him a few moments at different times. He looked all right to me. Then met him again in Chicago, three years ago, during the Mooney Convention (a delegation of about 1000 labor men, met on behalf of Mooney and Billings) I had corresponded with him on different occasions, about the work for the Mooney case, books, etc. You know the kind of acquaintances one makes in the radical movement. Then before he went to R. he came to N.Y. to see me, to ask my advice and asked if I could arrange a certain thing for him. We talked for a while, my intuition regarding him said O.K. - I told him to come the next day, I would then tell him whether I would do the thing he wanted. I did it.

Before he left for his trip, I told him about this San Francisco talk and about their coming to me when he was helping Bob Minor. He only smiled. His time was short, I was up to my ears on a case that needed help badly - and the matter dropped. Then when he came back from R. I got together the ones who had done the talking in N.Y. They admitted that some one told them, or this was the impression of some one else, nothing to say of their definite statements that had been made before they faced L. When we were alone I again asked L. about the trip to Europe long ago that bothered the S.F. friends. Well, it was a story that took about two hours to tell - he went into his whole life's history. His trouble with Olga when they were first together - how she had him arrested for non-support - his sentence of six months, his escape and changed name. Then in San Francisco he wondered if he could not take a tramping trip working his way to and from Europe. Had been reading Jack London's stories and wanted to find out if he was self-reliant enough to do such a stunt. After one of the numerous misunderstandings with Olga one day he put on a flannel shirt, took a tooth brush, a pencil and pad and a few dollars in his pocket and made his way to Europe and back - gave no explanations, didn't think it necessary - and then the wonder started. He went into details in telling me his life's story, talking rapidly and in his excitement in one part of his story, he said, "There's nothing wrong with me, it's the net I seem to be in". It was not so much this statement, but the manner in which he said it, breaking into his story with this side remark. I spent three days and nearly three nights talking with L. when he returned from R. He rang true to me, and for this reason I took this trip to Chicago to see if I could not get to the bottom of this miserable talk against him.



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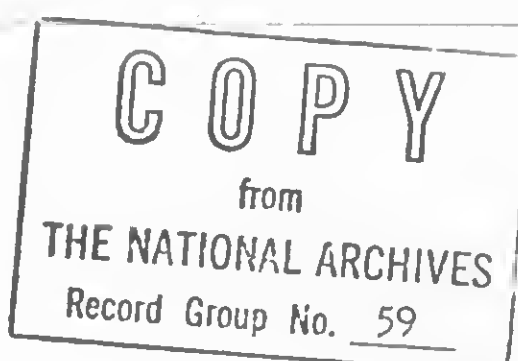
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The more I talk with him and come to know him well, the more fully I believe in him and the more keenly I feel the whole situation. Pauline, the girl friend who lives with me, heard his talk one evening, has the same feeling about him that I do. I can't help thinking that it is an attempt on the part of those with less ability (I found considerable petty personal feeling on the part of the ones making accusations) to discredit him, and it also seems to be the tactics on the part of government officials to discredit active labor men by crying "spy". Nothing kills a man's efforts quicker.

The superintendent of the building where the Chicago Federation of Labor have their offices told me that two Department of Justice men offered to give him money if he (Superintendent) would leave L's office door so that they could get in and search his desk and office. The Superintendent refused to do it. The Superintendent also told me that he had been arrested for speeding and while at headquarters he had been questioned about L.G.- was told that he was a s. o. b. and caused them more trouble during the Retail Clerks' Strike than all the rest of the unions put together. Fitzpatrick told me that when L. first came to Chicago and they helped L. to arrange speaking dates, etc., for the Mooney case, L. was arrested, beaten and held in prison for several days. L. got word out to him and Nockels - they went down to inquire about him and was told by the Department of Justice men to keep their hands off (meaning Fitz and Nockels) that they should have nothing to do with a fellow like L. who was an An. and they were going to deport him. Fitzpatrick had some talk with the D. of J. men, told them they the Chicago Federation of Labor would not stand for their men being picked up and beaten and held for no apparent cause. After much talk L. was finally paroled in charge of Fitzpatrick and Nockels. Fitz told me that these rumors and gossip had come to him - that L had asked on his return from R. to have a committee from the Chicago Fed. of L. appointed to investigate these rumors. Fitzpatrick told me that when anyone brought him facts they would consider it, that until then they would do nothing about it. They had nothing against L. - he was doing good work for them. He said that many labor men had been framed on and this may be another attempt. Bring me facts and proofs, otherwise we will not listen, Fitz. said.

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L. works every day in his union - is now living at the Washington Hotel - brought his boy to the Stelton School to be cared for - he is very unhappy about all this - particularly unhappy about such disturbing news



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568

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Notes: Enclosed with 810409046. Copy of 810409019.

-7-

going to Rucker and to you. His face was so animated and "lit up" when talking about Rucker and you, the work that you are planning and can do in the movement that I couldn't help saying, "you are very fond of Sasha". He smiled and said, "It is the greatest thing in my life". Then when I was in Chicago running around trying to find out about these rumors, I saw him one evening, he broke down and wept. I asked what has happened. He said, "they are poisoning Sasha too". It was my own woman's intuition that really told me anything. It is this part of the whole business that is killing him - he doesn't care much about all this talk except that it is beginning to destroy your faith. I believe in him, Sasha, honestly and truly to the bottom of my heart. I want to find out about Bailen's accusations against him but the proofs must be A 1. This is a long story that I have tried to tell - I hope that I have made what I wanted to say clear. I shall be so glad to meet you when you come - you say early in September. If possible send copy of this letter, or part concerning I to Sasha B and E.G. I am also writing them and Rucker. Dear Sasha Berkman thinks that I have failed him - I did write several letters since the last one he received sending them by people going - gave some to the deportees - but finally they were not allowed to go as Russia would not receive them. I expected to get to London as manager of the "Emperor Jones" that was to open in London July 18th in one of Cochran's theatres. Our star, Charles Gilpin, was taken ill and so the trip was called off. I lost an opportunity to have my fare paid to London and back. I expected to get into Russia from England. Do you know how serious Shasha's injury is? Feel terrible about it. I am anxious to know how they manage to live. Isn't there really any opportunity for them to work? It seems strange. I am including Max Eastman's reply to Isberg's article.

Dr. Ben Reitman is leaving within a few days for London - he will try to make his way to R. to see E.G. If possible, get this word to her. Also send word to Shasha B. that I am writing - that my feeling for him is the same as of old and one day we will meet again and be able to talk over things face to face when there can be much better understanding than through letters that one never knows will reach.

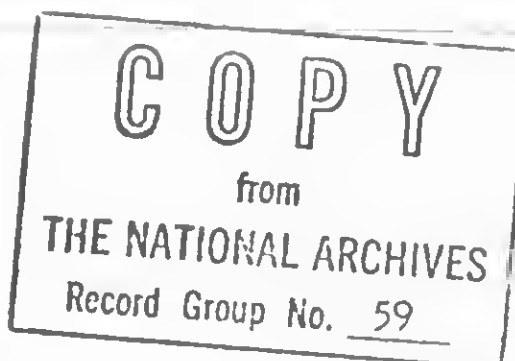
One of the Directors of the Provincetown Players, James Light, may call on you within a month. He left for Germany yesterday and will go from Berlin to London then to Paris where his sweetheart is spending a few months. I have been manager of this group of players the past three years. He is authorized by the American Play Co., to get stories, articles and plays - you might be able to sell some of your things through Mr. Light. He is a fine fellow and can be trusted.

I am anxious for the time for you to come to hear direct about our dear S. and E. If I get to Germany, do you think I could get in to R? From reports the country is in a state of starvation. If you can, write me fully. Send letters to my house address, 45 Grove St., New York City.

Greetings and affection.

Fitsie.

M. Eleanor Fitzgerald,
45 Grove St.,
New York City.



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

569

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 July 30, Washington, D.C. [to] D[ennis] E. Nolan, Director, Military Intelligence [Division] War Department, [Washington, D.C.] / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Hoover sends the General Intelligence Bulletin to the director of Military Intelligence.

Notes: Light copy; barely legible. For enclosure, see 871102011.

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF
MIL. INTEL. DIV.

1010-1683
212

WAR DEPARTMENT

328X

July 30, 1921.

Brig. Gen. D. E. Nolan,
Director, Military Intelligence,
War Department.

Dear Sir:

There are enclosed herewith 12 copies No. 60
to 71 inclusive of General Intelligence Bulletin No.
60 for the week ending July 23, 1921.

Very truly yours,

J. E. Hoover

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

Encl.

Received by Mr. B.
8-1-21 3:45 P.M.

RECEIVED

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

570

The Emma Goldman Papers

810331046

[Memorandum] 1921 Aug. 2, Riga [Latvia to Dennis E. Nolan] Director, Military Intelligence [Division] War Dep[artmen]t, Washington, D.C. / T. Worthington Hollyday, Military Observer. — 3 p. ; 35 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Hollyday sends Nolan a report on the condition of Americans in Russia, including prisoners and those suspected of spying. He notes that Goldman and Berkman wish to leave.

L.S. 1310

COMMISSIONER OF THE UNITED STATES

OFFICE OF THE MILITARY OBSERVER

RIGA

CONFIDENTIAL

August 2, 1921.

Subject: Americans in Russia.

To: Director of Military Intelligence, War Dept.,
Washington, D. C.

1. The following information was received from a person who is described as "B" and who is in a position to know conditions among the American prisoners in Russia.

CARLSON, Harold: nothing special; in bad nervous state; has a child in bad health; very poor, receiving only 5,000 roubles per month.

DALBERG: all right; has a daughter named Regina.

HIPMAN, Mason: very old man; doorkeeper at American Consulate; all right and harmless; should be treated with every consideration.

KALAMATIANO, Xenophon B.: in good health; has interesting work in prison.

KEELEY, Royal R.: has been out of prison for several weeks.

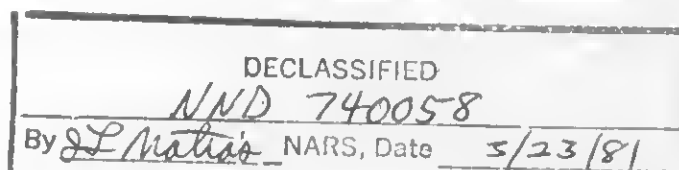
KEYES, Fred: American jockey; was employed by one of the big Russian princesses; non-political; needs money and food.

KILLPATRICK, Emmett: in very bad health; in hospital of Boutyrka prison; last Thursday application was made for transfer to Andronovsky Camp.

ESTES, J. B.: all right; in hospital.

FLICK, Joan M.: all right.

LAMBIE, Dr. J. Will: very old man; dentist; married to Russian woman who has not been in prison so far as informant knows; probably will not wish to come out; considering conditions, getting on fairly well.



571

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1921 Aug. 2, Riga [Latvia to Dennis E. Nolan] Director, Military Intelligence [Division] War Dep[artment], Washington, D.C. / T. Worthington Hollyday, Military Observer. — 3 p. ; 35 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Hollyday sends Nolan a report on the condition of Americans in Russia, including prisoners and those suspected of spying. He notes that Goldman and Berkman wish to leave.

- 2 -

RAVITCH, Michael: Jew; very suspicious; had free intercourse with a great many of the prisoners of the Andronovsky Camp; in close touch with BONI and helped BONI to get out; makes it his business to know every American who gets into Moscow.

CHAMBER: representing Socialist press agency (little paper); at Third International last year, was arrested soon after; at hospital; heard he was out; has brother employed in Department of Justice in Brooklyn.

SMITH, Alfred Willoughby: all right; living on small income left him by his father; in bad health.

2. The following persons were regarded with suspicion:-

In a recent article on the plot discovered in Petrograd, an American Jew by the name of STARKE was mentioned.

The relations of BOBROFF, when he was in Moscow, were such as to make me believe that he was in the employ of the Bolshevik Government; a letter to DURAND was found on him when he came home which he said was only a personal letter, but feel sure that he was taking other things. Has a brother in Moscow, Sasha BOBROFF, who, I am sure, is a Bolshevik. They are Jews.

ALSBURG, Henry G.: correspondent of the "Daily Herald" and the "Nation"; was accorded most unusual privileges at the Foreign Office, exceeding those of any other correspondent there; permitted to travel through the Ukraine at a critical time; when he was away, the Foreign Office people wrote his despatches for him and sent them off.

BARRY, Griffin: The Foreign Office people also wrote his despatches and sent them off for him, if away.

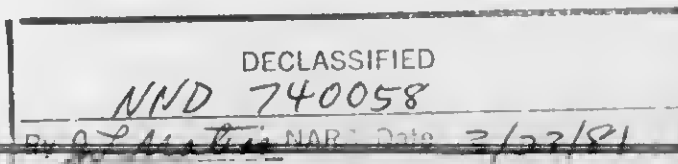
OGGIN: writes for the "New Republic"; now in America; Bolshevik heart and soul; propagandist.

3. The following are remarks with regard to other people in Russia:-

Alexander BELMANN and Emma GOLOMANN are thoroughly disillusioned and both wish to return to America.

ROGETT, whose Paris address is #63 Champs Elysées, came into Russia for the second time this year from Novorossisk; with general merchandise exporting firm; accused of espionage and threatened very seriously; anxious to get word to his family, but no means of doing so; in the Chresvychaika prison.

- 2 -



572

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1921 Aug. 2, Riga [Latvia to Dennis E. Nolan] Director, Military Intelligence [Division] War Dep[artmen]t, Washington, D.C. / T. Worthington Hollyday, Military Observer. — 3 p. ; 35 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

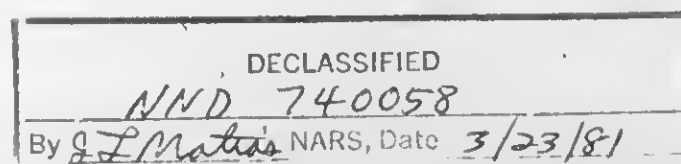
Summary: Hollyday sends Nolan a report on the condition of Americans in Russia, including prisoners and those suspected of spying. He notes that Goldman and Berkman wish to leave.

- 3 -

FLORENSKY, gave ROGLIN away and will give away Americans, too; has great opportunity of doing so, because he was employed in the Russian Consul General's office in New York.

T. Worthington Hollyday
T. WORTHINGTON HOLLYDAY
Major, F. A.,
Military Observer.

T.MH/efs.



573

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Aug. 4, London [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / L. L[anier] W[inslow, Secretary, American Embassy, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 31 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Winslow asks Hurley for information on Reitman, who has applied for a passport to visit England and Russia.

Notes: For reply, see 810409038. For related documents, see 810409040, 810409041, and 850205165.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State

Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-129



RETURN TO U-H
FILE

811.01-129

LONDON, August 4, 1921.

No. 1477.

Dear Bill:

The following has been received from our friends:-

"I am informed that an American citizen, BENJAMIN L. REITMAN, described as a notorious Communist and Anarchist, desires to visit his wife's relations and study socialistic conditions in England, and hopes thereafter to proceed to Russia. As we have no information about this man in our records, I should be much obliged if you could tell me whether you know anything about him."

Can you give me any information regarding this man - I don't seem to know him.

As always,

L. L. W.

W. L. Hurley, Esq.,
&c., &c., &c.,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

574

The Emma Goldman Papers

General Intelligence Bulletin No. 63, week ending Aug. 6, 1921 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] / [Department of Justice].— 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.
Summary: The General Intelligence Bulletin reports that the British government canceled Reitman's visa to keep him from meeting Goldman in Russia.
Notes: Enclosed with 871102013.

OFFICE CHIEF OF BUREAU
MIL. INTELL. DIV.
1921 10110-1683
219
WAR DEPARTMENT
3285

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE BULLETIN.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 63
Copy: 60
Week ending August 6, 1921.

INDEX

| | Page |
|-----------------------------------|------|
| Communist Matters: | |
| At Home | 1 |
| Abroad | 1 |
| Anarchist Matters | 4 |
| Syndicalist Matters | 6 |
| Miscellaneous Organizations | 8 |
| Individuals | 11 |
| Mexican Matters | 13 |
| Japanese Matters | 18 |
| Negro Matters | 28 |
| Supplement: | |
| The Proletarian Party of America. | |
| The Industrial Socialist League. | |

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The Emma Goldman Papers

General Intelligence Bulletin No. 63, week ending Aug. 6, 1921 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] / [Department of Justice].— 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The General Intelligence Bulletin reports that the British government canceled Reitman's visa to keep him from meeting Goldman in Russia.

Notes: Enclosed with 871102013.

-12-

HUBERT H. HARRISON, Negro agitator of New York City who conducts nightly street meetings, is advising the colored elements to prepare for "another race riot which may take place at any moment".

HENRY JAGER, Socialist speaker, was arrested in New York City during the current week charged with making seditious speeches. A small sized riot occurred at the time of his arrest. The Socialist Party charged the affair against the American Legion. Jager was discharged by the Magistrate after he promised not to return to the corner where the trouble occurred.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, radical preacher of New York City, is conducting a series of open air meetings under the auspices of the "Toilers" open Air Forum".

GEORGE COBY, heretofore unheard of in radical circles, has issued a public appeal through the press of New York City to all persons employed in the manufacture of electric lamps, asking that they organize themselves into a band for the purpose of returning to Russia.

BEN REITMAN, former active and well known anarchist, who is supposed to have reformed, has been in New York recently endeavoring to obtain a passport for travel to Europe. The passport had actually been issued but when advice was received that Reitman would probably attempt to connect with Goldman and Berkman in Russia his visa was promptly cancelled by the British government.

LEWIS S. GANNET, Associate editor of the magazine "Nation", has just returned from Moscow, Russia and has embarked on a lecture tour. Gannet covered the Congress of the Communist International for his paper, being the only non-Communist American writer present.

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576

The Emma Goldman Papers

871102013

[Letter] 1921 Aug. 13, Washington, D.C. [to] D[ennis] E. Nolan, Director, Military Intelligence [Division] War Department, [Washington, D.C.] / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Hoover sends the General Intelligence Bulletin to the director of Military Intelligence.

Notes: For enclosure, see 871102012.

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF
MIL. INTELL. DIV.

10110-1683
DH-AS

WAR DEPARTMENT
220
328K

August 13, 1921.

Brig. Gen. D. E. Nolan,
Director, Military Intelligence,
War Department.

Dear Sir:

There are enclosed herewith copies No. 60 to 71
inclusive of General Intelligence Bulletin No. 63 for the
week ending August 6, 1921.

Very truly yours,

J. E. Hoover

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

Encl.

Received by Br.
8-12-21 3:15 P.M.
W. Harvey

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577

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Aug. 23 [Washington, D.C. to] J. Edgar Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice, [Washington, D.C.] / [William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State].— 1 p. ; 32 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley asks Hoover for information about Reitman, who is planning to visit England and Russia.

Notes: For reply, see 810409040.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State

Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-129

RETURN TO

FILE

811.01-129

August 23, 1921.

In reply refer to
U-H-

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I should be deeply grateful if you can furnish me with any information in regard to one BENJAMIN L. REITMAN, said to be an American Citizen and described as a notorious Communist and Anarchist who desires to visit his wife's relations and study socialistic conditions in England and hopes thereafter to proceed to Russia.

Very truly yours,

J. E. Hoover, Esquire,

Special Assistant to the Attorney General,

Department of Justice.

U-H-MGL/KOG

Reitman

578

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Louise Bryant (Mrs. John Reed), Emma Goldman, Teddy Ballantine, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1921 Aug. 30 / [Agent] 1074 [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 3 p. ; 25 × 18 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Agent 1074 describes a conversation between Teddy Ballantine and Louise Bryant, in which Bryant discusses Goldman's physical hardships and social ostracism in Russia.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible.

DEPT OF JUSTICE

8/20:8/26

1921.

CONFIDENTIAL.

In re: Eleanor Fitzgerald - Louise Bryant
Alexander Berkman.

In re: Louise Bryant (Mrs. John Reed)
Emma Goldman - Teddy Ballantine

In re: I. W. W. Activities

In re: Elisabeth Gurley Flynn, Emilio Coda,
Calliana Group - Sacco-Vanzetti Defense

In re: Eugene V. Debs
Communist Activities.

In re: Rand School of Social Science.

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579

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Louise Bryant (Mrs. John Reed), Emma Goldman, Teddy Ballantine, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1921 Aug. 30 / [Agent] 1074 [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 3 p. ; 25 x 18 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Agent 1074 describes a conversation between Teddy Ballantine and Louise Bryant, in which Bryant discusses Goldman's physical hardships and social ostracism in Russia.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible.

REPORT FORM NO. 1

| | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|
| REPORT MADE BY:
#1074 | PLACE WHERE MADE
Pittsburgh, Pa. | DATE
8/30/1921 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE
8/20-8/25/ |
| TITLE OF CASE AND OFFICIAL CHARGES OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION
In re: Louise Bryant (Mrs. John Reed) Emma Goldman 1921
Teddy Ballantine | | | |
| STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.
At New York, N. Y. | | | |
| <p>I overheard a conversation in the Restaurant above the Provincetown Theatre, McDougal Street, between Teddy Ballantine (common-law husband of Stella Comyn) and some of his friends. Ballantine stated that he had recently had a long conversation with Louise Bryant relative to Emma Goldman and her present position in Russia. Ballantine stated that Miss Bryant informed him that Emma at the present time is a broken woman and aging fast. She stated that from the time of Emma's arrival in Russia until the present time she had not fit in with the Soviet Government and their scheme of running things in Russia, with the result that she has been sort of ostracized from taking any active part in the affairs there. He said that Miss Bryant informed him that Emma was thin and haggard, and that she did not believe she would live much longer under the present arrangement. Miss Bryant said the only thing Emma has done since she has been there is to work for the Revolutionary Museum. This job was more or less of a sinecure given her to appease her feelings which were wounded due to her inability to run affairs as she would desire. Miss Bryant also informed Ballantine that Emma's latest activities which have further compromised her with the Soviet</p> | | | |
| COPY OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: | | | |

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580

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Louise Bryant (Mrs. John Reed), Emma Goldman, Teddy Ballantine, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1921 Aug. 30 / [Agent] 1074 [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 3 p. ; 25 x 18 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Agent 1074 describes a conversation between Teddy Ballantine and Louise Bryant, in which Bryant discusses Goldman's physical hardships and social ostracism in Russia.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible.

Page 2

8/20:8/26-1921

In re: Louise Bryant - Emma Goldman - Teddy Ballantine

Government was in behalf of Syndicalists who were incarcerated in the jails there, due to their alleged counter-revolutionary activities. Miss Bryant said that when Emma made an appeal in behalf of these persons she received but scant attention from the Soviet officials and that her efforts were all in vain, and that she was unable to do anything for these persons.

Ballantine was questioned as to whether Miss Bryant knew how Emma's plans were progressing for getting out of the country by marrying an American. She said that she knew of the original scheme for her to marry a newspaper correspondent, but that this had fallen through, and that at the present time she does not know of any effort that Emma is making to get out.

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581

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409040

[Letter] 1921 Aug. 31, Washington, D.C. [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / J. E[dgar] Hoover, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hoover sends Hurley a synopsis of the Bureau of Investigation's files on Reitman.
Notes: Reply to 810409041.

COPY

from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-129

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

E. J. R.

202600-2456-2

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

GFR-LME

RETURN TO U-H
FILE
811.01-129

August 31, 1921.

W. L. Hurley, Esq.,

Department of State,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hurley:

Replying to your communication of the 23rd instant, concerning BENJAMIN L. REITMAN, I have to advise you the following, secured from our files:

Reitman was formerly a close associate of Emma Goldman; accompanied Emma on lecture tours in 1908; they were arrested in Bellingham, Wash., for attempting to distribute radical literature; subject assisted in the publication of "Mother Earth"; He was considered a close friend of Bill Haywood; was suspected by Emma Goldman of being an informant"

Very truly yours,

J. E. Hoover
Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

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582

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409038

[Letter] 1921 Sept. 7 [Washington, D.C. to] L. Lanier Winslow, Secretary, American Embassy [Department of State], London / W[illiam] L. H[urley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State].— 1 p.; 31 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley sends Winslow the Bureau of Investigation's information on Reitman.

Notes: Reply to 810409042.

COPY

from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-129

RETURN TO U-H
FILE

811.01-129

In reply refer to
UH 811.01-129

September 7, 1921

Dear Lanier:

Please refer to your letter No. 1477 of August 4
concerning Benjamin L. Reitman. The following has been
secured from the files of the Department of Justice:

"Reitman was formerly a close associate of
Emma Goldman; accompanied Emma on lecture
tours in 1908; they were arrested in Bellingham,
Wash., for attempting to distribute radical
literature; subject assisted in the publication
of "Mother Earth"; He was considered a close
friend of Bill Haywood; was suspected by Emma
Goldman of being an informant".

As ever,

W.L.H.

L. Lanier Winslow, Esquire,
Secretary, American Embassy,
London.

UH: LAW: LEM: SS

583

The Emma Goldman Papers

871102014

General Intelligence Bulletin No. 70, week ending Sept. 17, 1921 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] / [Department of Justice]. — 3 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The General Intelligence Bulletin includes a verbatim report from an unidentified traveler who visited Goldman in Russia and describes her situation and her desire to leave.

Notes: Broken type. Enclosed with 871102015.

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF
MIL. INTELL. DIV. I

Miss Hawley

1921

10116-1683

236

WAR DEPARTMENT

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OCT 9

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE BULLETIN.

(STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL)

1001C

Number 70
Copy: 30

Week ending September 17, 1921.

I N D E X

| | Page |
|-----------------------------------|------|
| Anarchist Activities | 1 |
| Communist Matters | 2 |
| I.W.W. Activities | 7 |
| Japanese Affairs | 8 |
| Mexican Activities | 22 |
| Miscellaneous Organizations | 28 |
| Negro Activities | 30 |
| Socialist Party | 31 |
| Syndicalist Matters | 32 |

W.L.F. I.A.K.B. 10/4

RECEIVED

RECEIVED

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584

The Emma Goldman Papers

871102014

General Intelligence Bulletin No. 70, week ending Sept. 17, 1921 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] / [Department of Justice]. — 3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The General Intelligence Bulletin includes a verbatim report from an unidentified traveler who visited Goldman in Russia and describes her situation and her desire to leave.

Notes: Broken type. Enclosed with 871102015.

-5-

mit for a meeting.

During the week the English, German, Ukrainian and Italian branches of this organization held meetings. The usual routine business was transacted and some literature distributed.

INTERNATIONAL YOUTH'S DAY COMMITTEE MEETINGS.

On the 7th instant at the Park View Palace, New York, the above body held a meeting at which the Chairman was E. M. Edelstein, about 500 young people being in attendance. Edelstein stated that the meeting was called for the relief of Soviet Russia and that September 7th had been designated as International Youth's Day and differed from May 1st in that on the latter day the workers have festivals whereas on the 7th of September the proletariat fights, protests and holds demonstrations against the capitalistic class and its governments.

Irving Raymond Cohen, an organizer of the Y.P.S.L. who stated that Youth was the power today and that they had the fight of forming the Red Guard here and all over the world.

Isreal Amter, another speaker criticized the Socialist Party of America and charged them with being on the side of the capitalistic government, and stated that it was only a question of time when the United States government would be overthrown and the Workers' Soviet established.

Rose Pastor Stokes, the last speaker devoted most of her speech to the police officers present. In the course of her speech she stated that it would be only a matter of time when a Soviet Government would be established in this country toward which end she and her comrades were working.

(PERSONAL)

EMMA GOLDMAN WANTS TO GET OUT OF RUSSIA. OVERLOOKED BY THE REVOLUTION THAT WAS HER IDEAL, HER TRAGEDY IS SUPREME.

"The last time I saw Emma Goldman was just before I left Moscow. She was occupying the same plain little room in which six months before I had spent the afternoon with Madam Lebedev, Prince Kropotkin's daughter.

"That room looked exactly like a poor artist's studio in Greenwich village. There was a bed and a few chairs, a table and an electric perculator which Miss Goldman had brought from America. Some returning Russian-Americans had brought in some coffee and while we sat around drinking it I asked her about her plans.

"Miss Goldman has grown thin and old in Russia. A noticeable air of weariness was about her that was entirely absent in the old days when she used to hold meetings in the Bronx that brought out extra squads of police.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

585

The Emma Goldman Papers

General Intelligence Bulletin No. 70, week ending Sept. 17, 1921 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] / [Department of Justice].— 3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The General Intelligence Bulletin includes a verbatim report from an unidentified traveler who visited Goldman in Russia and describes her situation and her desire to leave.

Notes: Broken type. Enclosed with 871102015.

-6-

"I had a feeling that those days for Miss Goldman are over forever. "I asked her: "What would you like to do?" She answered without any hesitation: "I would like to go somewhere and write."

"To America?" "Of course, I have lived there most of my life, my friends are there and my relatives are there. Naturally, I want to see them. But I am not asking to go to America. I should just like to go somewhere."

"You mean somewhere out of Russia?"

"Yes, life is too difficult here. I am too disturbed to write."

"But while you remain here, what will you do."

"She said she would work on the collection of material for the Kropotkin Museum, which has already been started in Moscow.

"She explained that for a year she had been collecting material for the Revolutionary Museum in Petrograd, the curious name the historic Winter palace now bears. She had traveled all through Siberia and then South to the Caucasus collecting valuable treasures.

"With Alexander Berkman, who, I understood, was really in charge of the expedition, she had been given a special train for her work. But now the work is finished.

"On her return she had learned of the illness of Prince Ropotkin, her friend of a lifetime, and she had gone into the country and remained with his family until sometime after his death.

William Z. Foster, one of the leaders of the 1919 steel strike, recently arrived at the port of New York aboard the S.S. Kroonland, after having been in Italy, England, Germany, France and the Scandinavian countries.

Foster stated that while in Russia he had met Lenin, Zinoviev, Radek, Trotzky and other Communist leaders and that the Russian Soviet Government through the Communist Party exercises the dictatorship over trade unions as it does over every other activity of the new state. He added that it was his intention to immediately proceed to Chicago to write a book on his experiences.

Abraham Baroff, Secretary-Treasurer of the International Ladies Garment Union, has been active in the interests of the Socialist Party and will address a rally on the afternoon of Sunday, the 18th of September.

Lynn A. E. Gale, This man who recently arrived in the United States from Mexico and is at present confined as a

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586

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

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Notes: Broken type; portions illegible. Two sheets of paper are

| | | | |
|---|--------------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| REPORT MADE BY: | PLACED WHERE MADE: | DATE WHEN MADE: | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: |
| #1076 | Pittsburgh, Pa. | 9/24/21 | 9/10:9/22 |
| TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGES OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION | | | 1921 |
| In re: Etta Goldman, Alexander Berkman, et al | | | |

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, DAMEL AND ADDRESS OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.

At New York, N. Y.

The following is copy of a letter from Emma Goldman, recently received by her niece, Stella Comyn:

Москва, July 12, 1921.

My own beloved child, I wrote you a letter a week ago. A few hours later I received yours of May 18th. I then took my letter book thinking I would write in answer to yours. Then the International trade union Congress opened which we have been attending all week, that delayed my writing you. Today your dear letter of May 26th arrived and as there is no session today I decided not to wait another minute in writing you.

you. I can not tell you what a treat it is to have two letters from you in best colored manila envelopes. In fact I had three letters from you dated May 10th, 18th and 26th. I am deeply grateful to you that you write more often than before, now that letters go by post. One is so beautiful but off from home every letter means so much. So you must keep on writing, nothing is only just family matters. The other day I read a copy of the N. Y. Call,

on writing anything is only just family matters.
The other day I read a copy of the N. Y. Call
I think it was of June 2nd. It carried a review of "COLIN"
on the whole a stepped review of the play. But it spoke
highly of Peter's work. I am so glad. Usually Tracy has
such insignificant things one could not judge his ability at all.
I am so anxious you should get on your feet again. Of course
am hungry to see you but one must learn patience. I think
have learned two of it since I am here. I think we will
be again and so in this struggle which surrounds me the
time passes swiftly. I can't say I am very enthusiastic
toward the idea of your remaining in England, you of course.
Of course, it will have you tied to you as without him. But
it will be much a wonderful experience for the first time
to make the trip. I hope you will take him just
to see him.

I was told that nothing came of the Provincetown
is to Eagle. See him. Our dear I O loss has to look. I've
re-entrained. I can't get away from the grind and see her
father. He is heart broken over her absence. But I under-
stand only too well. Give her my deepest love. Tell
her how much I love her. I don't intend with them the next time I visit. But at

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870708003

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, et al, Pittsburgh, Pa.
[19]21 Sept. 24 / [Agent] 1076 [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].—
10 p.; 26 x 17 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Agent No. 1076 includes in his report the text of a July 12, 1921, letter from Goldman to Stella Ballantine, followed by his own explanation of Goldman's abbreviations and cautious language. Goldman is disappointed that many friends, in Russia and the United States, do not see through the Bolshevik facade.

Notes: Broken type; portions illegible. Two shots of page one.

Report Form No. 1

| | | | |
|--|---|--------------------|--|
| REPORT MADE BY:
#1076 | IN WHAT CASE:
Pittsburgh, Pa. | DATE:
9, | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
9/10:9/22 |
| TITLE OF CASE OR SUBJECT MATTER:
In re: Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, et al | | | 1921 |

CONTENTS OF DISCUSSION, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.

At New York, N. Y.

13452

The following is copy of a letter from Emma Goldman, recently received by her niece, Stella Comyn:

"Moscow, July 12, 1921.

My own beloved child, I wrote you a letter a week ago. A few hours later I received yours of May 18th. I then took my letter back thinking I would write in answer to yours. Then the International trade union Congress opened which we have been attending all week, that delayed my writing you. Today your dear letter of May 26th arrived and as there is no session today I decided not to wait another minute in writing you.

I can not tell you what a treat it is to have two letters from you my best beloved within one week. In fact I had three letters from you dated May 10th, 18th and 26th. I am deeply grateful to you that you write more often than before, now that letters go by post. One is so terribly cut off from home every letter means so much. So you must keep on writing darling if only just family matters.

The other day I read a copy of the N. Y. Call. I think it was of June 3rd. It carried a review of "BODEN" on the whole a stupid review of the play. But it spoke highly of Teddy's work. I am so glad. Usually Teddy has such insignificant parts one could not judge his ability at all. I am so anxious you should get on your feet again. Of course I am hungry to see you but one must learn patience. I think I have learned much of it since I am here. I am sure we will meet again and it is this thought which sustains me in the otherwise painful situation. I can't say I am very enthusiastic over the idea of Ians remaining in R when you go abroad. Of course, it will leave you free if you go without him. But it would be such a wonderful experience for the kid if he would make the trip. I hope you will take him I am just dying to see him.

I was told that nothing came of the travel agent's trip to R. Too bad. Our Aunt B. has no hope she'd give anything if she could get away from the ground and see her brother. He is heart broken over her silence. But I understand and her only too well. Give her my deepest love. Well I met her friend with whom she spent her vacation last at

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588

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Page 2.

9/10:9/22-1921

In re: Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, et al

the Congress with a guilty smile. Why should she have to feel guilty if her ideas were based on knowledge and facts and not as they really are, mere repetitions of the popular craze? Her man is about the same. Hasn't been near us and when S spoke to him about some grave matters he was not even interested. But then, they are really small people. The most amusing is the man whom you and F keep on sending love. He is in clover now, spouts about things he knows nothing about and plays altogether a very ridiculous part. I can't see for the life of me how you and F do not see the unpardonable sin that man has committed against his comrades by the step he has taken. It is bad enough for G. A. But for him. It is as if a captain left a sinking ship with the whole crew on it. I can not reconcile myself to it.

I am supremely happy that Max actually sailed. We had a letter from him dated May 17th then yours of the 18th, but since he was to sail the 19th I could not get myself to believe it until I got yours of May 26th. Now I know for sure that Max has actually gone. Yes I can imagine it was bitter hard for Millie and Pipsie to let him go. Who knows when they will see him again, Pipsie who adores her father. But it is wonderful for Max. He was never more needed in Germany, never could he wish for a better field. The Syndicalists will grab him in a minute. Then he will find a wide field for articles on America. Lucky boy after all Max could not wish to see me more than I wish to see him, over and over again in the most difficult and despairing moments I would say to myself if only K were here he would understand. It is not so hard now since S has at last come to see things in their proper light. But it was bitter hard to go it all alone in the face of so many overwhelming events. I hope we will hear from Max now that he is in Germany. I am looking forward to his letter. I have written him the other day.

So glad you got the message from Chavele I knew she would send you one when she gets to it. After all you know you did not for a long time nor did I blame you. In yours of May 18th you said you turned the message from Nicolay over to Max why not to Dr. C. Did he not want to bring it in the RAS? Some one brought me a copy of the paper today, the one which contains an editorial. Why do people keep on writing and making statements about things they know nothing about. Give the Doctor my best regards. Tell him one must be big enough to admit one's errors, even if it means giving up one's cherished belief. I know he has put much faith and belief in the lady of his heart. But he will learn to see that her beauty is of the kind of many beautiful women, lovely faces but no character.

It was unnecessary to send things through Max. We are selling our things as it is. Besides, so much has already been lost that I hate to think you are constantly investing your last few pennies on us. We were up to see about the stuff you sent through Dr. D even met him there before he left K again. But nothing for us. My name does not even appear in the American lists. S received only his food package not the cloths. And Kropotkin's has arrived but so far we have not been able to get it. However, these are trifles, hardly worth bothering about, except of course that you my darling spent so much money. Otherwise everything else fades in comparison with the tragic picture of Russia.

What a terrible thing about the Italian boys, the

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589

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Page 3

9/10:9/22;-1921

In re: Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, et al

13454

whole world seems to be a mad house the way people are driven and prosecuted for their ideas. Keep me posted about the outcome of the trial, although one can easily foretell what it is going to be. The reactionary forces continue blind among the blind. They learn nothing from experience. Think of Mooney still being held after the whole world knows the frame up against him. It is dreadful that a lie should die so hard. But then all lies do you know. I am glad J J is out at last, how many years did he serve. I have lost track. If you have a chance send him my congratulations and greetings. I suppose he will now work hard for his brother. But who will work for Kat? The dear boy does any one hear from him? I wish you would send him my affectionate greetings. And Caplan too. Poor boys they paid a heavy price all of them, largely due to our golden rule friend. I understand he has budded in again this time in the work of H. A. It's awful to be possessed by the Christian bug. Of course, I know Stef means well but his judgment is rotten.

Terribly sorry to learn of Dr. Solotaroff's death. He was the first anarchist I heard thirty two years ago when I lived in New Haven and worked in a corset factory there. He was also a very devoted friend always. I saw little of him in late years but I always remembered him with affection. That brings me to my dear old lady. It is so awful to be dependent when one is old. I shiver when I think of it. I do hope your mother does not find it all too trying to look after our invalid lady. What seems to be the matter outside of old age? I am glad he is going to Rich, for his vacation it will relieve your mother a little. My love to the folks at home.

By the way dear, you must see our Doctor friend just as soon as this reaches you. Tell him his brother is very hard pressed. He had hoped Malofsky would let him have something but he showed himself very petty. The Doctor must find a way to relieve his own at least.

I have received one of Ellen Kennen's letter, also saw one she sent to a friend of hers. But I can not reply. Letter writing from here is sheer torture. I do think of Ellen always affectionately. Her friends here have neither judgment nor understanding but I think she would understand. Give her my love and ask her to transmit my affections to Gertrude. It will certainly be an event to go to meet her baby. I hope every thing will pass off safely.

Dear old Juju, she is a faithful soul. I will have to send her a little gift. I forget when I sent my gifts along through A. A. but I will find something soon. Give Juju my love tell her I miss her and think of her often. By the way if you should happen to see Lucy R. tell her Bob is alright and sends his love.

I have been disturbed a dozen times today. Now it is two A. M. have been under great mental strain this week and most concerned about some matters. July 13th. Could not finish last night and now I must take this letter to my dear friend Angelica Balabanova she is to send it with some outgoing delegates. I will write again soon."

In this letter many fictitious names are used and

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590

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Bureau Form No. 2

Page 4

9/10:9/22-1921

In re: Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, et al

13455

many matters are referred to which are not clear to those unfamiliar with the situation. In all of the letters received from Miss Goldman this policy is pursued, so that should the letters accidentally fall in the hands of any Soviet official, they would be unable to determine just what they mean. To interpret the letter above quoted and give its full meaning, the following re-write is made:

Moscow, July 12, 1921.

My own beloved child (meaning Stella Comyn), I wrote you a letter a week ago. A few hours later I received yours of May 18th. I then took my letter back thinking I would write in answer to yours. Then the International Trade Union Congress (Congress of Red Trade and Industrial Unions which convened early in July at Moscow) opened which we have been attending all week, that delayed my writing you. Today your dear letter of May 26th arrived and as there is no session today I decided not to wait another minute in writing you.

I can not tell you what a treat it is to have two letters from you my best beloved within one week. In fact I had three letters from you dated May 10th, 18th, and 26th. I am deeply grateful to you that you write more often than before now that letters go by post (meaning the Russian postal system is in operation again and letters do not have to be sent by courier.) One is so terribly cut off from home every letter means so much. So you must keep on writing darling if only just family matters.

The other day I read a copy of the New York Call. I think it was of June 3rd. It carried a review of "GOLD" (This was a play written by Eugene O'Neil, and produced in New York a few months ago. It only ran ten days and was a failure.) on the whole a stupid review of the play. But it spoke highly of Teddy's work. (This is Teddy Ballantine, common-law husband of Stella Comyn. Ballantine has been very successful in plays produced by both John and Lionel Barrymore. He is quite well known on the Radio, New York.) I am so glad. Usually Teddy has such insignificant parts one could not judge his ability at all. I am so anxious you should get on your feet again. (Due to the failure of several plays in which Ballantine appeared in the last eight or nine months, the Ballantine family are in rather strained financial circumstances. Of course I am hungry to see you but one must learn patience. I think I have learned much of it since I am here. I am sure we will meet again, and it is this thought which sustains me in the otherwise painful situation. (An explanation of the painful situation will be given later) I can't say I am very enthusiastic over the idea of Ians remaining in R when you go abroad.

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591

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Survey Form No. 2

Page 5

9/10:9/22-1921

1315

In re: Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman

(Ians is the five-year old son of Stella Corn's and Ballantine. These people had expected to go to Europe this fall and were to leave their son with Stella's parents in Rochester, N. Y.) Of course, it will leave you free if you go without him. But would be such a wonderful experience for the kid if he could make the trip. I hope you will take him I am just dying to see him. (The arrangements for the meeting of Goldman and her niece will be discussed later.)

I was told that nothing came of the Provincetown trip to England. Too bad. (This was a proposed barn-storming trip of the Provincetown Players to England.) Our dear I O He has no luck. (The I O Ness referred to is Eleanor Fitzgerald.) I would give anything if she could get away from the grind and see her brother. He is heart broken over her silence. But I understand her only too well. (The brother referred to is Sasha Alexander Berkman. Eleanor Fitzgerald has passed him up, due to some story she has heard relative to his having another paramour in Russia.) Give her my deepest love. Tell her I met her friend with whom she spent her vacation last at the Congress with a guilty smile. (This party is Mary Heaton Vorse, well known short story writer, prominent for her activities in the steel strike as an assistant to W. D. Foster at present, wife of Robert Minor, anarchist and member of the Communist Party. The Congress referred to is the Red Trade and Industrial Union Congress.) Why should she have to feel guilty if her ideas were based on knowledge and facts and not as they really are, mere repetitions of the popular craze? (Goldman means that Mary Heaton Vorse is blinding herself to the actual conditions in Russia and is going along with "Communism", because she thinks it is popular.) Her man is about the same. Hasn't been near us and when I spoke to him about some grave matters he was not even interested. But then, they are really small people. (The man referred to is Bob Minor, who was a delegate from the Communist Party of America to the Congress of the Third International. The S referred to is Sasha Alexander Berkman. In speaking of them as small people, Goldman means that in Russia they amount to but very little.) The most amusing is the man whom you and I keep on sending love. He is in clover now, spouts about things he knows nothing about and plays altogether a very ridiculous part. I can't see for the life of me how you and I do not see the unpardonable sin that man has committed against his comrades by the step he has taken. It is bad enough for G. A. But for him it is as if a captain left a sinking ship with the whole crew on it. (Yourself and I referred to are Stella Corn and Eleanor Fitzgerald. The man referred to is W. D. Haywood. The G. A. referred to is George Andrychen, he, like Haywood, is one of the I. W. W. defendants who jumped their bail at the time the Supreme Court refused to grant a new trial to the I. W. W.) I can not reconcile myself to it.

I am supremely happy that Max actually sailed. (This is an anarchist by the name of Max Stain, a life-long friend of Emma Goldman's. When Goldman left this country, she left \$50 which was to be given to Max for transportation when he decided to leave the United States and return to Germany.) We had a letter from him dated May 17th then yours

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592

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Page 6

9/10:9/22-1921

13457

In re: Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, et al

of the 18th. But since he was to sail the 19th I could not get myself to believe it until I got yours of May 26th. Now I know for sure that Max has actually gone. Yes I can imagine it was bitter hard for Millie and Pipsie to let him go. Who knows when they will see him again. (These are two young daughters of Max Stein's) Pipsie who adores her father, but it is wonderful for Max. He was never more needed in Germany, never could he wish for a better field. The Syndicalists will grab him in a minute. Then he will find a wide field for articles on America. Lucky boy after all. Max could not wish to see me more than I wish to see him, over and over again in the most difficult and despairing moments I would say to myself if only Max were here he would understand. (The hoped for meeting between Max and Emma will be explained later on.) It is not so hard now since S has at last come to see things in their proper light. But it was bitter hard to go it all alone in the face of so many overwhelming events. I hope we will hear from Max now that he is in Germany. I am looking forward to his letter. I have written him the other day. (The S referred to is Sasha Alexander Berkman. The statement relative to his seeing things in their proper light means that for a long time after Berkman and Goldman arrived in Russia, Berkman was about half converted to the program of Soviet Russia and Communism, believing that it was necessary for them to do all that they did in order to preserve the Revolution. However, after the Kronstadt Rebellion, in which hundreds of Anarchists were executed, Berkman, like Goldman, became unalterably opposed to Soviet Russia, the Communists, etc.)

So glad you got the message from Chevale. I knew she would send you one when she gets to it. After all you know you did not for a long time nor did I blame you. In yours of May 18th you said you turned the message from Nicolay over to Max, why not to Dr. C. Did he not want to bring it in the MAS? Some one brought me a copy of the paper today, the one which contains my article about Peter and also one that contains an editorial. Why do people keep on writing and making statements about things they know nothing about. Give the Doctor my best regards. Tell him one must be big enough to admit one's errors, even if it means giving up one's cherished belief. I know he has put much faith and belief in the lady of his heart. But he will learn to see that her beauty is of the kind of many beautiful women, lovely faces but no character. (The Chavele mentioned is Emma Goldman, herself. The message mentioned is a verbal message brought to Stella Comyn by Henry G. Alsberg. Alsberg spent sometime in Russia as a correspondent for the "New York World", and when he returned he wrote a number of articles in the "Nation". Stella Comyn states that she believes that Alsberg was the "World" correspondent whom Emma had planned to marry sometime ago - see my report of Period 1/3:1/10, In re: Emma Goldman, Proposed Return to the United States. Alsberg, when he reported to Stella Comyn, stated that Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman were in a deplorable shape in Russia; that they were at absolute variance with the Soviet officials in every way, and were receiving but scant attention from these officials. He said the only activities in which they were engaged was the work which they did for the Museum, and since that they have done nothing and are only living a hand to mouth existence; they

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593

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Page 7

9/10:9/22-192

In re: Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, et al

13150

are living at the home of Kropotkin. He said that when Emma attempted to get out of Russia to get married, the Soviet officials would not let her go, for fear of what she would say against the Russian Revolution; that in fact they have stopped her several times since. Berkman, however, has been more fortunate and has succeeded in getting to Germany and returning without the knowledge of the Russian Soviet Government. When the delegates to the Red Trade and Industrial Union Congress came to Russia, they immediately looked into the affairs of Goldman and Berkman, due to the fact that they themselves were Anarcho-Syndicalists, and after discovering the conditions that they were in, they brought considerable pressure to bear upon the Soviet Government to allow both Berkman and Goldman to leave Russia; this was particularly true of the German delegates. This pressure had some effect and caused Goldman to have a more optimistic view of the future. She expects to have her application for a passport recognized in the near future, and will then go to Germany where she will take up work on behalf of the Syndicalists of Germany and the world in general. It might be mentioned in this connection that the French Syndicalists made such a demonstration against the condition of Berkman and Goldman and the Anarchists in general in Russia, that when it came time for the delegates to depart to their respective countries, one of the leading French Syndicalists could not secure his passport. This resulted in great turmoil among the Anarchists and Syndicalists in Russia, and also resulted in the balance of the delegates refusing to leave Russia until the remainder of their colleagues were also allowed to leave. Since this, however, I understand that the matter has been straightened out and that they have all been allowed to depart. It is safe to say that there will be considerable strong agitation against the Communist Party of Russia on the part of the Syndicalists henceforth. The message from Nicolay referred to, is the message from Goldman and Berkman to Stella Comyn. The Dr. C referred to, is Dr. Cohn, a well known Anarchist doctor in New York. Goldman and Berkman made a sterling plea for some money to partly assist them in their attempt to alleviate their suffering in Russia, and to be used for Emma Goldman to get out of Russia. Stella arranged to send three hundred dollars which she collected from various people. This money is to be transmitted by Dr. Cohn, who is either going to Russia himself or is going to have a friend go with some part of the Hoover mission. The reference made to "disillusion" admitting to errors and giving up his cherished belief, means that Dr. Cohn, until very recently, was a staunch supporter of the Russian Soviets and Communists, but that he has since become disillusioned. The lady of his heart referred to, is (Anarchist Communism.)

It was unnecessary to send things through mail. We are selling our things as it is. Besides, so much has already been lost that I hate to think you are constantly investing your last few pennies for us. We are up to see about the stuff you sent through Dr. B, even met him before he left Russia again. But nothing for us. My name does not even appear in the American list. I received only his food package not the clothes. And Kropotkin's arrived but we have not been able to get it. However, these are trifles

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Notes: Broken type; portions illegible. Two shots of page one.

Page 8

9/10:9/22-192

In re: Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, et al

1344

hardly worth bothering about, except of course that you my darling spent so much money. Otherwise, everything else fades in comparison with the tragic picture of Russia. (This paragraph is almost self-explanatory. As previously stated, Goldman and Berkman were in a deplorable condition. When they arrived in Russia, most all of the money they had with them was stolen from them - they originally stated by bandits, but they later said by soldiers of the Red Army. Since that time, Stella Comyn and friends have been sending clothes to them. These, in practically every instance, have never reached them, but are placed in the general commissary to be distributed to those who are entitled to supplies in Russia. The American list referred to by Goldman is the Guest List which is regularly given out to notify the various distributing stations the names of the American guests. (Goldman is apparently an unwelcomed guest) who are entitled to clothes and subsistence while in Russia. It is not accorded this privilege. There were also some other food supplies and money sent to Prince Kropotkin. The latter part of this paragraph is self explanatory in view of the interpretation as given above.)

What a terrible thing about the whole world seems to be a mad house the way people are driven and proscribed for their ideas. Keep me posted about the outcome of their trial, although one can easily foretell what it is going to be. The reactionary forces remain blind among the blind. They learn nothing from experience. That of Mooney still being held after the whole world knows the frame up against him. It is dreadful that a lie should be so hard. But then all lies do you know. (The reference to the Italian boys, means Sacco and Vanzetti.) I am glad J J is out at last, how many years did he serve. I have lost track. (meaning J. J. McKamara) If you have a chance, send him my congratulations and greetings. I suppose he will now work hard for his brother (J. B. McKamara) But who will work for that? (Nat Schmidt) The dear boy, does any one know him? I wish you would send him my affectionate greetings. And Caplan too. Poor boys, they paid a heavy price, all of them, largely due to our golden rule friends. (Nat Schmidt) I understand he has butted in again, this time in the H. A. It is awful to be possessed by the Christian. Of course I know Stef was well but the judgment of the

Terribly sorry to learn of Dr. Holodkovsky's death. He was the first anarchist I heard thirty two years ago when I lived in New Haven and worked in a corset factory. He was also a very devoted friend always. I saw little of him in late years but I always remembered him with affection. That brings me to my dear old lady (her aunt). It is so awful to be dependent when one is old. I shiver when I think of it. I do hope your mother does not find it all too trying to look after our invalid lady. What seems to be the matter outside of old age? I am so glad Mo is going to Rochester (Stella Comyn's brother) for his vacation it will relieve you rather a little. My love to the folks at home.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

595

The Emma Goldman Papers

870708003

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, et al, Pittsburgh, Pa.
[19]21 Sept. 24 / [Agent] 1076 [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].—
10 p.; 26 x 17 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Agent No. 1076 includes in his report the text of a July 12, 1921, letter from Goldman to Stella Ballantine, followed by his own explanation of Goldman's abbreviations and cautious language. Goldman is disappointed that many friends, in Russia and the United States, do not see through the Bolshevik facade.
Notes: Broken type; portions illegible. Two shots of page one.

Page 9

9/10:9/22-1921

In re: Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, et al

13:00

By the way dear, you must see our Doctor friend just as soon as this reaches you. (Dr Cohn) Tell him his brother is very hard pressed (Goldman and Berkman) He had hoped Malcfsky would let him have something but he showed himself very petty. The Doctor must find a way to help his brother. R faces a terrible winter (Russia), so he must find a way to relieve his own at least.

I have received one of Ellen Kennen's letter (an anarchist girl), also saw one she sent to a friend of hers, but I can not reply. Letter writing from here is sheer torture. I do always think of Ellen affectionately. Her friends here have neither judgment nor understanding (Anarchist friends in Russia). Give her my love and ask her to transmit my affections to Gertrude. It will certainly be an event for Gertrude to have her baby. I hope everything will pass off safely.

Dear old Juju, she is a faithful soul (colored maid employed by Emma Goldman for years.) I will have to send her a little gift. I forgot when I sent my gifts along through H. A. but I will find something soon. Give Juju my love and tell her I miss her and think of her often. By the way, if you should happen to see Lucy R, tell her Bob is all right and sends his love. (This party unknown at present.)

I have been disturbed a dozen times today. Now it is two A.M. Have been under great mental strain this week and most concerned about some matters. July 13. Could not finish last night and now I must take this letter to my dear friend Angelica Balabanova she is to send it with some outgoing delegates. I will write again soon. (The delegates acted as couriers).

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

596

The Emma Goldman Papers

871102015

[Letter] 1921 Sept. 26, Washington [D.C. to] Stuart Heintzelman, Director, Military Intelligence [Division, War Department], Washington, D.C. / William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Burns sends copies of the General Intelligence Bulletin to the director of Military Intelligence.
Notes: For enclosure, see 871102014.

ADDRESS REPLY TO DIRECTOR,
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION,
AND REFER TO INITIALS.

Department of Justice,
Bureau of Investigation,
Washington.

1 Encl.
OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF
MIL. INTEL. DIV. 25
JEH-LW 30
10110-1683
237
WAR DEPARTMENT
3284

September 26, 1921.

Lt. Col. Stuart Heintzelman,
Director Military Intelligence,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

There are inclosed herewith copies No 19 to 30 of
General Intelligence Bulletin No 70 for the week ending Sep-
tember 17, 1921.

Very truly yours,

W. J. Burns
Director.

RECEIVED

Inclosure
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cw

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597

The Emma Goldman Papers

810402110

[Memorandum re: Emma Goldman, 1921 Oct. 1] / [Military Intelligence Division, War Department]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Military Intelligence reprints a report from Riga that Goldman plans to return to the United States.

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF

MIL. INTELL. DIV.

10110-154

1921

10110-154

WAR DEPARTMENT

328x

Emma Goldman to return to U.S.

Riga, Sept. 26th. Emma Goldman is going back to the United States according to a Moscow dispatch which says she asserts she has found less liberty in Russia than she did in America, "her home". She plans to leave Russia in November. (Chi. H. & E. 9/27/21.)

(Situation Survey for wk. ending Oct. 1, 1921, 6th C.A.)

M.H.

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598

The Emma Goldman Papers

810402109

[Memorandum re: Emma Goldman] 1921 Oct. 1 / [Military Intelligence Division? War Department?]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Military Intelligence calls attention to a report on Goldman in the General Intelligence Bulletin.

Notes: For Bulletin mentioned, see 871102014.

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF
MIL. INTEL. DIV.

OCT 5 1921

10110-15-4

Confidential

Oct. 1, 1921. WAR DEPARTMENT
328 X

MEMORANDUM FOR FILE

See General Intelligence bulletin No. 70 copy 30.
containing information concerning Emma Goldman

10110-1683 (216)

MAH

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599

The Emma Goldman Papers

870731000

[Agent Report In] re: Emerson P. Jennings—Alleged Bolsheviki Activities, New York [1921 Oct. 19?] / Victor J. Valjavec [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 3 p. ; 34 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Valjavec describes his interview with Emerson Jennings, who recently returned from Russia. Jennings suggests that the United States allow Goldman and Berkman to return to speak against Bolshevism.

Notes: Enclosed with 810617068.

Instructions received from Agt. Scully, Chg. Intell. Br.

| | | | |
|---|--|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| REPORT MADE AT: N.Y. | DATE WHEN MADE: 10-11-1921 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 10-11-1921 | REPORT MADE BY: J. VALJAVEC |
| RE: EMERSON P. JENNINGS. | | | |
| TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: Alleged Bolsheviki Activities. | | | |
| At New York City. | | | |
| FACTS DEVELOPED: Referring to Bureau letter mentioned below, I boarded this morning with Agent Valkenburg the SS. Baltic, which arrived from British ports. Subject arrived as a first cabin passenger and after he appeared for the usual inspection before the Immigration Officials, agents were introduced to him also as members of the Boarding Squad of the Government officials. During the interview which followed while the steamer was on her way from the Quarantine Station to New York, subject expressed his desire to meet either the Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes, or the Secretary of the Department of Commerce, Mr. Hoover in order to give them a real description of the political and economical situation in Soviet Russia from the American commercial point of view. | | | |
| He went to Soviet Russia as a representative of the American Commercial Association to promote trade with Russia and also as representative of the Lehigh Machine Company, as this Company of which he is the president, contracted with Russia to sell to the Soviets one thousand printing presses for \$4,500,000. It was agreed that the Soviets would pay 25% of the above mentioned sum after his arrival in Moscow. He arrived in Reval, Esthonia during the first part of December 1920 and communicated then with <u>SANTERI NUORTEVA</u> , who was at that time attached to the Anglo-American Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow. <u>NUORTEVA</u> then communicated with the Russian. | | | |
| REFERENCE: GFR. 10-11-1921. | COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: WASHINGTON - 3; N.Y. - 2. VJV:ECM. | | |

ORIGINAL

Records of the Office of the Counselor
file 861.0-358

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600

The Emma Goldman Papers

870731000

[Agent Report In] re: Emerson P. Jennings—Alleged Bolsheviki Activities, New York [1921 Oct. 19?] / Victor J. Valjavec [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 3 p.; 34 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Valjavec describes his interview with Emerson Jennings, who recently returned from Russia. Jennings suggests that the United States allow Goldman and Berkman to return to speak against Bolshevism.

Notes: Enclosed with 810617068.

.-2-.

sian representatives in Reval and subject could proceed to Soviet Russia December 10, 1920. When he arrived in Moscow, he met NUORTEVA, who promised that his contract would go through within two or three weeks. Shortly after came the news about the deportation of MARTENS and GREGORY WEINSTEIN from America to Soviet Russia and the consequence was, that subject was not received by any of the leading commissioners with the exception of LEONID KRASSIN, who received him very coolly and did not have time for a business conversation. He also met several members of the Supreme Council of National Economy, however, without any success, insofar as his contract was concerned.

SANTERI NUORTEVA, who was also in charge of the office where the parcels sent from foreign countries were received for the final distribution, was not very particular as to the addresses and so it happened, that the parcels were distributed among his friends as presents from NUORTEVA. The consequence was that he was sent to jail and GREGORY WEINSTEIN became Chief of the Anglo-American Division in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He then appointed his assistants and assistants to the assistants, who without a single exception are "pedigree-Jews"; they in turn appointed clerks of the same race, so that the "Anglo-American Division is 100% Yiddish."

WEINSTEIN and MARTENS, who were deported from this country are doing everything in their power to favor trade relations with any country and especially with Germany, all this in order to hamper the eventual trade between Soviet Russia and the United States. Minister of Foreign Affairs, TCHITCHERIN, can be influenced with ease. This fact is well known to the commissaries, who are using their influence to the

7-1100

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601

The Emma Goldman Papers

870731000

[Agent Report In] re: Emerson P. Jennings—Alleged Bolsheviki Activities, New York [1921 Oct. 19?] / Victor J. Valjavec [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 3 p. ; 34 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Valjavec describes his interview with Emerson Jennings, who recently returned from Russia. Jennings suggests that the United States allow Goldman and Berkman to return to speak against Bolshevism.

Notes: Enclosed with 810617068.

.-3-.

utmost extent and among them LITVINOV should be especially mentioned.

Subject also stated, that he is convinced, that the best Anti-Bolsheviki propagandists in America would be the Russian Bolsheviki and other radicals, who were deported from this country to Russia, as all of them were thoroughly cured of their idealism and their definition of Bolshevism, therefor he suggests to allow some of them to return. Even such radicals as EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERKMAN, would, according to his estimation, lecture among their former confederates in this country, that Bolshevism is nothing more than tyranny and oppression and that real liberty exists only under the protection of "Old Glory."

Subject is willing to furnish all the names of the people he came in contact with while in Russia and those in this country, who gave funds for the maintenance of the Soviet Bureau in New York, however, he was not in a position to do this today, as his papers were in his baggage and he was anxious to see his wife, who resides at present, c/o M.J. Crockett, 23 Parkwood Street, Springfield, Mass., to which place he proceeded after he landed in this port. He intends to remain in Springfield for a few days only and will then return to New York, where he will stop at the Hotel Annex and will then go to his permanent home at Leighton, Pa. He can always be reached through his brother, A.O. JENNINGS, who has an office at 176 Park Row, New York City.

After he returned from Russia to Reval, Esthonia, (July 1921) he prepared a statement in form of a general report addressed to the members of the American Commercial Association To Promote Trade with Russia and other interested American Manufacturers.

A copy of his report is attached to this report. TO BE CONTINUED.

7-1109

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602

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Dorothy Miller, Pittsburgh, Pa. [19]21 Oct. 25 / [Agent] 1071
[Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p. ; 26 × 16 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Agent 1071 reports that none of the Provincetown Players had received direct word from Goldman since she left.

REPORT FORM NO. 1.

| | | |
|--|--|-------------------------------|
| #1071 | REPORT MADE BY:
#1071
PLACE: Pittsburgh, Pa. | DATE: 10/27-10/23
10/25/21 |
| TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION:

In re: Dorothy Miller | | |
| STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS: EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.:

I am advised that Dorothy Miller, anarchist and common-law wife of ----- Baurie, City Editor of "The New York Call", was a guest at the home of L. M. Walsh all week, she being here with the Provincetown Players.

I overheard a conversation between L. M. Walsh, Cecil Clovelly also of the Provincetown Players, and some others, relative to the general anarchist situation in the United States at the present time. Clovelly stated that in the tour of the Provincetown Players, so far, they have discovered that the Anarchist groups are rather badly disorganized at the present time, and that the only ones that seem to be functioning at all are the Italian groups. He said they are doing good work, and through their influence he believed the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense will be heard from in many countries before the case is over.

In the conversation relative to Emma Goldman, it was apparent that none of the Provincetown Players had | | |
| COPY OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: | | |

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603

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Dorothy Miller, Pittsburgh, Pa. [19]21 Oct. 25 / [Agent] 1071
[Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 26 × 16 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Agent 1071 reports that none of the Provincetown Players had received direct word from Goldman since she left.

Report Form No. 2

Page 2

10/17:10/23-1921

In re: Dorothy Miller

had direct information about her since they left New York.

In fact, Walsh stated that about the only information these people had was from a letter that he had which had been received from Emma Goldman sometime ago.

7-571

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604

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Oct. 25, Washington [D.C. to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Burns sends Hurley a report on an interview with Emerson Jennings, who just returned from Russia.
Notes: For enclosure, see 810617068.

Department of Justice,

ADDRESS REPLY TO DIRECTOR.

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

AND REFER TO INITIALS

GPR-MMP

61-4-1

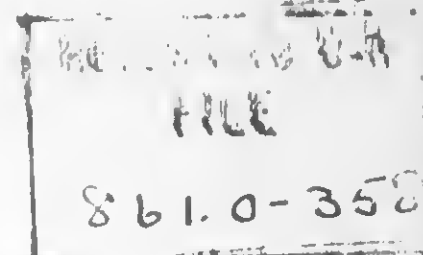
DIV. OF RUSSIAN AFFAIRS

NOV 2 1921

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

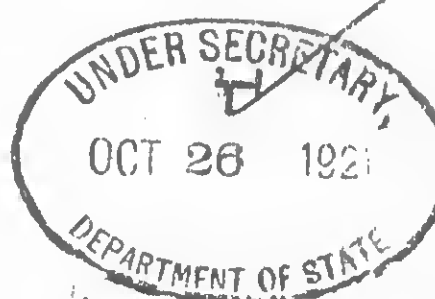
Bureau of Investigation,

Washington.



October 25, 1921.

Mr. W. L. Hurley,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.



card all names

My dear Mr. Hurley:

Reference is made to your communication of recent date concerning the arrival of EMERSON P. JENNINGS, in New York. For your information on this subject, there is inclosed herewith, copy of report of Agent Valjavec, of New York, dated October 19th, 1921.

R
U-2
file

Very truly yours,

W. J. Burns
Director.

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605

The Emma Goldman Papers

810402111

[Weekly Situation Survey, week ending Oct. 29, 1921 (excerpt)] / [Military Intelligence Division, War Department].— 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Military Intelligence's weekly situation survey notes that radicals in the United States are trying to help Goldman get a passport to leave Russia for England.

Notes: Enclosed with 810402112 and 810409035.

1921
10110-154
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NOV 2
WAK DEPARTMENT
3284

Emma Goldman Restive.

Radicals are said to be trying to enlist the aid of the Soviet legal representatives in New York City to secure a passport from the Soviet Government for Emma Goldman. She has applied to the Soviet for a permit to leave Russia and go to England, from where she intends to go to Canada. (H-1).

Source: Sixth Corps Area, Weekly Situation Survey - week ending
October 29, 1921. 255-A-14 page 10.

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606

The Emma Goldman Papers

810402112

[Letter] 1921 Nov. 3 [Washington, D.C. to] W[illiam] J. Burns [Director] Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / [Stuart Heintzelman] A[ssistant] C[hief] of S[taff, Military Intelligence Division, War Department].—
1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The head of Military Intelligence sends Burns a report that Goldman is trying to leave Russia.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810402111.

10110-154
M.I.4.

1921
OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF
MIL. INTEL. DIV. 6

10110-154

67

WAR DEPARTMENT
328K

November 3, 1921.

Mr. W. J. Burns,
Chief, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Burns:

Herewith is transmitted, as of possible interest,
a copy of a report taken from the Situation Survey of the Sixth Corps
Area, for the week ending October 29, 1921 concerning Emma Goldman.

Yours very truly,

For the A. C. of S., G-2:

W. H. COWLES,
Major, Cavalry,
Chief, M.I.4.

1 encl.
hjn

DEPT.

NOV 4 1921

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

607

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Nov. 3, Washington [D.C. to] W[illiam] L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State, Washington, D.C. / [Stuart Heintzelman] A[ssistant] C[hief] of S[taff, Military Intelligence Division] War Department. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.
 Summary: The head of Military Intelligence sends Hurley a report on Goldman's attempt to leave Russia.
 Notes: For enclosure, see 810402111.

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

In replying refer to

10110-154

M.I.4.F.

WAR DEPARTMENT
 OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
 WASHINGTON

RETURN TO U-H
 FILE

861.0-668

RECEIVED
 NOV 8 1921
 DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

Mr. W. L. Hurley,
 Office of the Under Secretary,
 Department of State,
 Washington, D. C.

RECEIVED
 NOV 3 1921
 DIVISION OF
 WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

My dear Mr. Hurley:

Herewith is transmitted, as of possible interest,
 a copy of a report taken from the Situation Survey of the Sixth
 Corps Area for the week ending October 29th concerning Emma
Goldman.

Yours very truly,

For the A. C. of S., G-2:

W. H. COWLES,
 Major, Cavalry,
 Chief, M.I.4.

1 encl.
 hjn



COPY
 from
 THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
 Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
 Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

608

The Emma Goldman Papers

810402114

[Memorandum] 1921 Nov. 3 [Washington, D.C. to T. Worthington Hollyday] Military Observer, Riga, Latvia / [Stuart Heintzelman] A[ssistant] C[hief] of S[taff], Military Intelligence Division, War Department]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Heintzelman informs Hollyday that radicals in the United States are trying to help Goldman get a passport to leave Russia.

10110-154
N.I.4.

OFFICE OF THE
MIL. INT. DIV.

10110-154
69

WAR DEPARTMENT

November 3, 1921.

From: A. C. of S., G-2.
To: Military Observer, Riga, Latvia.
Subject: Emma Goldman Restive.

The following is quoted from a report taken from the Situation Survey of the Sixth Corps Area for the week ending October 29, 1921:

"Radicals are said to be trying to enlist the aid of the Soviet legal representatives in New York City to secure a passport from the Soviet Government for Emma Goldman. She has applied to the Soviet to go to Canada."

This is for your information.

For the A. C. of S., G-2:

M. CHURCHILL,
Major, General Staff.

hjn

1041

1041

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609

The Emma Goldman Papers

Credential [to International Anarchist Congress of 1921] 1921 Nov. 7 [for Alexander Berkman (government transcript)] / S. Borowoy. — 1 p. ; 36 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The Peter Kropotkin Memorial Committee authorizes Berkman to represent it at the International Anarchist Congress.

Notes: Enclosed with 810409020. For Goldman's credential, see 810409022.

CLASSIFICATION CANCELED: Authority: letter
of 1-8-58 from W. H. Anderson, State Dept
By A. J. Heise Date 4-29-64

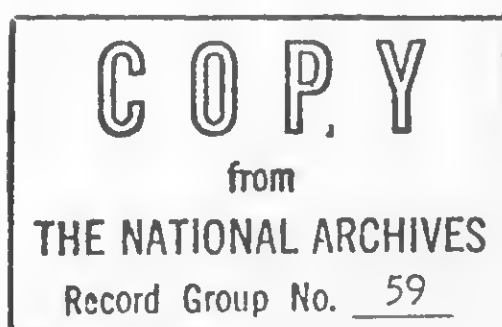
Moscow, November 7, 1921.

No. 733

C R E D E N T I A L

The bearer of this credential Comrade
Alexander BERKMAN is hereby authorized by the Peter
Kropotkin Memorial Committee to represent it at the
International Anarchist Congress, which is to be held
in Berlin in December 1921.

Secretary: S. BOROWOY.



General Records of the Department of State
Decimal File Number 311.6124 K47/D

610

The Emma Goldman Papers

Credential [to International Anarchist Congress of 1921] 1921 Nov. 7 [for Emma Goldman (government transcript)] / S. Borowoy. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The Peter Kropotkin Memorial Committee authorizes Goldman to represent it at the International Anarchist Congress.

Notes: Enclosed with 810409020. For related document, see 810409021.

CLASSIFICATION CANCELED Authority: letter
of 1-8-58 from W. H. Anderson, State Dept.
By R. 2. Hise Date 4-29-64

Moscow, November 7, 1921.

No. 732

C R E D E N T I A L

The bearer of this credential Comrade Emma
GOLDMAN is hereby authorized by the Peter Kropotkin
Memorial Committee to represent it at the International
Anarchist Congress, which is to be held in Berlin in
December 1921.

Secretary: S. BOROWOY.

C O P Y
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Decimal File Number 311.6124 K47/ID

611

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Nov. 9, Cleveland, Ohio [to] Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.
[fragment] / Loyal American League.— 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The Loyal American League informs the Justice Department that Harry Weinberger expects President Harding to commute the sentences of I.W.W. members Giovanni Baldazzi and Charles Ashleigh. The League strongly objects.

Notes: Broken type; light copy.

LOYAL AMERICAN LEAGUE

No. 57 PUBLIC SQUARE

OFFICE OF STAFF
MIL. INTEL. DIV.

1921

1000-104

NOV 14

THE ONE FLAG FOR AMERICA



YOUR FLAG
OUR FLAG

C O P Y

CLEVELAND, O.

WAR DEPARTMENT
37-54

November Ninth,
Nineteen Twenty One.

Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen:

The following information comes to our attention today, and we believe it proper to forward same to you. We cannot vouch for the absolute correctness of the statement, but we have much confidence in the source from which it comes. If the report regarding Baldazzi is correct, certainly the wrath of millions of our boys in the army together with their fathers and mothers, would fall on the heads of those responsible for the release of such a brazen traitor.

Emma Goldman's attorney, Harry Weinberger, who specializes in keeping Anarchists out of jail, gave out the following report: The cases of Giovanni Baldazzi and Charles Ashleigh, two political prisoners of the Chicago group of I.W.W.'s, now serving long terms at Fort Leavenworth under the Espionage Act, are being considered by President Harding, with a view to the commutation of their sentences. Weinberger made the announcement upon receipt of a letter from Attorney General Daugherty. The letter also said that the cases of Jack Lay and Vincent St. John, two others of the Chicago group, would be brought before the President in the near future.

It is unbelievable that Pres. Harding was presented with the genuine evidence in Baldazzi's case as the records in Judge Landis' Court will prove that Baldazzi while on the stand openly admitted that he was an Anarchist and believed in overthrowing so-called capitalistic governments by force. Informant was in Court on that day in Chicago, when Baldazzi made the confession. If the President really wants evidence against Baldazzi, let him ask Lieutenant Commander Van Antwerp of the Naval Intelligence Dept. on the Pacific Coast for reports on Baldazzi's activities during the war. Baldazzi is a baker by trade and he wanted to get a job in a bakery supplying bread to our soldiers so he could feed them poisoned bread. Such a traitor seeks freedom so he can practice his dirty work again.

As to Charles Ashleigh - President Harding ought to know that it was Ashleigh who with his writings stirred the I.W.W.'s to force a free speech fight in Everett, Wash., which cost the lives of about a dozen men.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

612

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Nov. 10, Washington [D.C. to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Burns informs Hurley that American radicals are trying to help Goldman get a passport to leave Russia.

Notes: For related documents, see 810402111 and 810409035.

RETURN TO U-H
FILE
861.0-668

Department of Justice,

Bureau of Investigation,

Washington.

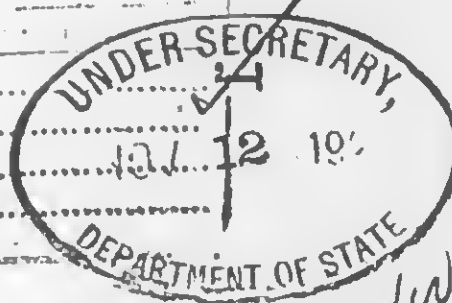
November 10, 1921.

ADDRESS REPLY TO DIRECTOR,
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION,
AND REFER TO INITIALS.

GFR/LMR

61-291-1

NOV 15



RECEIVED
NOV 15 1921
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mr. W. L. Hurley,
Department of State,

Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Hurley:

As of possible interest and for such attention as you may deem advisable, I am quoting the following report which was received from the office of the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department.

"Radicals are said to be trying to enlist the aid of the Soviet legal representatives in New York City to secure a passport from the Soviet Government for Emma Goldman. She has applied to the Soviet for a permit to leave Russia and go to England, from where she intends to go to Canada".

I am endeavoring at the present time to secure information from my eastern offices confirming this report.

Very truly yours,

W. J. Burns
Director.

COPY
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

613

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Nov. 10 [Washington, D.C. to] Charles A. Bancroft [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Boston / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Burns instructs the Boston office of the Bureau of Investigation to watch for Goldman's re-entry.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible. Response to 810402112. For reply, see 870708004.

GFR:JMM
61-291-2

November 10, 1921.

Mr. Charles A. Bancroft,
Post Office Box, 3185,
Boston, Mass.

Dear Sir:

The following information has been received from the office of the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department:

"Radicals are said to be trying to enlist the aid of the Soviet legal representatives in New York City to secure a passport from the Soviet Government for Emma Goldman. She has applied to the Soviet for a permit to leave Russia and go to England, from where she intends to go to Canada."

Kindly advise if you have secured any information confirming this report.

Necessary action should be taken to detect the arrival of this individual should she attempt to enter this country in your vicinity.

A photograph will be found in a previous General Intelligence Bulletin from this office.

Very truly yours,

W. J. Burns
Director

61-291-2
RECEIVED
NOV 12 1921 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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614

The Emma Goldman Papers

870708009

[Letter] 1921 Nov. 12, Cleveland, Ohio [to William J. Burns] Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. Bliss Morton, Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Morton informs Burns that Harry Weinberger is helping Goldman get a passport from Russia, after Russia denied her first application.

Notes: Broken type. Reply to letter similar to 870708011. For reply, see 870708010. For related report, see 870708005.

EX-111
TELEPHONE MAIN 4140
EXT IN CHARGE

Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation

304 FEDERAL BUILDING

CLEVELAND, OHIO

November 12, 1921.

Director, Bureau of Investigation,
U. S. Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Re: EMMA GOLDMAN, Anarchist.

Dear Sir:

Bureau letter, GFR-JML, 21-291-1, of the 10th instant, quotes an excerpt from a report of the Military Intelligence of the War Department, to the effect that EMMA GOLDMAN desires to leave Russia, go to England and thence to Canada, and that her friends are endeavoring to enlist the aid of the Soviet legal representative in New York City to secure a passport for her from the Soviet Government.

This question was taken up with a Cleveland organization, which employs a confidential operative among radicals, and from this organization it was learned that they sometimes furnish the M.I.D. with copies or excerpts of the operative's report. The organization produced the operative's report on this matter, which reads:

act 11/17/21
"EMMA GOLDMAN is actually trying to return to America. She has applied to Soviets for a permit to leave Russia to go to England, from where she intends to go to Canada, but the Soviets refused her a permit on the ground that she may carry on counter revolutionary propaganda after she gets out of Russia. A letter from Emma Goldman, giving this information was received by Harry Weinberger, her attorney. Weinberger is now trying to enlist the aid of Atty. Chas. Lecht, the Soviet legal representative in New York City, to secure a passport from the Soviets for her."

Very truly yours,

Bliss Morton
Bliss Morton,
Special Agent-in-Charge.

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615

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Nov. 14, Philadelphia [to William J. Burns] Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Walter C. Foster, Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Foster informs Burns that he has no information on Goldman's attempts to leave Russia.

Notes: Broken type. Reply to letter similar to 870708011.

Department of Justice,

JFMCD:JS

Bureau of Investigation.

314 P.O. BLDG.,
PHILADELPHIA:

November 14, 1921 -

Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C. -

RE: EMMA GOLDMAN
(Passport Matter)

Dear Sir:-

With reference to Bureau letter dated November 10th 1921, initialed "GFR:JMT", in which it is requested that we forward any information we may have concerning the report that EMMA GOLDMAN is trying to enter the United States, wish to state that we have no such information.

Respectfully,

Walter C. Foster
WALTER C. FOSTER
Special Agent in Charge. -

NOV 22 1921

61-291-13

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616

The Emma Goldman Papers

870708007

[Letter] 1921 Nov. 15, Baltimore, Md. [to] W[illia]m J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Clarence D. McKean, Acting Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: McKean informs Burns that he has no information on Goldman's attempts to leave Russia.
Notes: Broken type; barely legible. Reply to letter similar to 870708011.

OFFICE OF
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

TELEPHONE, ST. PAUL 6681 AM
POST OFFICE BOX 523

Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation

X ROOM 100 POST OFFICE BUILDING

BALTIMORE, MD.

Abell Bldg.

November 15, 1921

Wm. J. Burns, Esq.,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir;

Replying to inquiry contained in Bureau letter of Nov. 10, 1921, initials GFR, 61-291-1, relative to possible attempt on the part of EMMA GOLDMAN to return to this country, via England and Canada, — beg to state that no information concerning this report, confirmatory or otherwise, has been obtainable here to date. This office will continue to keep in touch with this matter and the proper local officials are being requested to detect the arrival of this alien should she attempt to enter the country in this vicinity.

Respectfully,

Clarence D. McKean
Clarence D. McKean,
Acting Agent-in-Charge.

8851

61-291-14

RECORD

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617

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman—Anarchist, Buffalo, N.Y. [19]21 Nov. 15 / [W.L.] Bucha[nan], Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Agent Buchanan submits a progress report on his efforts to find information on Goldman's possible return to the United States.

Notes: Broken type; portions illegible. Response to letter similar to 870708011. For follow-up report, see 870708037.

| | | | |
|--|--|------------------------------------|-------------------|
| REPORT MADE AT.
Buffalo, N.Y. | MADE:
11/ 15/21 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
11/10/21 | RE:
W.L. Bucha |
| TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
EMMA GOLDMAN | | ANARCHIST | |
| FACTS DEVELOPED:
At Buffalo, New York. | | | |
| <p>Referring to above letter which requests information in connection with a report that subject is trying to enlist the aid of Soviet representatives to secure a passport from the Soviet Government to enable her to re-enter the United States. - Agent has made inquiries among informants, etc. and has been unable to secure any information confirming this report.</p> <p>Investigation will be continued in Rochester where she formerly lived and elsewhere, and should any further information be obtained same will be immediately submitted. The immigration officials along the Canadian border have been notified to take every precaution to detect the arrival of subject.</p> <p>Continued.</p> | | | |
| REFERENCE: | COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:
Washington-2; Buffalo-1 | | |

DEC 6 1921
67-291-15
WLB-CLT

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618

The Emma Goldman Papers

870708005

[Agent Report In] re: Emma Goldman -- Alleged Attempt to Return to the U.S., New York [19]21 Nov. 16 / George J. Starr [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. -- 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Starr describes his interview with Charles Recht, the American attorney for the Soviet government, who denies helping Goldman get a passport.

Notes: For related documents, see 870708009 and 870708011.

Instr. of Spec. Agt. C.

| | | | |
|--|---|------------------------------------|-----------------|
| REPORT MADE AT:
NEW YORK, N.Y. | DATE WHEN MADE:
11/16/21 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
11/14/21 | GEORGE J. STARR |
| TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
RE: <u>EMMA GOLDMAN</u>
Alleged Attempt to return to the U.S. | | | |
| FACTS DEVELOPED:

Agent interviewed Mr. Charles Recht, the legal representative of the Soviet Government in the U.S. and in the course of a personal conversation on other matters, questioned him about the above subject.

Mr. Recht stated that he had never acted in any legal matters for Emma Goldman, did not know her personally and in view of the fact that she had not been able "to get along" with the Soviet Government, he would not be at all apt to take any steps on her behalf at this time, as he was acting for the Soviet Government only. Whatever private practice he has is of a purely local nature.

Proper notification has been sent by letter to the Immigration officers in this district to be on the lookout for subject. | | | |
| <div style="text-align: right;"> <p>DEC 16 1921</p> <p>61-291-16</p> <p>RECORD</p> <p>COPIES</p> </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>NOV 19 1921</p> <p>DIVISION</p> </div> <div style="text-align: left;"> <p>11/23/21</p> <p>copy to H</p> <p>J. J. H.</p> <p>g. j. h.</p> </div> | | | |
| REFERENCE:
GFR/LLR
61-291-1
11/10/21 | COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:

ORIGINAL | | |

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619

The Emma Goldman Papers

900315001

[Letter] 1921 Nov. 16 [New York to] E[mma] Goldman, [Moscow (excerpt, government transcript)] / [St]ella [Ballantine]. — 2 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The American commissioner in Riga excerpts portions of Ballantine's letter to Goldman, discussing various messages she has sent to Goldman through Jacob Abrams and others.

Notes: Lower portion of page one and upper portion of page two only. Enclosed with 810409020. For other transcribed letters, see 810409025, 900315000, 900315002 and 900315003.

CLASSIFICATION CANCELED Authority: letter
of 1-8-58 from W. H. Anderson, State Dept.
By R. J. Herie Date 4-29-64

Letter to Emma Goldman from Vera.

Moscow, December 10, 1921.

Acknowledges receipt of a letter from E. Goldman, transmitted to her by Mr. C. Seems very anxious about the German visas . . . "I took over to Ang. the letter for her, but did not see her . . . Shadourskaya happened to be there, she came out to talk with me, told me that Ang. is leaving for Sw. these days, so you will be able to correspond through the party paper (Politiken, I think)" . . .

Vera.

Letter to Vera from Emma Goldman.

Riga, Dec. 20, 1921.

. . . You might send your next letter, from Sonya, to poste restante Stockholm, using my first initial only and name (i.e. family name). But if you should hear that I am in B - n, then send your letters to R.R., but in double envelope; my name being on the inside envelope, while on the outside one you can have my initials only in the left hand lower corner. . .

36 Grove St. Nov. 16, 1921.

To E. Goldman from Hella.

. . . I hope by this time you have received the \$300 I sent with Dr. R. also the long letter he carried. He also carried a large sum to the Doc's brother. We are a little confused by the many addresses you sent us. I lately wrote to Mr. Collas care of the British Mission in Riga, as per former letter. All other letters were sent to A. Shapiro, Moscow. I also sent copies . . . Things are as usual in Rochester.

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from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Decimal File Number 311.6124 K47/ID

620

The Emma Goldman Papers

900315001

[Letter] 1921 Nov. 16 [New York to] E[mma] Goldman, [Moscow (excerpt, government transcript)] / [St]ella [Ballantine]. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

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Notes: Lower portion of page one and upper portion of page two only. Enclosed with 810409020. For other transcribed letters, see 810409025, 900315000, 900315002 and 900315003.

- 2 -

Please have faith in all of us over here . . . The children sail November 23rd. They will probably reach you before this . . . I am going to Ellis Island tomorrow. I am giving Abrams a verbal message for you, a plan. The boys were determined to go, Mollie is going, of course under protest. I haven't heard from H.A. in weeks and weeks. I understand he is writing a book and not articles. I cannot get word to Nicolai, and it seemed foolish to send money to nothing but poste restante. Millie and Peepsie are both now in Jan's school. Millie is in the nursery department and Peepsie is in the office of the Bureau of Educational Experiment. They hear from Max every week . . . You can reach Aline at any time through the Guaranty Trust Company # 1 rue des Italiens, Paris, her headquarters . . . I gave her Max address. Dr. Mac is going to Germany for the Congress. We were hoping H.M. would go, but it is not settled.

Shapiro.

London County & Westminster Bank Limited
Upper Clapton Branch
98 & 100 Upper Clapton Road
London, N.E. 19th October 1917.

Mrs. Shapiro.

Letter to Shapiro.

Berlin, December 8, 1921.

Acknowledges receipt of letter of 4th inst. Regrets to be unable to do anything in the matter of visas as they "have no influence in the quarters where visas are issued". In

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General Records of the Department of State
Decimal File Number 311.6124 K47/10

621

The Emma Goldman Papers

870708010

[Letter] 1921 Nov. 17 [Washington, D.C. to] Bliss Morton [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Cleveland, Ohio / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Burns instructs Morton to pursue his investigation into Goldman's possible return to the United States.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible. Reply to 870708009.

November 17, 1921.

CTR/LRB

61-291-12

Mr. Bliss Morton,
Federal Building,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to your communication of the 12th instant concerning Emma Goldman.

I would appreciate your keeping in close touch with this informant and securing any further information which he may develop along this line.

Very truly yours,

W. J. Burns
Director.

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622

The Emma Goldman Papers

870708019

[Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman—Anarchist, Detroit, Mich., 1921 Nov. 21 /
J.S. Apelman [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].—
1 p.; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Apelman has no information on reports that Goldman plans to return to the United States.

Bureau letter 632 21-291-1 November 10, 1921.

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| REPORT MADE AT:
Detroit, Mich. | DATE WHEN MADE:
Nov. 21, 1921 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
Nov. 18, 1921 | REPORT MADE BY:
J. S. Apelman |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

EMMA GOLDMAN Anarchist.

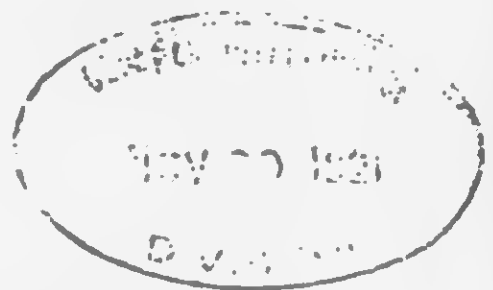
FACTS DEVELOPED:

At Detroit, Michigan.

In connection with this matter, letters have been written to P. L. Prentiss and Earl F. Coe, Inspectors in Charge of the U. S. Immigration Service at Detroit and Pt. Huron respectively, requesting their cooperation.

No information could be secured through informants or otherwise that would confirm the report that EMMA GOLDMAN is making preparations to come to this country.

Read by
NOV 29 1921
Wm. J. Burns



RECORDED

REFERENCE:

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:

ORIGINAL

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623

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Nov. 21, Boston [to William J. Burns] Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Charles A. Bancroft, Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Bancroft informs Burns that he has no information on Goldman's efforts to return to the United States.

Notes: Broken type. Reply to 870708011.

Department of Justice.

Bureau of Investigation.

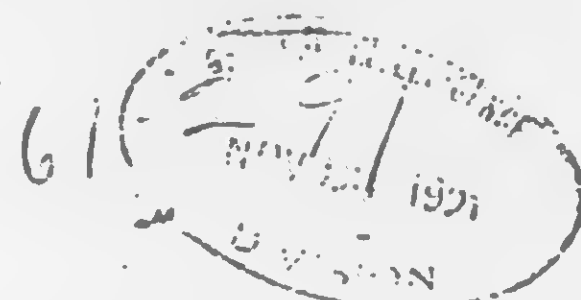
196/103.

7 Water Street, Boston, Mass.

November 21, 1921.

WJW/D.

Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.



Dear Sir:

In reply to its letter No. 61-291-1 of the 10th instant, initialed GFR-JWM, the Bureau is informed that this office has no information, nor has it heard of any rumors of radicals attempting to enlist the aid of the Soviet legal representatives in New York City to secure a passport from the Soviet Government for EMMA GOLDMAN. If any such information should come to the attention of this office the Bureau will be notified.

The Immigration officers, including the U. S. Commissioner of Immigration at Montreal, Canada, have been advised confidentially concerning the possible attempt of EMMA GOLDMAN to re-enter the United States.

Very truly yours,

Charles A. Bancroft

Charles A. Bancroft,
Special Agent in Charge.

READY W. J. F.

NOV
DEPT. OF JUSTICE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

Provisional [Agenda] 1921 Dec., Berlin [government transcript] / International Anarchist Congress. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The International Anarchist Congress prepares its provisional agenda.

Notes: Enclosed with 810409020.

CLASSIFICATION CANCELED Authority: letter
of 1-8-58 from W. H. Anderson, State Dept.
By A. J. Kess Date 4-29-64

INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST CONGRESS

Berlin, December 1921

Provisional Order of the Day.

1. Constitution of the Congress.
2. Reports of the various delegations on the anarchist movement
in their respective countries.
3. Anarchism and organization.
4. Anarchism and the peasant question.
5. The so-called dictatorship of the proletariat - authoritative
and individualistic conception of revolution (Anarchist
conception).
6. Activity of the anarchists in the trade-unions movement.
7. Revival of the International Anarchist Bureau.
8. Deliberation on motions submitted.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State

Decimal File Number 311.6124 K47/ID

625

The Emma Goldman Papers

[List of Names from Berkman's Address Book, between 1919 Dec. to 1921 Dec. (government transcript)] / [Alexander Berkman]. — 3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The American Commissioner in Riga transcribes names from Berkman's address book and sends them to the State Department.

Notes: Enclosed with 810409020. For similar list taken from different notebook, see 810409027.

CLASSIFICATION CANCELED Authority: letter
of 1-8-58 from W. H. Anderson, State Dept.
By A. Z. Nease Date 4-29-64

M. C. A. 24 W 16th - N. Y.

L. D. A. O. O. 63 W 36 City
19 - 83

Prof. Eiohenhausen 105-93, Saperny Pereulok, No. 16, corner of
Znamenskaya, Qu. 53 (Moscow)

Edwin Buch... 49 W 39 St. NY City

Angelika Balabanova - Brussovsky 8, Tel. 301-88 (Moscow)

M. B. 735 E. 182nd St.

Your child 36 Grove St. (As if you could forget it!)

Gene 1556 Riikood Honolulu

A.S.B. (old friend of Bab). 3 Monadnash St. Dorchester. Mass.

B. B. (the Amer ..king) 21 Van Dam St. M.

Kitty. 1310 Yeon Bldg or 419 C of C Bldg. Portland

A. B. (Sugartop) 715 Merritt Bldg. Los Angeles

Miriam, Clinton Ar St. Westfall Rd. Rochester

Smitty 8013 Platt Av. Cleveland, O.

B. S. Canuthersville Ms.

M. S. o/o Mrs. Lawrence, Oneonta NY

Lee - Newspaperman

Rose S 95 - 5th Av.

Dolly - 88 Washington Place

Coo - 1117 Harris Bldg - Chicago

Rudin - 529 Mercantile Bldg. Roch...

Sister - 475 Clinton Av. N - Rochester

Beu C - 613 Jackson St. Lpeka - Kans.

Bessie D. - (Mo's friend) - 2109 Harrison Av. - NY.C.

Dt. C. - Hotel Princess, Bermuda, or Sea Gate L. L.

Jania M. - 244 Thompson St.

Carl - Hjortkvarn, Sweden - o/o. Brand, Olandsgaten, Stookholm

Ben - 25 E Walton Place Lola - Washtg Bookshop 17 W 8th St.

Rose J. (or F.) 274 Meroer St. Kansas City

M.F. Jake - 275 St. Washington Av. NY

Lioness - 857 Broadway 28 Grove

EGF - 7 E 15th St.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State

Decimal File Number 311.6124 K47/ID

The Emma Goldman Papers

[List of Names from Berkman's Address Book, between 1919 Dec. to 1921 Dec. (government transcript)] / [Alexander Berkman]. — 3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The American Commissioner in Riga transcribes names from Berkman's address book and sends them to the State Department.

Notes: Enclosed with 810409020. For similar list taken from different notebook, see 810409027.

-2-

M. 1056 Hal Av. Browe

Sara G. (new business add) 38 E 59th NY

J.H. 1722 Carr St. St. Louis

J.Hr. 40 - 7th Av - City

Hepnau - 74 Ellecott St. Roch.

H.H. - Harvard Club - W 44

Gleditsch - o/o. University of Christmaa - Monday - (her address can be had here, or letter reached her o/o. Univ.)

Workers Inst. - 1006 Ashland Blvd, Chicago, Ills

Mlle Corneveaux - 134th W. 70th St. NY - City

Sina Camensky - 462 South Goodman R. NY

Albert Jensen, Heleneborgs gattan 25 B.60 Stookholm

A.J. 1336 Welmot Av Anee Arbor or 661 Seneoa Av. Detroit

Hauk -

Edna - 27 E 62nd St.

Krapotkin - Schedev 22-24 - Leontofsky Pereulok 26, quarteere 38 (Moscow)

Miss Koroboreinka - Hotel Cosmopolite - Copenhagen Denmark

Bessie Kimmelman o/o Mr. Prsedman 989 - 9th Ave - NY City

Grace K. - 1421 Clayton St. Denver

E.A.K. - 5 Patchin Pl. City

Kapa ... 8 - 71 139 - 57

Rudolf Hockla - Kirchhof Strasse 3, Neu-Koeln, Berlin

Rose Bayevskaya, Stoleshnik Pereulok 6, Qu. 5 (Moscow)

R.B. & Madeline. Carls friend of Essex Co. 70 - 5th Av.

Jao. M. - 507 Arcade Bldg. - Pittsburg

L.M. - 121 S. Pearl Albany

Dorothy M. - 80 Grove St. - NY

Hauk

Bob o/o M.E.F.

J.M. - 540 Manhattan Av.

Alvina Nitzke - 314 W. (or N.) 58th St. NY City

Carl Newlanden, Hjortkavn, Sweden

M.B., Mirbach Strasse 23 III, Berlin O. 112

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THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State

Decimal File Number 311.6124 K47/ID

627

The Emma Goldman Papers

[List of Names from Berkman's Address Book, between 1919 Dec. to 1921 Dec. (government transcript)] / [Alexander Berkman]. — 3 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The American Commissioner in Riga transcribes names from Berkman's address book and sends them to the State Department.

Notes: Enclosed with 810409020. For similar list taken from different notebook, see 810409027.

-3-

A.P. - 606 W 115

Mary H.VOB 24 Charles St. or Provincetown

O. St. F.P. 1011 - Holland Bldg. St. Louis

Kate, Box 47, Jeff. City Ms.

Van 120 Broadway, Room 1216

Vovshin, Spaso-Glinistchesky Pereulok 4, Qu. 12, near Karosseika (Moscow)

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State

Decimal File Number 311.6124 K47/ID

628

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409090

[Photographs of Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and Alexander Schapiro, Riga, Latvia, 1921 Dec.] / [author unknown]. — 1 p. ; 35 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The Latvian authorities take photographs of Goldman, Berkman, and Alexander Schapiro in Riga.

Notes: Enclosed with 810409089 and 810409092.



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from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

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629

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 6, Berlin [to Emma Goldman, Moscow (government transcript)] / Krausch. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The Managing Committee of the Federation of Communistic Anarchists of Germany describes its unsuccessful efforts to get Russian exit visas and German entry visas for Goldman, Berkman, and Alexander Schapiro to go to the International Anarchist Congress in Berlin.

Notes: Enclosed with 810409020.

CLASSIFICATION CANCELED Authority: letter of 1-8-58 from W. H. Anderson, State Dept. By R. L. Heine Date 4-29-64

Hermann Heitmann,

Berlin, December 6, 1921.

Berlin No. 20,

Stettiner Strasse, 33, p. II.

Dear Comrades:

On October 12 we addressed to the Commissar of the Russian Government in Moscow, as well as to their local representative here, the application to grant you, as well as comrades A. B. and A. Sch., permits to leave Russia. To this application we have to the present day received no reply. Only the local representation returned our letter, with the laconic remark: "Blackmailing letters are not accepted". Our endeavors, and those of Comrade R. Rucker, to obtain the German visas from the German Government, have also up to this day remained futile.

The Congress will definitely take place during the period between December 25 and 31. We have hopes that the Congress will be well attended.

Comrade Malatesta is one of the Italian comrades. He has already given his approval. The Russian Federation of Communistic Anarchists of the U. S. A. and Canada will also be represented. England will be represented by the delegate Dr. Salkind, and Switzerland by Bertoni.

We hope that you will be successful in your attempts, in the last minute, to use the legal way, since the illegal way remains open any time. As regards ourselves, we shall continue our endeavors to obtain the required visas, but you must reckon with the possibility of failure in this respect.

With fraternal greetings of solidarity -

The Managing Committee of the Federation
of Communistic Anarchists of Germany.

(Signed) By order: Krausch.

Comrade Jartschuk arrived
today at Berlin.

COPY
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Decimal File Number 311.6124 K47/ID

630

The Emma Goldman Papers

900315002

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 8, Berlin [to Alexander] S[c]hapiro, [Riga, Latvia (excerpt, government transcript)] / [Fanny?] S[c]hapiro. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The American Commissioner in Riga excerpts a letter to Schapiro discussing visa problems to get into Germany.

Notes: Lower portion of page one and upper portion of page two only. Enclosed with 810409020. For other transcribed letters, see 810409025, 900315000, 900315001, and 900315003.

- 2 -

Please have faith in all of us over here . . . The Children sail November 23rd. They will probably reach you before this . . . I am going to Ellis Island tomorrow. I am giving Abrams a verbal message for you, a plan. The boys were determined to go, Mollie is going, of course under protest. I haven't heard from H.A. in weeks and weeks. I understand he is writing a book and not articles. I cannot get word to Nicolai, and it seemed foolish to send money to nothing but poste restante. Millie and Peepsie are both now in Jan's school. Millie is in the nursery department and Peepsie is in the office of the Bureau of Educational Experiment. They hear from Max every week . . . you can reach Aline at any time through the Guaranty Trust Company # 1 rue des Italiens, Paris, her headquarters . . . I gave her Max address. Dr. Mac is going to Germany for the Congress. We were hoping H.M. would go, but it is not settled.

Shapiro.

London County & Westminster Bank Limited
Upper Clapton Branch
98 & 100 Upper Clapton Road
London, N.E. 19th October 1917.

Mrs. Shapiro.

Letter to Shapiro.

Berlin, December 8, 1921.

Acknowledges receipt of letter of 4th inst. Regrets to be unable to do anything in the matter of visas as they "have no influence in the quarters where visas are issued". in

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from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State

Decimal File Number 311.6124 K47/D

631

The Emma Goldman Papers

900315002

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 8, Berlin [to Alexander] S[c]hapiro, [Riga, Latvia (excerpt, government transcript)] / [Fanny?] S[c]hapiro. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The American Commissioner in Riga excerpts a letter to Schapiro discussing visa problems to get into Germany.

Notes: Lower portion of page one and upper portion of page two only. Enclosed with 810409020. For other transcribed letters, see 810409025, 900315000, 900315001, and 900315003.

- 3 -

similar cases in England we used to go to Piosv in Brighton or to some one else of influence. The Congress is not an open one. Not as in Amsterdam. All other friends will also have to come without permission.

Verlags-& Sortiments- Buchhandlung

Fritz Kater, Berlin, O. 34,

Kopernikusstr. 25/II.

Berlin, Dec. 12, 1921.

Informs him that up till now could not get the required visaes, but hopes to be able to do so as "you do not want to stop here, but go to Mexico and you are coming here only for a short time" . . . He still hopes to get the German visae through the intermediary of an old Social Democrat whose nephew is the German representative in Riga. He already wrote to him two letters asking him to help you. The name of the Consul in Riga is Dr. Erich Wallroth. Go to him and he will receive you cordially. On Saturday he was here again and told us that he spoke to the past Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary of Germany and the latter promised him that he will do everything. If you want some help in Riga, you can go to Professor Ballod of the Riga university. Tell him that his Berlin friend of the "Bund Neues Vaterland" Herr Otto Lehmann- Russbuldt has sent you and he, too, will help you . . . In case of not succeeding to get the German visae, writer suggests to go to Sweden, as there are many good friends who know personally the Prime Minister Branting. "If after all our endeavors, we should not succeed, you can go to the Swedish representative in Riga. Tell him that you are going to your friends Axel Holström, Buchverlag, Hagagatan 16,

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from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State

Decimal File Number 311.6124 K47/ID

632

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1921 Dec. 9, Riga [Latvia to Charles Evans Hughes] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / [Evan E.] Young [Commissioner of the United States, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Young informs the Secretary of State that Goldman is in Riga.

Notes: For follow-up, see 810617051.

TELEGRAM RECEIVED.

NOT DISTRIBUTED

LM

01-945

FROM

GRAY

INDEX BUREAU

Rec'd.

DEC 10 1921

Dept. of State.

Riga.

Dated December 9, 1921.

Recd 10:55 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington, D. C.

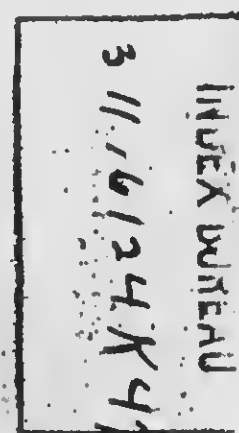
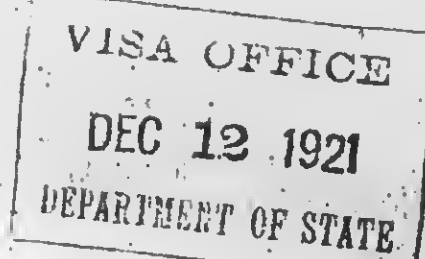
537, December 9, 5 p.m.

Emma Goldman reported to be in Riga endeavoring to proceed to the United States. Am investigating carefully and will keep Department informed.

YOUNG

JS

311.6124 K47



311.6124 K47 / 3 DEC 14 1921

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633

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1921 Dec. 10, Riga [Latvia to Charles Evans Hughes] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington [D.C.] / [Evan E.] Young [Commissioner of the United States, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Young confirms that Goldman and Berkman are in Riga, trying to get to the United States.

Notes: Follow-up to 810617052.

TELEGRAM RECEIVED.

DC

INDEX BUREAU
Rec'd.

DEC 12 1921

Dept. of State.

DIV. OF RUSSIAN AFFAIRS
DEC 13 1921
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FROM

DEC 12 1921
RECEIVED

GREY

Riga

Dated Dec. 10, 1921

Recd., Dec. 10, 5pm

The Secretary of State

Washington

538, Dec. 10, 3pm.

Goldman and Berkman wait here, plans apparently indefinite
will doubtless eventually endeavor enter United State.

HG

-YOUNG



FTT:ED
DEC 30 1921

INDEX BUREAU
3116124 K474

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634

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 10, Moscow [to] Emma Goldman, [Riga, Latvia (excerpt, government transcript)] / Vera. — 1 p.; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The American Commissioner in Riga excerpts a letter to Goldman from Vera in which Vera discusses ways in which they can correspond in the future.

Notes: Upper document only. Enclosed with 810409020. For other transcribed letters, see 900315000 through 900315003.

CLASSIFICATION CANCELED Authority: letter of 1-8-58 from W. H. Anderson, State Dept. By R. Z. Hulse Date 4-29-64

Letter to Emma Goldman from Vera.

Moscow, December 10, 1921.

Acknowledges receipt of a letter from E. Goldman, transmitted to her by Mr. C. Seems very anxious about the German visas . . . "I took over to Ang. the letter for her, but did not see her . . . Shadourskaya happened to be there, she came out to talk with me, told me that Ang. is leaving for Sw. these days, so you will be able to correspond through the party paper (Politiken, I think)" . . .

Vera.

Letter to Vera from Emma Goldman.

Riga, Dec. 20, 1921.

. . . You might send your next letter, from Sonya, to poste restante Stockholm, using my first initial only and name (i.e. family name). But if you should hear that I am in B - n, then send your letters to R.R., but in double envelope; my name being on the inside envelope, while on the outside one you can have my initials only in the left hand lower corner. . .

36 Grove St. Nov. 16, 1921.

To E. Goldman from Hella.

. . . I hope by this time you have received the \$300 I sent with Dr. R. also the long letter he carried. He also carried a large sum to the Doc's brother. We are a little confused by the many addresses you sent us. I lately wrote to Mr. Collas care of the British Mission in Riga, as per former letter. All other letters were sent to A. Shapiro, Moscow. I also sent copies . . . Things are as usual in Rochester.

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from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Decimal File Number 311.6124 K47/D

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635

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]21 Dec. 10, Alliance, Ohio [to William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation] Dep[artmen]t of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Ferris Lightfoot. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

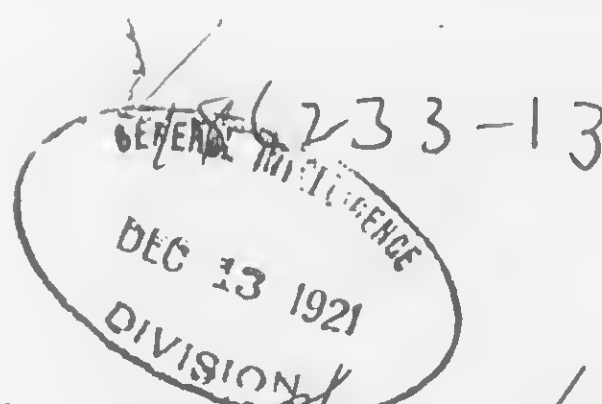
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Lightfoot hopes that the Justice Department will never allow Goldman to return to the United States.

Notes: For enclosure, see 891216005. For reply, see 891216004.

COPY
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE
Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)



Alliance, Ohio 12/10/21.
116 W. Oxford St.

U.S. Dept of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Please note attached clipping.
This woman has been in and out of this
Country several times, and looks as
if she will try to come back.

I hope if the officers at the various
ports of entry in the country will do
their duty she will never be allowed
to step a foot on this land of Freedom
again.

She has never been here yet but what
tried Cause trouble, and now that
she has been deported again, would be a
good time to keep her out for ever.

Very Truly

Read by
DEC 12 1921
Wm. J. Burns

Ferris Lightfoot

12/10/21
186233-13-262
DEPT OF JUSTICE
DEC 12 1921 A.M.
CRIMINAL DIVISION

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

636

The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman Seeks to Return to United States — 32 cm. In [unknown periodical (Dec. 10? 1921)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: The Associated Press reports from Riga that Goldman left Russia and hopes to return to the United States.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. Enclosed with 871102016.

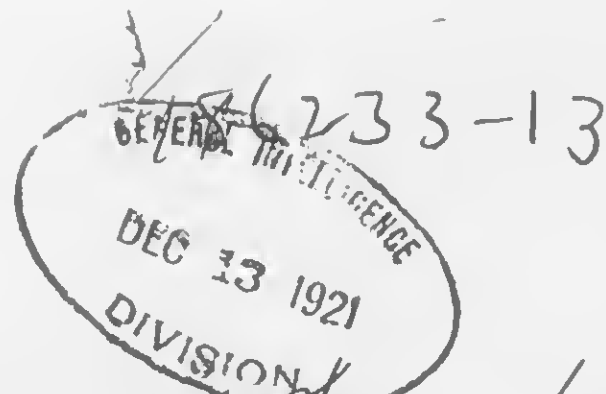
COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)



Alliance, Ohio 12/10/21.
116 W. Oxford St.

U.S. Dept of Justice
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Please note attached clipping.

This woman has been in and out of this Country several times, and looks as if she will try to come back.

I hope if the officers at the various ports of entry in the country will do their duty she will never be allowed to step a foot on this land of Freedom again.

She has never been here yet but what tried Cause trouble, and now that she has been deported again, would be a good time to keep her out for ever.

Very Truly

Read by
DEC 12 1921
Wm. J. Burns

Kenis Lightfoot

12/10/21
186233-13-262
DEPT OF JUSTICE
DEC 12 1921 A.M.
RECEIVED
GENERAL INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

637

The Emma Goldman Papers

891216006

[Letter, 1921 Dec. 10? to Harry M. Daugherty] Attorney General [Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] / A Patriotic Woman. — 1 p. ; 28 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

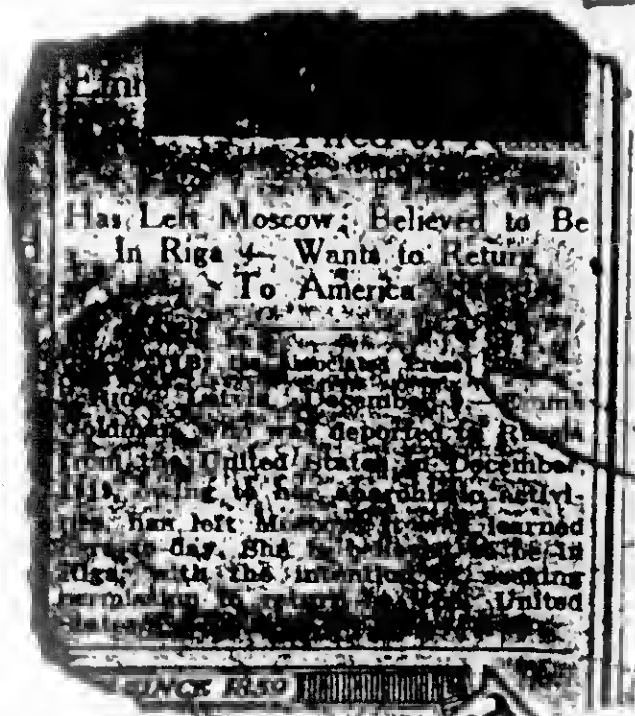
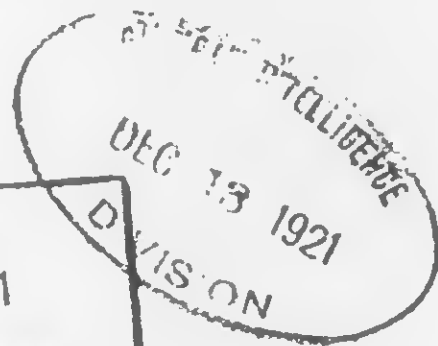
Summary: A "patriotic woman" urges the attorney general not to allow Goldman back into the country.
Notes: For enclosure, see 870814012.

Attorney General Dear Sir
I enclose you a clipping.
I trust it would be made
impossible for Goldman
Berkegan & others of their
ilk to return here, to un-
doubtedly take up their
same activities.
A patriotic woman

186233-13

25-H 8

Read by
DEC 12 1921
Wm. J. Burns



DEC 13 1921

186233-13-261

12

Handwritten signature and initials.

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638

The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman Is Tired of Russia — 34 cm. In [unknown periodical (Dec. 10? 1921)] / [author unknown].
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.
Summary: The Associated Press reports that Goldman is in Riga and wants to return to the United States.
Notes: Enclosed with 891216006. For related documents, see 870717023 and 810402115.

COPY
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE
Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

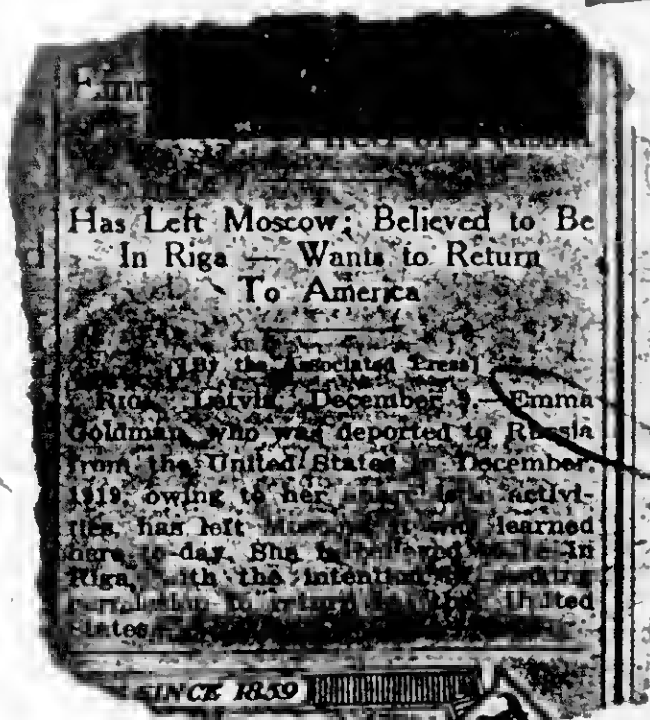
Attorney General Dear Sir
I enclose you a clipping.
I trust it would be made
impossible for Goldman
Wexman & others of their
ilk to return here, to en-
doubtedly take up their
same activities.
A patriotic woman

186233-13

25-H 8

Read by
DEC 12 1921
Wm. J. Burns

DEC 13 1921
DIVISION



FEB 3 1922

186233-13-261

12

Handwritten signature and initials.

The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman Reported To Have Left Russia — 26 cm. In [Baltimore Sun (Dec. 10, 1921)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The Baltimore Sun reports that Goldman is in Riga and hopes to return to the United States.

Baltimore Sun
12/10/21

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF
MIL. INTEL. DIV.

1921 10110-154

70

WAR DEPARTMENT
3280

H. I. Neville

4

12/13

Emma Goldman Reported To Have Left Russia

Deported Anarchist Said To Be Entertaining Hope Of Getting Back To U. S. A.

[By the Associated Press.]

Riga, Latvia, Dec. 9.—Emma Goldman, who was deported to Russia from the United States in December, 1919, as a result of her alleged anarchistic activities, has left Moscow, it was learned here today, and is in Riga, it is believed, with the intention of seeking permission to return to the United States.

Miss Goldman is staying in a Riga apartment, in the building occupied by the Bolshevik Consulate here. It was said there that she was out for the evening.

News that she was in Riga was first obtained through the police, who had registered a woman by that name who arrived a few days ago from Moscow, having a Latvian transit visa permitting her to remain in the country until December 17.

At the American Consulate here it was said she had not applied for a visa to go to the United States.

According to Soviet officials here Miss Goldman probably had little difficulty in obtaining permission to leave Russia, as they said her anarchistic beliefs strongly clashed with the Communistic program. Americans who saw her recently in Russia said she was anxious to return to the United States.

Pardon Essential To Return.

Washington, Dec. 9.—Only Executive clemency—a pardon from President Harding setting aside the court proceedings under which Emma Goldman was deported from the United States—will serve to allow her to return to the United States, Immigration Commissioner Hushand said today. It is not considered probable, it was said, that any recommendations will be made by the immigration authorities asking clemency for her.

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640

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Em]ma Goldman [Leav]es Russia And Is Planning Return to U.S. — 17 cm. In [New York Tribune (Dec. 10, 1921)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The New York Tribune reports that Goldman and Berkman are in Riga and hope to return to the United States.

Notes: Enclosed with 810617050. For related report, see 810402115.



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641

The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman Seeks to Return to America — 35 cm. In [Washington Post (Dec. 10, 1921)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The Washington Post reports that Goldman arrived in Riga from Soviet Russia and hopes to return to the United States.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible. Righthand document only.

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from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

RADICALS REFUSED GOLDMAN ARTICLES

Jewish Paper Scores Socialistic
Press for "Suppressing
Unpleasant Facts."

BIASED UNBIASED STAND.

Blow to No One but Workers Is
Journal's Comment.

The Day, one of the Jewish language newspapers, yesterday published the following:

An extraordinary letter by Emma Goldman, the well known Anarchist, appears in a recent issue of the Freie Arbeiter Stimme (Free Workers' Press). In this letter she reports that she has sent a number of articles to America, asking her representative here to place them in the radical press. The letters are of a nature to discredit Bolshevism. Foregoing that it might be difficult to place these letters in the radical press she instructed her representative to place them in the capitalist press as a last resort.

The announcement by a prominent New York daily that the articles are to appear in its columns now makes it clear that the radical press refused to handle the articles.

(The daily referred to is The World, which has announced the publication, beginning next Sunday, of the Goldman articles.)

To the workers more than to any one else, this revelation must be thoroughly disquieting. The workers have always protested with more than a show of reason, that the capitalist press is in the main biased. They have always protested that a workers press is needed in order that they may get unbiased news. If unbiased, it is to be presumed, they meant a paper which, though radical in its editorials, would present reports of fact as they were received from disinterested observers.

Emma Goldman was as far as the labor movement is concerned, a thoroughly reliable observer. No one doubts either her sincerity or intelligence. No one doubts, two years ago, her predisposition to report well on the Bolshevik situation. She was reported from this country not for her Anarchism, which she preached more or less freely for twenty odd years in this country, but for her outspoken sympathy with Moscow. This was all the more remarkable as the essential philosophies of Bolshevism and Anarchism are as wide apart as the Poles.

For whose benefit, then, are the radical papers repressing these articles? Is this their idea of educating the workman—feeding him with biased news? Is this their conception of

EMMA GOLDMAN SEEKS TO RETURN TO AMERICA

Arrives in Riga—Impossible,
Unless President Acts, Says
Official Here.

Riga, Latvia, Dec. 8. (By the Associated Press.)—Emma Goldman, who was deported to Russia from the United States in December, 1919, as a result of her alleged anarchistic activities, has left Moscow, it was learned here today. She is believed to be seeking permission to return to the United States. Miss Goldman is staying in a Riga apartment, in the building occupied by the bolshevik consulate here. It was said there that she was out for the evening. She is registered by the Riga police as having a Latvian transit visa permitting her to remain in the country until December 17. At the American consulate here, it was said, she had not applied for a visa to go to the United States. According to Soviet officials, she is an anarchistic hettler, strongly classed with the communistic program. Americans who saw her recently said she was anxious to return to the United States. Since her arrival in Russia, she has been employed as assisting in the compilation of a history of the Russian revolution. Her attitude is said to have aroused the suspicion of Soviet officials, but she and Alexander Berkman, who was deported with her, were permitted to circulate freely on the condition that they would not speak or conduct agitation on behalf of the anarchists.

(By the Associated Press.)—Only executive clemency can bar Emma Goldman from President Harding's pardon, the court proceedings under which Emma Goldman was deported from the United States, will serve to allow her to return to the United States. Immigration Commissioner Husbard said yesterday that he considered probable it was said that any recommendations will be made by the immigration authorities asking

LENINE MAY SUMMON
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY
Russia's Economic Flight Said
to Make Call Possible After
Soviet Congress.

Riga, Dec. 8. (By the Associated Press.)—Semi-official Moscow advisers indicate that convocation of the constituent assembly is a possible, though not probable, outgrowth of the Soviet congress. It is said it is absolutely necessary to improve Russia's foreign and economic relations, the Russian soviet premier, Lenin, is said to be ready to call the assembly in which he feels certain he can maintain control. Moscow, Dec. 8. (By the Associated Press.)—The attention of the political world in Russia is being concentrated on the all-soviet congress, which will convene December 24. Party machinery is working to determine whether the government shall continue, to many rumors of violent differences among the political leaders. Lenin is said to be determined to brave the opposition of the left to the government's new economic policy. It is considered significant that M. Shaplinkov, who is a member of the central executive committee, has been sent to a post at the

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 12, Berlin [to Alexander Schapiro, Riga, Latvia (excerpt, government transcript)] / Fritz Kater. — 2 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The American Commissioner in Riga excerpts a letter from Kater to Schapiro, discussing his efforts to get a German visa for Schapiro.

Notes: Lower portion of page one only. Enclosed with 810409020. For other transcribed letters, see 810409025 and 900315000 through 900315002.

- 3 -

similar cases in England we used to go to Piosv in Brighton or to some one else of influence. The Congress is not an open one. Not as in Amsterdam. All other friends will also have to come without permission.

Verlags-& Sortiments- Buchhandlung

Fritz Kater, Berlin, O. 34,

Kopernikusstr. 25/II.

Berlin, Dec. 12, 1921.

Informs him that up till now could not get the required visas, but hopes to be able to do so as "you do not want to stop here, but go to Mexico and you are coming here only for a short time" . . . He still hopes to get the German visas through the intermediary of an old Social Democrat whose nephew is the German representative in Riga. He already wrote to him two letters asking him to help you. The name of the Consul in Riga is Dr. Erich Wallroth. Go to him and he will receive you cordially. On Saturday he was here again and told us that he spoke to the past Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary of Germany and the latter promised him that he will do everything. If you want some help in Riga, you can go to Professor Ballod of the Riga university. Tell him that his Berlin friend of the "Bund Neues Vaterland" Herr Otto Lehmann- Russbuldt has sent you and he, too, will help you . . . In case of not succeeding to get the German visas, writer suggests to go to Sweden, as there are many good friends who know personally the Prime Minister Branting. "If after all our endeavors, we should not succeed, you can go to the Swedish representative in Riga. Tell him that you are going to your friends Axel Holström, Buchverlag, Hagagatan 16,

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State

Decimal File Number 311.6124 K47/ID

643

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 12, Berlin [to Alexander Schapiro, Riga, Latvia (excerpt, government transcript)] / Fritz Kater. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The American Commissioner in Riga excerpts a letter from Kater to Schapiro, discussing his efforts to get a German visa for Schapiro.

Notes: Lower portion of page one only. Enclosed with 810409020. For other transcribed letters, see 810409025 and 900315000 through 900315002.

- 4 -

Stockholm, and to Albert Jensen, Heleneborgsgatan 25, B.
Stockholm Sö.

Here are some addresses:

Ernst Klausner, Brakerstr. 29, Bremen.

August Heidel, Seilerstr. 22/I Hamburg.

I suppose you know Rieger. You could write to him. He knows all about you. His address: Stettin, Unterwieck 12 a. Jartschuk still in Camp. Doing all to get his passport prolonged . . . Congress will take place. No delegates arrived. Does not take place in the open. Do not put much hope in it.

- - - - -

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State

Decimal File Number 311.6124 K47/ID

644

The Emma Goldman Papers

890414116

Weekly Intelligence Report, Seattle, Washington District, week ending Dec. 12, 1921
[excerpt] / [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The Bureau of Investigation's weekly intelligence report notes that Goldman left Russia for Latvia.

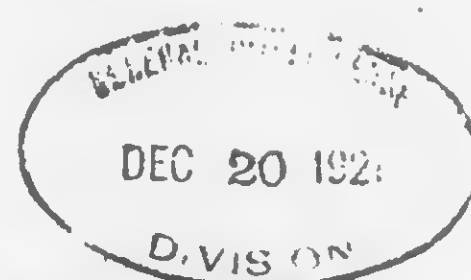
H - 1

ATTENTION OF MR. HOOVER.

61-30

WEEKLY INTELLIGENCE REPORT
SEATTLE WASHINGTON DISTRICT
WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 12, 1921.

249,870
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-9-86 BY SP4/EW/EW



b7C

Copies to: San Francisco; Los Angeles; Portland; M.I.B.

Read by
DEC 20 1921
Wm. J. Burns

NOTED
G.F.B.

61-30-13

| | |
|-------------------------|------|
| BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION | |
| RECORDED | |
| DEC 10 1921 A.M. | |
| DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE | |
| HOOPER | FILE |

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645

The Emma Goldman Papers

Weekly Intelligence Report, Seattle, Washington District, week ending Dec. 12, 1921
[excerpt] / [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The Bureau of Investigation's weekly intelligence report notes that Goldman left Russia for Latvia.

Weekly Intelligence Report Dec.

RAI ACTIVITIES, Cont.

Press dispatches from Mexico City advise that the FIRST INTERNATIONAL AMERICAN LABOR CONGRESS, with avowed radical tendencies, will be held in MEXICO CITY next May, beginning May 1, 1922. PETER SVONICH, continental diplomatic representative of SOVIET RUSSIA in America, is now in MEXICO CITY making preliminary arrangements for the convention, according to an announcement by RAFAEL QUINTERO.

EMMA GOLDMAN, who was deported to RUSSIA from the United States in December, 1919, as a result of her alleged anarchistic activities, has left MOSCOW, and is believed to be in RIGA, LETVIA, with the intention of seeking permission to return to the United States.

THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA have rented the TURNER HALL, at 1819 8th Avenue, Seattle, and every Sunday evening a meeting of some nature will be held, the purpose of which will be to raise funds for the starving RUSSIANS.

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646

The Emma Goldman Papers

890414073

Monthly General Intelligence Report No. 8, 1921 Nov. 16 to Dec. 15 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] / Agent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The Bureau of Investigation's monthly general intelligence report notes that Goldman left Russia for Latvia.

Read by

6 2 8 1921

(u)(7)(C)

MONTHLY GENERAL INTELLIGENCE REPORT NO. 8.

(Being a digest of the newspapers of the District of Columbia for period from November 16 to December 15, inclusive, 1921)

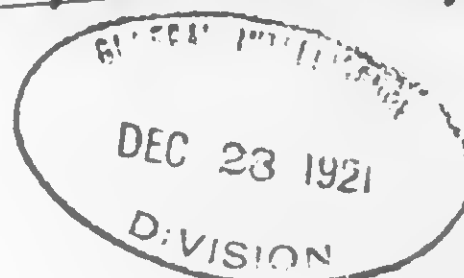
| Subject | Page |
|--------------------|------|
| Immigration | 6 |
| India | 7 |
| Japanese Affairs | 4 |
| Radical Activities | 1-2 |
| Sinn Fein | 5 |

61-45

Prepared by
Special Agent.

249,870
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-9-85 BY SP4 Bw/Ed

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61-45-15 ✓

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13

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647

The Emma Goldman Papers

890414073

Monthly General Intelligence Report No. 8, 1921 Nov. 16 to Dec. 15 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] / Agent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The Bureau of Investigation's monthly general intelligence report notes that Goldman left Russia for Latvia.

weeks, according to word received by Boris Brasol who is in Washington as the "Russian monarchical deligation to the United States". Private cables also recieved by Americans say that Seminoff is now making arrangements in Shanghai to have his passport vised to leave for this country. At the State Department it was said yesterday that no application had been cabled for entry of the notorious Cossack, a necessary preliminary before any American consul may vise a Russian passport. In some quarters it is explained that as Seminoff is politically opposed to bolshevism, he is entitled to entry into the United States.

Seminoff, who, according to the American Army intelligence reports, served an apprenticeship as a hold-up man in lawless Harbin, became headman of the Zabaikal tribe of Cossacks at the time of the Kolchak movement."

The following News item appears in the Star for December 9th:

" Emma Goldman, who was deported to Russia from the United States in December 1919 as a result of her alleged anarchistic activities, has left Moscow, it was learned here today.

She is believed to be in Riga with the intention of seeking permission to return to the United States."

According to the "Washington Herald" of December 2nd, the following is the present status of the Sacco- Vanzetti

Case:

" A bill of exceptions taken at the Sacco-Vanzetti trial was due to be filed by counsel for the two convicted men in Norfolk County superior Court today, but their attorneys asked for an extension of time, which Judge Webster Thayer granted to December 20. The exceptions, it is understood, will deal with alleged irregularities in the jury room.

Sacco and Vanzetti were found guilty in July of the murder of two men in the South Braintree payroll robbery. A new trial was requested. Radicals and liberals in all parts of the world are interested in the case."

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: An undisclosed agent mentions that Jacob Ginsberg, newly named secretary of the Joint Conference of Russian Societies, is a friend of Goldman and Bersman.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|-------------------------------|
| REPORT MADE AT:
Springfield, Mass. | DATE WHEN MADE:
Dec. 15, 1921 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
Dec. 7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 1921 | REPORT MADE BY:
[REDACTED] |
| TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
Joint Conference Russian Societies Springfield, Mass. alleged Communist Agents | | | |
| FACTS DEVELOPED:
At Springfield, Holyoke & Chicopee Falls:
December 7th meeting held in Victory hall, Springfield and on Dec. 9th at the same hall again met to perfect plans for again conducting a drive in the form of a Bazaar and solicitation for funds.
Mrs. Elsie T. Blanc presided and Jacob Ginsberg (close friend and employer at one time of Emma Goldman and Alexander Bergman while they resided in Springfield) with Alfred S. Miller (alias) were named as secretary and treasurer respectively.
It was agreed to name \$20,000 as amount to be raised and to adopt as a slogan, "Milk for Russian Babies". The wording of this slogan caused much hilarity on the part of those present.
Mrs. Blanc announced: "We are gaining new members every day among the high, low, rich and poor. We will soon move into a hall of our own. We are rapidly progressing."
Note: [REDACTED] | | | |
| <div style="text-align: right;">66-620-11</div> <div style="text-align: center;"> BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
 RECORDED
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12-1-86 BY 5464/PLH/IN </div> | | | |
| REFERENCE: | COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED:
WASH 2; SPFLD 1 | | |

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649

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 16, Ellis Island, N.Y. [to Charles Evans Hughes] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / Robert E. Tod, Commissioner [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

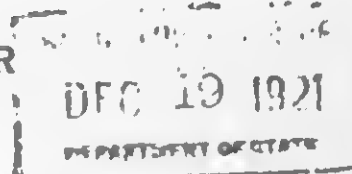
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Anticipating Goldman's possible return, Tod sends the Secretary of State ten photographs of Goldman.

Notes: For enclosures, see 870717023 and 870717024.

ADDRESS ANSWER TO
"COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION"
AND REFER TO NUMBER

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
IMMIGRATION SERVICE



OFFICE OF
COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION
ELLIS ISLAND
NEW YORK HARBOR, N. Y.

98713/52

Dec. 16, 1921.

Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

Reports having reached this office from time to time (see enclosed clipping from the New York Tribune) to the effect that Emma Goldman (who was deported on anarchistic grounds on the Steamer "Buford" December 21, 1919) will endeavor to gain readmission to the United States, I deem it advisable to send you herewith ten copies of a photograph taken of this alien at Ellis Island just before her deportation.

Very truly yours,

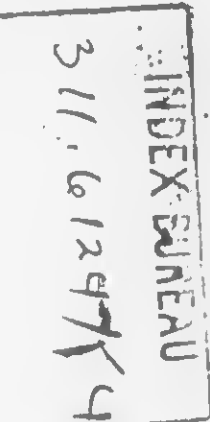
Robert E. Tod

Commissioner.

AFS/HF
Enclosures 20730



*Margaw
Berlin
Paris
London
Rome
Hague
Christiana
Stockholm
Riga
12-23-21
Law*



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650

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 19, Washington [D.C. to] S[tuart] Heintzelman [Assistant Chief of Staff] Military Intelligence Division, War Department, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Hurley informs Heintzelman that Goldman and Berkman are in Riga and may attempt to re-enter the United States.

Notes: For report mentioned, see 810617051.

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



In reply refer to
U-2 311.6124 K 47/4

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

December 19, 1921.

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF
MIL. INTEL. DIV. 10

1921 10/10-154
21

DEC 21

WAR DEPARTMENT
32 PX

Dear Colonel Heintzelman:

I recently received information from Riga, under date of December 10, 1921, to the effect that Goldman and Berkman are waiting at that place. They will doubtless eventually endeavor to enter the United States although at the present time their plans are apparently indefinite.

Very truly yours,

Lieutenant Colonel S. Heintzelman, U.S.A.,
Military Intelligence Division,
War Department,
Washington, D. C.

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651

The Emma Goldman Papers

810617076

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 19 [Washington, D.C. to] W[alter] W. Husband, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / [William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.
Summary: Hurley informs Husband that Goldmao and Berkmao are in Riga and may try to re-enter the United States.
Notes: For report mentioned, see 810617051. For same letter, sent to other officials, see 810402117 and 880615430.

RECORDED
JAN 11 1922
861.0-1007

December 19, 1921.

In reply refer to
U-2 311.6124 K 47/4

Dear Mr. Husband:

I recently received information from Riga, under date of December 10, 1921, to the effect that Goldman and Berkman are waiting at that place. They will doubtless eventually endeavor to enter the United States although at the present time their plans are apparently indefinite.

Very truly yours,

W. W. Husband, Esquire,

Commissioner General of Immigration,

Department of Labor,

Washington, D. C.

U-2/LA7/LBD-ss

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652

The Emma Goldman Papers

810617077

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 19 [Washington, D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / [William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State].— 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley informs Burns that Goldman and Berkman are in Riga and may try to re-enter the United States.

Notes: For report mentioned, see 810617051. Copy of 880615430.

RETURN TO U-H
FILE
861.0-1007

December 19, 1921.

In reply refer to
U-2 311.6124 E 47/4

Dear Mr. Burns:

I recently received information from Riga, under date of December 10, 1921, to the effect that Goldman and Berkman are waiting at that place. They will doubtless eventually endeavor to enter the United States although at the present time their plans are apparently indefinite.

Very truly yours,

William J. Burns, Esquire,

Director, Bureau of Investigation,

Department of Justice,

Washington, D. C.

U-2/LAH/LBD-ss

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653

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 19, Washington [D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] L. Hurley, Department of State. — 1 p. ; 19 × 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.
Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

Notes: For copy, see 810617077.



In reply refer to
U-2 511.6124 E 47/4

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

December 19, 1921.

Dear Mr. Burns:

I recently received information from Riga, under date of December 10, 1921, to the effect that Goldman and Berkman are waiting at that place. They will doubtless eventually endeavor to enter the United States although at the present time their plans are apparently indefinite.

Very truly yours,

W. L. Hurley

William J. Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

RECEIVED
DEC 23 1921
DIVISION

JAN 14 1922

61-291-20

Read By
DEC 23 1921
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

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file
1278

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654

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1921 Dec. 19, Riga [Latvia to Stuart Heintzelman] Ass[istan]t Chief of Staff [Military Intelligence Division] War Dep[artmen]t, Washington, D.C. / T. W[orthington] Hollyday, Military Observer. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Hollyday notifies Heintzelman of Goldman's travel plans.

Notes: For related documents, see 810409046 and 810402129.

(L.S.)#2250

COMMISSIONER OF THE UNITED STATES
OFFICE OF THE MILITARY OBSERVER
RIGA

#201 (Goldman, Emma)
OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF
MIL. INTEL. DIV.

1922

10110-154

74

WAR DEPARTMENT

3284

FEB 7

December 19, 1921.

Subject: Emma GOLDMAN, BERKMAN and Alexander CHAPIRO.

To: Asst. Chief of Staff, G-2, War Dept., Washington, D. C.

RECEIVED G/2 W.D. FEB 7 1922

1. Reference letter #10110-154, M.I.4-F, Emma Goldman is at present in Riga, as is also Berkman and Alexander Chapiro. Emma Goldman was interviewed by the Associated Press correspondent, Mr. Ronnick. She states she is going to travel through Europe and hopes eventually to return to the United States; that she is going to fight to get back her American citizenship. She also states that she is not returning as a prodigal daughter, but still believes in anarchy. Last reports indicate that she was trying to get a German visa, but, so far, has been refused.

2. It is not known what the movements of Berkman and Chapiro will be, but it is believed that they also will endeavor to eventually return to the United States.

T. W. HOLLYDAY,
Major, General Staff,
Military Observer.

TWH/ocs.

quote

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655

The Emma Goldman Papers

891216004

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 20 [Washington, D.C. to] Ferris Lightfoot, Alliance, Ohio / [William J. Burns] Director [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Burns acknowledges the receipt of Lightfoot's letter opposing Goldman's return.

Notes: Reply to 891216005.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

GFR JR
186233-13-262

December 20, 1921

Mr. Ferris Lightfoot,
116 West Oxford St.,
Alliance, Ohio

Dear Sir -

I have your communication of the 10th instant enclosing a newspaper clipping concerning the possible return to this country of Emma Goldman.

I want to assure you that this matter is receiving appropriate attention by my agents, and thank you for your interest in calling same to my attention.

Yours very truly,

Director.

RECORDED
B

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656

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 20, Riga [Latvia to] Vera, [Moscow (excerpt, government transcript)] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The American Commissioner in Riga excerpts a letter from Goldman to Vera in which she explains how to send letters to her.

Notes: Center document only. Enclosed with 810409020. For other transcribed letters, see 810409025 and 900315001 through 900315003.

CLASSIFICATION CANCELED Authority: letter
of 1-8-58 from W. H. Anderson, State Dept.
By R. J. Hulse Date 4-29-64

Letter to Emma Goldman from Vera.

Moscow, December 10, 1921.

Acknowledges receipt of a letter from E. Goldman, transmitted to her by Mr. C. Seems very anxious about the German visas . . . "I took over to Ang. the letter for her, but did not see her . . . Shadourskaya happened to be there, she came out to talk with me, told me that Ang. is leaving for Sw. these days, so you will be able to correspond through the party paper (Politiken, I think)" . . .

Vera.

Letter to Vera from Emma Goldman.

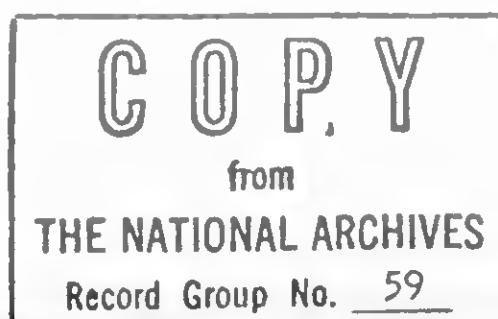
Riga, Dec. 20, 1921.

. . . You might send your next letter, from Sonya, to poste restante Stockholm, using my first initial only and name (i.e. family name). But if you should hear that I am in B - n, then send your letters to R.R., but in double envelope; my name being on the inside envelope, while on the outside one you can have my initials only in the left hand lower corner. . .

36 Grove St. Nov. 16, 1921.

To E. Goldman from Hella.

. . . I hope by this time you have received the \$300 I sent with Dr. R. also the long letter he carried. He also carried a large sum to the Doc's brother. We are a little confused by the many addresses you sent us. I lately wrote to Mr. Collas care of the British Mission in Riga, as per former letter. All other letters were sent to A. Shapiro, Moscow. I also sent copies . . . Things are as usual in Rochester.



General Records of the Department of State
Decimal File Number 311.6124 K47/D

657

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1921 Dec. 21, Washington [D.C. to Commissioners of Immigration, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor], Montreal, Boston, Philadelphia, *et al.* / F.H. Larned, Special Assistant [to the Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Dept. of Labor]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Larned sends Goldman's photograph to immigration officials at numerous ports of entry.

Notes: For copy of enclosed photograph, see 870721001 or 870717024.

Bureau of Immigration
Washington.

No. 52410/43-C

December 21, 1921.

Supplementing Bureau General Letter of the 12th instant,

there is inclosed, herewith, a photographic likeness of
the anarchist alien Emma Goldman who, it has been repre-
sented, will shortly sail for the United States.

For the Commissioner General,
For the Commissioner General

(Signed) F. H. Larned,

WJF:TEM

Special Assistant.

Incl. No. 1172 to 1181 Inclusive.

129
Copies furnished to Montreal, Boston, Philadelphia,
Baltimore, Jacksonville, New Orleans, El Paso, San
Francisco, Norfolk and Seattle.

DEC 22 1921

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658

The Emma Goldman Papers

Diary, 1921 Sept. 10 to Dec. 22 [excerpts, government transcript] / [Alexander Berkman]. — 9 p. ; 35 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Berkman chronicles his experiences in Russia and his departure through Latvia, from September to December 1921.

Notes: Enclosed with 810409020.

COPY
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State

Decimal File Number 311.6124 K47/8

CLASSIFICATION CANCELED Authority: letter
of 1-8-58 from W. H. Anderson, State Dept.
By R. 2. Heizer Date 4-24-64

BERKMAN'S DIARY

September 10 - 1921. Moscow. Today at 11:00 A. M. arrived from Petrograd. Tried hard to get some bread on my but impossible. Only given to children and Red Army.

September 12th. Yesterday wrote E. she needn't rush but may come back in a few days.

September 15th. Nelson is again here from the Caucasus. Bob left for visit. He will see E. Had several letters from her. E. sent over a letter from F. received per Bessie to Vasily. Letter dated April. Can't understand why our mail fails.

September 18th - Sunday. This is the 18th. E. in Petrograd yet. Feels lonesome. I am sick and tired of this life of inactivity. Quite frequently the literary instinct bursts forth, yet I must suppress it and now I almost hate to think of writing. From long suppression the thing is becoming hateful to me. The housekeeping here is driving me crazy.

September 29th. Yesterday it was said that Black Leon is gone. Details not known yet. It had been said that promise of safety had been given him. Hope there will be no war between Russia and Poland. Russia is certainly not in condition to wage war now. Yesterday received wonderful box from E. and the others and one of clothes expected so long ago. Was the most happy surprise. We had lost faith.

October 1st. It was a sad day yesterday in the There appeared a long article regarding alleged underground group and the story of the ten shot. So it is really true! In the same issue last column of first page, a letter signed N. Pavlov stated that he would for the present stop all his work. Together with other articles it made a terrible impression. What poor weaklings mortals be!

October 4th. Everyone feels dejected. Atmosphere of hopelessness and despair. A young man came today from the south. He knew nothing of L.

October 8th. Our people that are to leave have so far nothing positive. L. is to return from Reval. Did not get there in time for Congress.

October 10th. The miracle happened. To our joy we learned yesterday that Vl. is again well. Am preparing to leave for Petrograd.

The Emma Goldman Papers

Diary, 1921 Sept. 10 to Dec. 22 [excerpts, government transcript] / [Alexander Berkman]. — 9 p. ; 35 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Berkman chronicles his experiences in Russia and his departure through Latvia, from September to December 1921.

Notes: Enclosed with 810409020.

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from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State

Decimal File Number 311.6124 K47/8

-2-

October 11th. Well I am still here. At 4:00 P. M. my man phoned all would be ready, i.e. ticket. Asked me to be ready. Well I was but that was the last I have heard from him.

Petrograd - October 13th. Arrived in Petrograd this noon. People here seem to be dressed comparatively well. 75 percent better than in 1920.

October 16th - Sunday. Searched for Barb. Could not find him last evening. Saw last evening B., Liza and Weiss, etc. Latter is in charge of all the Stolovayas for the A. R. A.

October 20th - Moscow. Returned to Moscow yesterday with Barb. Alesha went with me. E. met us. Very hospitable, was glad to see us.

October 26th. Today received from letter of German comrades. So it is decisive, on December 25th. We'll see how it will come out. I am skeptical. E. has more faith in it.

October 28th. After a lot of fuss got ticket to Petrograd. Claudia died last evening in hospital.

October 29th. Left Moscow with Alesha.

October 30th - Sunday. Petrograd. Arrived with Alesha about noon. Yesterday before we left there appeared in the papers the official announcement that the Government would pay all foreign debts to 1914 on condition of its being recognized by the Entente. Quite a furor. Discussed everywhere. It made me sad to leave the house even if it be for only a week or two. Who knows what will happen in the meantime? Things are so uncertain here. Little Vera was sad to let me go. I know the dear girl got attached to me of late. I think it is admiration as if for her older brother, with a mixture of emotion for the man who had suffered much for his cause.

(Date ?) Every day expected in Petrograd our friends who were to come in order to go away. Arrived several days later the old man and some youngster. Suddenly learned that Gerasin pinched and looking for others there.

November 4th - Friday. Was to leave with Markovna. Fortunately got two tickets without losing much time. Marx decided Sunday not to go. Frightened by the most entrance to train. Saturday I visited friends on Vasil. Were glad to see me, even sent for Anna. Had a farewell dinner.

The Emma Goldman Papers

Diary, 1921 Sept. 10 to Dec. 22 [excerpts, government transcript] / [Alexander Berkman]. — 9 p. ; 35 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Berkman chronicles his experiences in Russia and his departure through Latvia, from September to December 1921.

Notes: Enclosed with 810409020.

C O P Y
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State

Decimal File Number 311.6124 K47/8

-3-

I contributing. Stayed the night there but none of went to bed. Interesting talk and intimate conferences. Told them about Tunnel and Russell and how he sacrificed himself for me. Stayed the night there but none of us went to bed. Strange world we live in. How little we know of the tragedies next door and the heartbreaks of the people about us, even nearest us. We were all loathe to leave.

Sunday evening I came home, got ready and then Marx appeared. Well, with help of porter I made the train. Left for Vitebsk. Five times as many people in the car as it could hold. Arrived Vitebsk next day. I was almost crushed getting in the car. This trip the most terrible experience of my life. I thought I would strangle in the car. No windows, fastened to wooden blinds with piece of glass in center. No air. Absolute darkness my candles having gone out. Stinks, quarrels, foul language. Only standing room. So close together I feared all the time my pockets were being picked. Thefts of the most stupendous kind, bottoms almost cut through suitcases, etc. Several arrested on this trip for such work. I stood up all night. Repeatedly I despaired of living through it. I decided then and there never to consent to any friend of mine, especially any woman, making this trip. The whole thing then seemed absolutely hopeless. But I went on through it though bereft of all hope. I felt I would never reach my destination alive, or if I did, it would be useless as no woman could do it and I felt return was almost impossible, so I went on in despair. In Orsha again change of cars but though fierce experience yet not so bad as Vitebsk. It was the train from Moscow. Found no seat and only in the middle of the night sat down a while. In the morning I missed one of my bags. Felt loss of two fine gray blankets and my beautiful new bath robe. Too bad.

Next day (November 9th) I stationed myself at exit and examined everyone's baggage. Mine not there. Took a room here as can't sleep on street. Now busy looking for my sister whom I had not seen in 35 years. Don't know her married name. Much provisions here, most all of which are bought by speculators and sent to Moscow and Petrograd, making millions in the business.

661

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409028

Diary, 1921 Sept. 10 to Dec. 22 [excerpts, government transcript] / [Alexander Berkman]. — 9 p. ; 35 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Berkman chronicles his experiences in Russia and his departure through Latvia, from September to December 1921.

Notes: Enclosed with 810409020.

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from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Decimal File Number 311.6124 K47/8

-4-

November 11th - Friday. Was in despair. Every recommendation I had did not help to find my sister. People lukewarm, asked to come again and again. Would take weeks to get properly in touch. For three days searched for familiar face, all in vain. Address of V. wrong. Late in the afternoon walking on street I saw the long legged Hygomk. What surprise. He was happy as a kid. Took me to woman. All surprised and glad.

November 13th - Sunday. Young Maxim left for Gave him letter for E. Told I remain here to find my sister may be even three weeks. Not a theater worth while. No intellectual life. Rotten.

November 14th - Monday. Decided too expensive to remain at hotel. Room cold. Coughed hard all night. Dirty, loud people. Speculators who call themselves intellectuals. Search for sister will go on here.

November 16th - Wednesday. Monday night froze in Dan's room. No pillows, no blankets. Didn't sleep a wink. Jacob Joseph sick. Gave him some help. Decided to leave tomorrow. Can't find sister just now anyhow. Maybe she will pop up in

November 17th. Decided to leave for Moscow. What's the use hanging around here? Station crowded, smoky, filthy. Awful sight of half-clad poorly dressed and beggars. Travelled in general car but had place to stretch out though hard one. Buffet on train, first time. Almost everything. High prices.

November 18th. Arrived Moscow, two hours late. Almost frozen on way. What surprise for E. that I came on 18th! I sent H. off first so as not to frighten her by my sudden appearance. Then I stepped in. She already at the door. Passports received. The last thing I would have thought of. I was expected though not so soon. All glad to see me. Pavel, Rosa and Vera. E. was very nice.

November 22nd - Tuesday. Yesterday sent radio in cipher. Hope it will go to Kaber asking them to get German Government to instruct local representative to vise our passports. Hope we can make it. Somewhat news of these passports did not gladden me as one might think and I don't know if I am more glad than sad at leaving this poor suffering country and all these lovable people and all the friends we have made in almost two years.

662

The Emma Goldman Papers

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C O P Y
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THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
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General Records of the Department of State

Decimal File Number 311.6124 K47/8

-5-

November 26th - Saturday. On the 23rd had a talk with Lady Dago. It really put me out. Dago seemed to look for an opportunity for a talk with me and was very anxious as to possible results. Dago thought it put it as mildly as mildly as possible but yet clearly indicated her responsibility. Not for the world would she speak with E. about it and insisted I promise not to repeat. Well I see no use repeating it to E. but the whole thing is very indelicate. I am surprised and grieved at it all. I consider the whole thing unnecessary. Well, have been to Latvian and German Missions. In the latter case no instructions received. Former said they will sign it on Monday. We ought to be gone soon. No use delaying. On 23rd had a long talk with V. Seems sorry I am leaving. Rather attached to me. Interesting evolution.

December 5th - Riga. Well we're here, the three of us. In our car were Collas, Fink, and other A. R. A. men. F... type of breezy Americans. Car not very clean. We were seen off by Vas, Pavel and Verotshka. Latter seemed the most upset. Arrived at border. Things examined by Russian officials superficially. Then on Latvian border, paid for "plumbing". Ride uninteresting, slow, impossible connection. At last arrived Riga 11:00 P. M. Saturday 14 or more hours late. Decided to go straight to 25 Took sleigh. Difference evident at once. Big and clean city though economy in lighting noticeable. Bourgeois feeling atmosphere. Well fed horses. Pleasant jingling bells. People well dressed, well fed middle class. Got room for E. S. and I with Large clean room. Very noticeable cleanliness, order. More German like. Talked matters over. It appears it is more advisable to wait here than at Kovno. Visited C. and family.

December 11th. Time is flying. Already over a week here. Things don't look encouraging just now. One hour ago I returned from seeing a man and returned with best and last hope busted. At first it looked as if Mr. Lighthead could attend to matters successfully. Today he became downhearted. The plan failed. General sadness. Still, I had my man in reserve. He came, gave conditions; all was happy again. Seems a sure thing. Later on I met him and the other fellow again. The latter made

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-6-

suspicious and impossible demands and all fell through. It's fisroe. One fait ray there is yet - very faint. E. gave up her room yesterday so I gave her Lightbeard's? room. We slept in our clothes in vacant room upstairs. E. received letter from St. with copy of F's report to Sk. regarding L. G. affair. F. seems to have worked hard investigating. Is convinced foul plot to blacken L. I wrote F. yesterday and today. Asked if she can place sketches, etc. Information from Berlin that many promised to attend, maybe Mac and H. K. among others.

December 14th. Wire from Jensen today. Entrance to Sweden permitted. Great rejoicing here. Hold family confab. Necessary to go to Swedish Consulate, get visas, and on strength of it get German transit visas. Was good idea of August.

December 16th. Making the runs of consulates. Hell, it's some nuisances. Mademoiselle Berg of the German Mission is a veritable "enfant terrible" on the visas needed. Seems an efficient worker. Acts as Chief Clerk and does most of the work herself. Sits at the center table in ante-chamber to Consul's office and receives all applicants. Has a business like manner. Knows her work and has got good memory for faces evidently. Noticeable differences of her treatment to poorly dressed people. Through S. was informed from B. that K. sent two letters to Ambassador. Everything was turned over to the Secretary and through him to Berg. She insisted we must fill out papers and give two photographs each. On the 15th our papers were sent to B. Can be no reply before Monday or Tuesday. Swedish Mission made no difficulty after they received word from Stockholm. Visited also shipping office and Lithuanian and Estonian Missions. The latter informed us visas can be had from them quickly once the main visas are secured. From them we need only transit visas. Planning to go either via Reval to Stockholm or via Kovno and Konigsberg. In the former case we need Estonian, in the latter Lithuanian visas. In either case we need the German. Swedish refused today to issue visas unless we stated definitely which route we take. We could not do that yet, so we must wait till we receive word from Berlin. We got no wire from friends in Berlin. I fear they can't manage the thing successfully. At any rate

664

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-7-

We are stuck here till we hear either from them definitely or from official Berlin. I sleep with S. E. in the floral department. Leberev and wife and child also, very fine folks. Live next door to us. Entirely absorbed in their work of economic aid to R. Courier here in the is an old man, cousin of the famous Dyphohs. He says of himself, "I used to be Colonel of something Staff. Now I'm courier for the Bolsheviks.

Women here not beautiful. Stocky, unusually well developed legs, big hips. But at least they don't paint, as in Moscow. Only prostitutes seem to paint here.

December 18th. My resurrection day passed quietly. We were not in a mood to celebrate it. No news regarding the German visas.

December 20th. Yesterday received mail from Moscow. Letter from Shurva, jointly for me and S. Terrible letter. She was heartbroken when she learned that we had left. The letter she wrote was in a suicidal mood. No one to talk to, no one to live for. Bad news in the mail yesterday. First, letter to Maximof, sent off with no Russian money. Tomorrow we must either prolong our visas here or get Swedish visas and start on our further way.

December 21st. Early this morning the three of us agreed to divide the work of the day among us. S. went out to see if anything was received at the German Consulate. I was to visit a place about getting information about getting visas prolonged but we met S. coming out of the German Embassy. "Abgelehnt" he informed us. We did not worry about the wire yesterday from the Berlin foreign office. We had paid for it but thought we might have to wait for it until Saturday and that meant continuing our Latvian visas. Well there is no use waiting here, though our Berlin people are still trying. But now it will be useless. We decided then to take tomorrow the 4:00 P. M. train for Reval. We have missed the Wednesday boat which goes only once a week. We stay then till next Wednesday in Reval and then go to Stockholm. What is afterwards we'll see.

Visited the Swedish Consulate to get visas. Orders to issue them

665

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-8-

have already been received from Sweden several days. But for some unexplained reason the girl at the Consulate, after consulting the Consul, insisted we should get Esthonian visas first. The usual proceeding is just the contrary. Went to Esthonian Consulate and there they seemed to think it strange that Swedish Consulate should have sent us to them first. But we had asked the Swedish Consulate to phone to Esthonian Consulate that Swedish visas are secured by us. Evidently they did and within fifteen minutes we secured the Esthonian visas. Quickest work done here yet. The Latvian visas expires tomorrow just at the time we are supposed to reach the Esthonian border. What awaits us there I wonder.

This is just the day two years ago that we were taken aboard the "Buford". It was midnight, December 20-21, 1919, when we were called out, going aboard about 7:05 A. M. December 21st. Just two years! What joy and woe crowded these last two years, but mostly grief, disappointment and disillusion. Really terrible when I stop to think of it. The enthusiasm of those days at the thought of nearing the promised land! Where is it all gone? Sent a lot of postals today, last greetings from Riga to Petrograd, Moscow, N. Y. Where shall we be this Christmas? and New Year's? It seems to me we are just drifting, going where we could not stay. I regret we did not get an opportunity to go to Kovno - my connection and letters of recommendation might have helped. It is no use now.

Yb. (or Ub.) will come to put on our suitcases early in the morning. Incidentally he was discharged from his work today by order of Ganetzky for having been seen drunk presumably, actually, for "having broken order"; i.e. visited a public drinking place, though as a matter of fact he got drunk while visiting with us at Mrs. C. But Yb. (or Ub.) says he will ignore the order. "The transport business here can't exist without me", he says.

Thursday - December 22nd. Noon, Riga. Probably my last sojourn in Riga. Got up early, about 8:00 A. M. (Usually get up 9 - 10) as we retire late. Packed things and prepared in general. Letters and postals for friends to be mailed today from here. Sorry I can't take along "Back to Methusalem"

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-9-

Shaw's latest. Clever in spots. Also taking along pamphlets sent us from Germany and the C. P. he received from Russia long ago. His preface might have been omitted, may get certain people in trouble there.

667

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Notes: Dark copy; portions illegible. Handwritten margin notes by Bureau of Immigration official. Copy of 810409028.

September 10 - 1921. Moscow. Today at 11:00 A. M. arrived from Petrograd. Tried hard to get some bread on my but impossible. Only given to children and Red Army.

September 12th. Yesterday wrote N. she needn't rush but may come back in a few days.

September 15th. Nelson is again here from the Caucasus. Bob left for visit. He will see N. Had several letters from her. N. sent over a letter from V. received for Bessie to Vasily. Letter dated April. Can't understand why our mail fails.

September 16th - Sunday. This is the 16th. N. in Petrograd yet. Feels lonesome. I am sick and tired of this life of inactivity. Quite frequently the literary instinct asserts forth, yet I must suppress it and now I almost hate to think of writing. From long suppression the thing is becoming hateful to me. The housekeeping here is driving me crazy.

September 27th. Yesterday it was said that Black Leon is gone. Details not known yet. It had been said that promise of safety had been given him. Hope there will be no war between Russia and Poland. Russia is certainly not in condition to wage war now. Yesterday received wonderful box from N. and the others and one of clothes expected so long ago. Was the most happy surprise. We had lost faith.

October 1st. It was a sad day yesterday in the There appeared a long article regarding alleged underground group and the story of the ten shot. So it is really true. In the same issue last column of first page, a letter signed N. Pavlov stated that he would for the present stop all his work. Together with other articles it made a terrible impression. What poor weaklings mortals be!

October 4th. Everyone feels dejected. Atmosphere of hopelessness and despair. A young man came today from the south. He knew nothing of L.

October 8th. Our people that are to leave have so far nothing to say.

that V. is again well. In Petrograd I have for some time

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121
 would be ready, i.e. ticket. Asked me to be ready. Well I was but that was the last I have heard from him.
 Petrograd - October 15th. Arrived in Petrograd this noon. People here seem to be dressed comparatively well. 25 percent better than in 1920.
 October 16th - Sunday. Searched for Barb. Could not find him last evening. For last evening R. Lisa and Wina, etc. Later is in charge of all the deliveries for the A. R. A. for Vitobak. Five lines as usual.
 October 17th - Monday. Returned to Moscow yesterday with Barb. Alaska went with me. R. not so. Very hospitable, was glad to see us.
 October 18th. Today received from me a letter of Emma's. It is decisive, on December 25th. We'll see how it will come out. I am skeptical. R. has more faith in it. controls, foul language. One child.
 October 19th. After a lot of fuss got ticket to Petrograd. Gladia died last evening in hospital. Atrocious mind, beating almost out through.
 October 20th. Left Moscow with Alaska's trip for such work. I liked.
 October 21st - Sunday. Petrograd. Arrived with Alaska about noon. Yesterday before we left there appeared in the papers the official announcement that the Government would pay all foreign debts to 1914 on condition of its being recognized by the Entente. Quite a fuss. Discussed everywhere. It made me sad to leave the house even if it be for only a week or two. Who knows what will happen in the meantime? Things are so uncertain here.
 Lillian Tammara and I left me. I have the same girl still attached to me of late. I think it is admiration as if for her older brother, with a mixture of emotion for the man who had suffered much for his cause.
 (Date ?) Every day expected in Petrograd our friends who were to come in order to go away. Arrived several days later the old man and some youngster. Suddenly learned that Kozmin pinched and looking for others there. He was there. Look, from here as usual.
 I visited Emma on Tuesday. Very glad to see me, even sent for Anna. Had a farewell dinner.

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Contributing. Stayed the night there but none of went to bed.

Interesting talk and intimate conferences. Told them about Tunnel and Russell and how he sacrificed himself for me. Stayed the night there but none of us went to bed. Strange world we live in. How little we know of the tragedies that occur and the heartbreaks of the people about us, even nearest us. We were all ready to leave.

Next evening I came home, got ready and then Marx appeared. Well, with help of porter I made the train. Left for Vitebsk. Five times as many people in the car as it could hold. Arrived Vitebsk next day. I was almost crushed getting in the car. This trip the most terrible experience of my life. I thought I would strangle in the car. No windows, fastened to wooden blinds with pieces of glass in center. No air. Absolute darkness my candles having gone out. Stinks, quarrels, foul language. Only standing room. So close together I feared all the time my pockets were being picked. Thiefs of the most stupendous kind, bottoms almost out through cushions, etc. Several arrested on this trip for such work. I stood up all night. Repeatedly I despaired of living through it. I decided then and there never to consent to any friend or mine, especially any woman, making this trip. The whole thing then seemed absolutely hopeless. But I went on through it though bereft of all hopes. I felt I would never reach my destination alive, or if I did, it would be useless as no woman could do it and I felt return was almost impossible, so I went on in despair.

In Orsha again change of cars but though fierce experiences yet not so bad as Vitebsk. It was the train from Moscow. Found no seat and only in the middle of the night sat down a while. In the morning I missed one of my bags. Felt loss of two fine gray blankets and my beautiful new bath robe. Too bad.

Next day (November 28) I stationed myself at exit and examined everyone's baggage. Mine not there. Took a room here as can't sleep in street.

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man, cousin of the famous Ryshaba. He says of himself. "I used to be
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Notes: Dark copy; portions illegible. Handwritten margin notes by Bureau of Immigration official. Copy of 810409028.

...s latest. Clever in spots. Also taking along ...
from Germany and the G. P. he received from Russia long ago. His ...
might have been omitted, may get certain people in trouble there.

128

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

676

The Emma Goldman Papers

870708017

[Em]ma Goldman Going to Reval — 28 cm. In [Boston Traveller (Dec. 22, 1921, fragment)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The *Boston Traveller* reports that Goldman and Berkman are going from Riga to Reval.

Notes: Barely legible. Upper document only. Enclosed with 870708016.

THURSDAY, DEC 24 DAY.

EMMA GOLDMAN GOING TO REVAL

A. Latvia, Dec. 23 (By A. P.)—
a Goldman and Alexander Berk-
left Riga this afternoon for Reval.
ela. Berkman told the correspond-
my were going to Stockholm.
y were facing deportation back to
a by the Lettish authorities. as
entered permission to stay in
e city today.

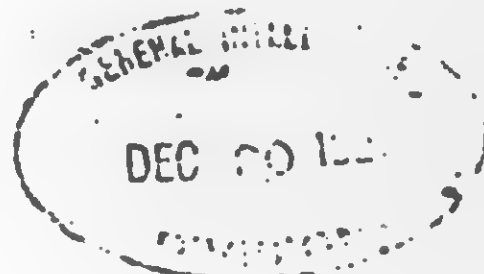
Department of Justice.

Bureau of Investigation.

P. O. Box 3185.
7 Water St., Boston, Mass.

December 24, 1921.

61-291



William J. Burns, Esq.,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

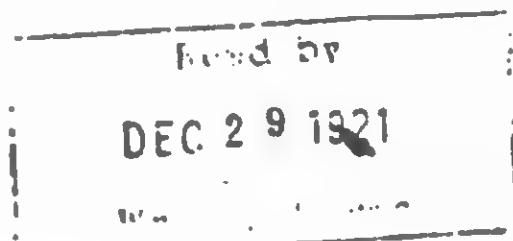
Dear Sir:

Complying with instructions contained in S. A. C.
letter No. 71, I am enclosing herewith clipping taken from
the Boston Traveller of December 22, 1921, which may be of
interest to you.

Yours very truly,

Charles A. Bancroft
Charles A. Bancroft,
Special Agent in Charge.

Enc. 1.



61-291-20

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

677

The Emma Goldman Papers

810617088

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 23 [Washington, D.C. to] Hugh S. Gibson, American Minister [Department of State], Warsaw [Poland] / [William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley sends Goldman's photograph to Gibson to help him keep track of Goldman.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870824000. For reply, see 810409124.

RETURN TO U-H
FILE

861.0-1007

In reply refer to
U2

December 23, 1921.

Dear Hugh:

Reports having reached this office from time to time to the effect that Emma Goldman (who was deported on anarchistic grounds, on the Steamer BUFORD, December 21, 1919) has endeavored to gain readmission to the United States, it has been deemed advisable to transmit to you a copy of a photograph taken of this alien at Ellis Island just before her deportation.

In case any information regarding this individual is brought to your attention, I should appreciate being advised at the earliest possible moment thereafter.

As ever,

Enclosure:
Photograph.

The Honorable

Hugh S. Gibson,

American Minister,

Warsaw,

U2-LAW/GC/ss

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678

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Telegram] 1921 Dec. 22, Riga [Latvia to Charles Evans Hughes] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / [Evan E.] Young [Commissioner of the United States, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Young notifies the State Department that Goldman and Berkman could not get visas to Germany and are going to Estonia.

TELEGRAM RECEIVE

03

INDEX BUREAU

Rec'd.

Gray
FROM
RIGA

DEC 23 1921

Dept. of State.

Dated Dec. 22, 1921

Rec'd 7:11 p.m.

VISA OFFICE
DEC 28 1921
DEPARTMENT OF STATEASSISTANT SECRETARY
DEC 29 1921
DEPARTMENT OF STATEINDEX BUREAU
11.6124/1247

Secretary of State,

Washington, D.C.

542, Dec. 22, 3 p.m.

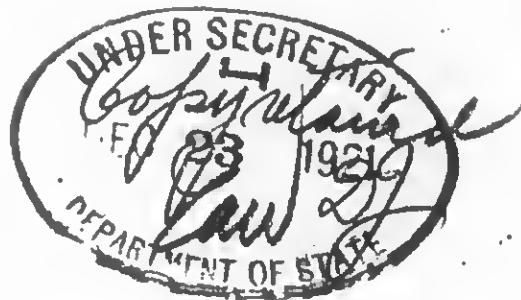
Goldman Berkman and Shapiro having been refused visas Germany
will endeavor to proceed Estonia. Albrecht notified.

| | |
|----------------------------|-----|
| DIVISION OF PASS & CONTROL | |
| RECEIVED DEC 28 1921 | |
| Referred to | Dec |
| | |
| | |
| | |

YOUNG

CSB

DEPARTMENT OF STATE



DEC 29 1921

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

679

The Emma Goldman Papers

810617081

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 23 [Washington, D.C. to] Richard E. Pennoyer [Secretary]
American Embassy [Department of State], Berlin / [William L. Hurley, Office of the
Undersecretary, Department of State].— 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley sends Goldman's photograph to Pennoyer to help him watch for her.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870824000. For reply, see 810409125 and 810409074.

RETURN TO U-11
FILE

861.0-1007

In reply refer to
U2

December 23, 1921.

Dear Dick:

Reports having reached this office from time
to time to the effect that Emma Goldman (who was
deported on anarchistic grounds on the Steamer
BUFORD, December 21, 1921) has endeavored to gain
readmission to the United States, it has been
deemed advisable to transmit to you a copy of a
photograph taken of this alien at Ellis Island just
before her deportation.

In case any information regarding this individual
is brought to your attention, I should appreciate being
advised at the earliest possible moment thereafter.

Very truly yours,

Enclosure:
Photograph.

Richard E. Pennoyer, Esquire,

American Embassy,

Berlin.

U2-LAW.GC/SS

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

680

The Emma Goldman Papers

810617080

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 23 [Washington, D.C. to] Evan E. Young, Commissioner [of the United States, Department of State], Riga [Latvia] / [William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley sends Goldman's photograph to Young to help him monitor her movements.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870824000. For reply, see 810409029.

RETURN TO
FILE

861.0-1007

In reply refer to
U2

December 23, 1921.

Dear Mr. Young:

Reports having reached this office from time to time to the effect that Emma Goldman (who was deported on anarchistic grounds on the Steamer BUFORD

December 21, 1919) has endeavored to gain readmission to the United States, it has been deemed advisable to transmit to you a copy of a photograph taken of this alien at Ellis Island just before her deportation.

In case any information regarding this individual is brought to your attention, I should appreciate being advised at the earliest possible moment thereafter.

Very sincerely yours,

Enclosure:
Photograph.

Evan E. Young, Esquire,
American Commissioner,
Riga.

U2-LAW/GC/SS

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

681

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 23 [Washington, D.C. to] Sheldon Whitehouse, American Embassy [Department of State], Paris / [William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley sends Goldman's photograph to Whitehouse to help him keep track of her movements.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870824000.

RETURN TO U-H
FILE

861.0-1007

In reply refer to
U2

December 23, 1921.

Dear Sheldon:

Reports having reached this office from time to time to the effect that Emma Goldman (who was deported on anarchistic grounds, on the steamer BUFORD, December 21, 1919), has endeavored to gain readmission to the United States, it has been deemed advisable to transmit to you a copy of a photograph taken of this alien at Ellis Island just before her deportation.

In case any information regarding this individual is brought to your attention, I should appreciate being advised at the earliest possible moment thereafter.

Very truly yours,

Enclosure:
Photograph.

Sheldon Whitehouse, Esquire,
American Embassy,
Paris.

U2-LAW/GC/ss

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

682

The Emma Goldman Papers

810617083

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 23 [Washington, D.C. to] Boylston A. Beal, American Embassy [Department of State], London / [William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley sends Goldman's photograph to Beal to help him keep track of her movements.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870824000.

RETURN TO U-H
FILE

861.0-1007

In reply refer to
U2

December 23, 1921.

Dear Boylston:

Reports having reached this office from time to time to the effect that Emma Goldman (who was deported on anarchistic grounds, on the steamer BUFORD, December 21, 1919) has endeavored to gain readmission to the United States, it has been deemed advisable to transmit to you a copy of a photograph taken of this alien at Ellis Island just before her deportation.

In case any information regarding this individual is brought to your attention, I should appreciate being advised at the earliest possible moment thereafter.

As ever,

Enclosure:
Photograph.

Boylston A. Beal, Esquire,
etc., etc., etc.,
American Embassy,
London.

U2-LAW/GC/ss

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

683

The Emma Goldman Papers

810617084

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 23 [Washington, D.C. to] Franklin Mott Gunther, American Embassy [Department of State], Rome / [William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley sends Goldman's photograph to Gunther to help him keep track of her movements.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870824000.

861.0-1007

In reply refer to
U2

December 23, 1921.

Dear Gunther:

Reports having reached this office from time to time to the effect that Emma Goldman (who was deported on anarchistic grounds, on the steamer BUFORD, December 21, 1919) has endeavored to gain readmission to the United States, it has been deemed advisable to transmit to you a copy of a photograph taken of this alien at Ellis Island just before her deportation.

In case any information regarding this individual is brought to your attention, I should appreciate being advised at the earliest possible moment thereafter.

Very truly yours,

Enclosure:
Photograph.

Franklin Mott Gunther, Esquire,
American Embassy,
Rome.

U2-LAW/GC/SS

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

684

The Emma Goldman Papers

810617085

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 23 [Washington, D.C. to] William Phillips, American Minister [Department of State], The Hague, Netherlands / [William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State].— 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley sends Goldman's photograph to Phillips to help him keep track of Goldman.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870824000. For reply, see 810617046 and 870803023.

RETURN TO P.
FILE

861.0-1007

In reply refer to
U2

December 23, 1921.

Dear Mr. Phillips:

Reports having reached this office from time to time to the effect that Emma Goldman (who was deported on anarchistic grounds, on the steamer BUFORD, December 21, 1919) has endeavored to gain readmission to the United States, it has been deemed advisable to transmit to you a copy of a photograph taken of this alien at Ellis Island just before her deportation.

In case any information regarding this individual is brought to your attention, I should appreciate being advised at the earliest possible moment thereafter.

Very truly yours,

Enclosure:
Photograph.

The Honorable
William Phillips,
American Minister,
The Hague.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

685

The Emma Goldman Papers

810617086

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 23 [Washington, D.C. to] James G. Bailey, American Embassy [Department of State, Oslo, Norway] / [William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley sends Goldman's photograph to Bailey to help him keep track of her.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870824000.

RETURN TO D-H
FILE

861.0-1007

In reply refer to
U2

December 23, 1921.

Dear Mr. Bailey:

Reports having reached this office from time to time to the effect that Emma Goldman (who was deported on anarchistic grounds, on the steamer BUFORD, December 21, 1919) has endeavored to gain readmission to the United States, it has been deemed advisable to transmit to you a copy of a photograph taken of this alien at Ellis Island just before her deportation.

In case any information regarding this individual is brought to your attention, I should appreciate being advised at the earliest possible moment thereafter.

Very truly yours,

Enclosure:
Photograph.

James G. Bailey, Esquire,

American Embassy,

Christiania.

U2-LAW/GC/SS

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

686

The Emma Goldman Papers

810617087

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 23 [Washington, D.C. to] Hallett Johnson [Charge d'Affaires] American Embassy [Department of State], Stockholm / [William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State].— 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley sends Goldman's photograph to Johnson to help him keep track of Goldman.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870824000. For reply, see 810409082.

861.0-1007

In reply refer to
U2

December 23, 1921.

Dear Johnson:

Reports having reached this office from time to time to the effect that Emma Goldman (who was deported on anarchistic grounds, on the Steamer BUFORD, December 21, 1919) has endeavored to gain readmission to the United States, it has been deemed advisable to transmit to you a copy of a photograph taken of this alien at Ellis Island just before her deportation.

In case any information regarding this individual is brought to your attention, I should appreciate being advised at the earliest possible moment thereafter.

Very sincerely yours,

Enclosure:
Photograph.

Hallett Johnson, Esquire,

American Embassy,

Stockholm.

U2-LAW/GC/ss

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

687

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 24, Boston [to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Charles A. Bancroft, Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Bancroft sends Burns a newspaper clipping on Goldman's travel plans.

Notes: Broken type. For enclosure, see 870708017.

THURSDAY, DEC 24, 1921

EMMA GOLDMAN GOING TO REVAL

LA. Letvia, Dec. 23 (By A. P.)—
a Goldman and Alexander Berk-
left Riga this afternoon for Reval.
ela. Berkman told the correspond-
ay were going to Stockholm.
y were facing deportation back to
a by the Lettish authorities. as
entered permission to stay in
a day.

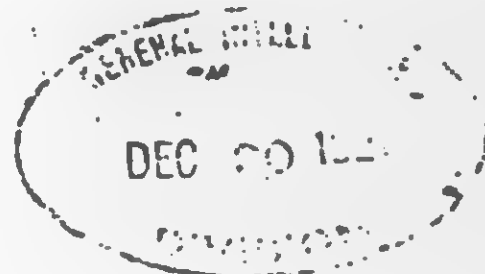
Department of Justice.

Bureau of Investigation.

P. O. Box 3185,
7 Water St., Boston, Mass.

December 24, 1921.

61-291



William J. Burns, Esq.,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

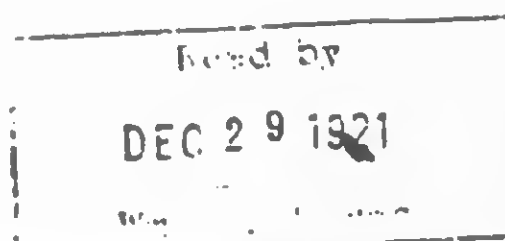
Dear Sir:

Complying with instructions contained in S. A. C.
letter No. 71, I am enclosing herewith clipping taken from
the Boston Traveller of December 22, 1921, which may be of
interest to you.

Yours very truly,

Charles A. Bancroft
Charles A. Bancroft,
Special Agent in Charge.

Enc. 1.



61-291-2

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

688

The Emma Goldman Papers

General Intelligence Report No. 56, week ending Dec. 24, 1921 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] / Agent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.
Summary: The Bureau of Investigation's weekly general intelligence report notes that Germany denied visas to Goldman, Berkman, and Alexander Schapiro.

61-45

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE REPORT NO. 56
For Week Ending December 24, 1921.

Read by
DEC 30 1921

| Subject | Page |
|--------------------|-------|
| Japanese Affairs | 5 |
| Miscellaneous | 7 |
| Negro Activities | 8 |
| Radical activities | 1 - 4 |
| Visa cases | 6 |

(u)(7)(c)
GENERAL INTELLIGENCE
DEC 30 1921
DIVISION

Prepared by
Special Agent.

(u)(7)(c)
Noted
H

349,870
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-9-85 BY SP4ELW/ELW

FILE

61-45-13

RECORDED

The Emma Goldman Papers

General Intelligence Report No. 56, week ending Dec. 24, 1921 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] / Agent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm. Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The Bureau of Investigation's weekly general intelligence report notes that Germany denied visas to Goldman, Berkman, and Alexander Schapiro.

RADICAL ACTIVITIES (Continued)

According to information received here Germany has refused permission for Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and Alexander Schapiro to enter that country. All countries are now closed to them except Russia.

The Emma Goldman Papers

810617091

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 29 [Washington, D.C. to] W[alter] W. Husband, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / [William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.
Summary: Hurley sends Husband a report on Goldman and Berkman's travel plans.

861.0-1007

In reply refer to
U-2

December 29, 1921.

Dear Mr. Husband:

I have recently received information from Riga to the effect that Shapiro, Goldman and Berkman have been refused visas to Germany. It is reported that they will endeavor to proceed to Esthonia.

The foregoing is for your information and as being of possible interest.

Very truly yours,

W. W. Husband, Esquire,
Commissioner General of Immigration,
Department of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

U-2 LAW/EH-SS

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

691

The Emma Goldman Papers

810402118

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 29, Washington [D.C. to] S[tuart] Heintzelman [Assistant Chief of Staff] Military Intelligence Division, War Department, [Washington, D.C.] / W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.
Summary: Hurley informs Heintzelman of Goldman and Berkman's travel plans.

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



In reply refer to
U-2

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

December 29, 1921.

1921 0116-154
72
38x
DEC 30 1921
K7C

Dear Colonel Heintzelman:

I have recently received information from Riga to the effect that Shapiro, Goldman and Berkman have been refused visas to Germany. It is reported that they will endeavor to proceed to Esthonia.

The foregoing is for your information and as being of possible interest.

Very truly yours,

Colonel S. Heintzelman, U.S.A.,
Military Intelligence Division,
War Department.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

692

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 29, Washington [D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State. — 1 p. ; 27 × 20 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Hurley informs Burns of Goldman and Berkman's travel plans.

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

6125

In reply refer to
U-2

December 29, 1921.

Dear Mr. Burns:

I have recently received information from Riga to the effect that Shapiro, Goldman and Berkman have been refused visas to Germany. It is reported that they will endeavor to proceed to Esthonia.

The foregoing is for your information and as being of possible interest.

Very truly yours,

W. L. Hurley

William J. Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

JAN 14 1922

67-733-1
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
RECORDED
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
HOOVER
A7M

693

The Emma Goldman Papers

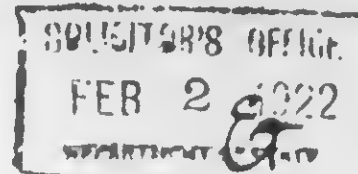
810409018

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 29, Riga [Latvia to Charles Evans Hughes] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / [Evan E. Young] Commissioner of the United States [Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Young sends Hughes a letter from M.E. Fitzgerald to Alexander Schapiro, which was taken from Schapiro.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810409019. For report mentioned, see 810409020 through 810409028.



OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER OF THE UNITED STATES
RIGA

JAN 28 1922

December 29, 1921.

DIV. OF RUSSIAN AFFAIRS

JAN 2 1922

No. 1546

CLASSIFICATION CANCELED Authority: letter of 1-8-58 from W.H. Anderson, State Dept. By *A. Z. Heri* Date *4-19-64*

The Honorable,

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D.C.

| Received | Date | By |
|----------|------|----|
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |



INDEX BUREAU
311.6124 K47/8

I have the honor to forward herewith for the Department's very confidential information, a copy of a letter found in the possession of *Alexander* Shapiro who has recently been in Riga together with Emma Goldman and Berkman.

Other interesting documents and a complete report of the case will go forward by next pouch. I am barely able to include this despatch and its enclosures, in triplicate, in this pouch.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

E. E. Young

(Commissioner.)

*all original
and original
files
2-18-22
1922*

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State

Decimal File Number 311.6124 K47/8

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

694

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 31, Riga [Latvia to Charles Evans Hughes] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / Evan E. Young, Commissioner of the United States [Department of State]. — 3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Young submits his report on Goldman, Berkman, and Schapiro's detention in Riga and encloses copies of documents which the Latvian secret service took from them.

Notes: For enclosures, see 810409021 through 810409028 and 900315000 through 900315003. For telegram and dispatch mentioned, see 810617049 and 810409018.

OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER OF THE UNITED STATES
RIGA

December 31, 1921.

No. 1549

The Honorable,
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

Adverting to my telegram No. 542, December 22, 3 p.m. and to my despatch, No. 1546, December 29, 1921, with reference to the three wellknown anarchists, Emma Goldman, Berkman, and Shapiro, I have the honor to submit the following report.

The parties mentioned arrived in Riga from Moscow December 5th and proceeded directly to the residence occupied by the bolshevik consulate where they remained during practically all of their stay in Riga.

On December 22, they departed by the afternoon train for Reval only to be taken off the train a few stations down the line by agents of the Latvian secret service and brought back to Riga where they remained in jail until yesterday when they were released from confinement. They are of course being carefully watched and I anticipate no difficulty in keeping myself informed regarding their movements.

Copy from NAPS RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, Decimal File 391.6124 D47/10

695

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409020

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 31, Riga [Latvia to Charles Evans Hughes] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / Evan E. Young, Commissioner of the United States [Department of State]. — 3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Young submits his report on Goldman, Berkman, and Schapiro's detention in Riga and encloses copies of documents which the Latvian secret service took from them.

Notes: For enclosures, see 810409021 through 810409028 and 900315000 through 900315003. For telegram and dispatch mentioned, see 810617049 and 810409018.

- 2 -

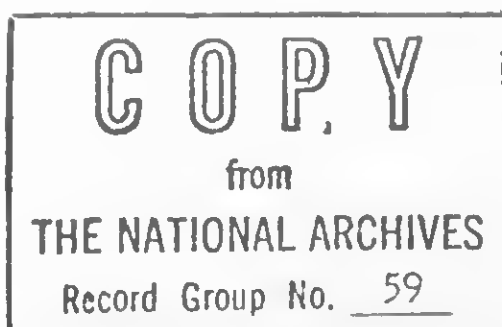
The object of the action of the Latvian secret service in removing them from the train was to afford their agents an opportunity to search the baggage, personal effects, etc., and to examine all of their papers and documents, which of course could not be done while they were housed in the bolshevik consulate.

All of the papers and documents found in the possession of these three parties came into my hands for a few hours. Every effort was made during this brief period of time to make copies of those which it was thought would be of interest to the Department. These papers and documents clearly establish the fact that Goldman, Berkman, and Shapiro were proceeding to Berlin to attend an international congress of anarchists which was to convene at Berlin on December 25.

I enclose herewith the following:-

1. Copy of credential issued to Alexander Berkman by the Peter Kropotkin Memorial Committee.
2. Copy of credential issued to Emma Goldman by the Peter Kropotkin Memorial Committee.
3. Provisional program of International Anarchist Congress, Berlin.
4. Copy of letter, December 6, 1921, from Managing Committee, Federation of Communistic Anarchists of Germany.
5. Extracts from letters found in possession of Goldman, Berkman and Shapiro.
6. List of names and addresses appearing in note book of Berkman's.
7. List of names and addresses contained in a second note book of Berkman's.
8. Extracts from Berkman's diary.

It is believed that these documents will prove of



General Records of the Department of State

Decimal File Number 311.6124 K47/ID

696

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409020

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 31, Riga [Latvia to Charles Evans Hughes] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / Evan E. Young, Commissioner of the United States [Department of State]. — 3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Young submits his report on Goldman, Berkman, and Schapiro's detention in Riga and encloses copies of documents which the Latvian secret service took from them.

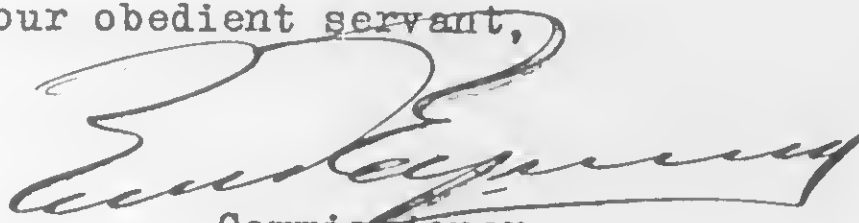
Notes: For enclosures, see 810409021 through 810409028 and 900315000 through 900315003. For telegram and dispatch mentioned, see 810617049 and 810409018.

- 3 -

interest and value to the Department. As regards their authenticity there is no question.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

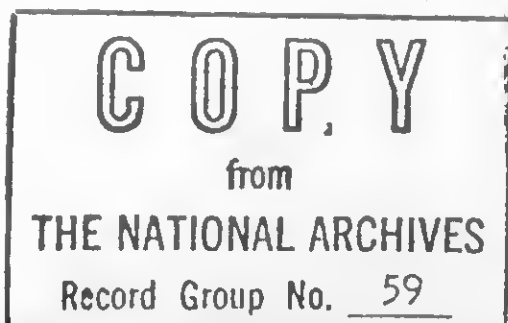
Your obedient servant,



Commissioner.

Enclosures:-

As listed.



General Records of the Department of State

Decimal File Number 311.6124 K47/10

697

The Emma Goldman Papers

880422002

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 31, Riga [Latvia to Stella Ballantine, New York (government transcript?)] / Em[ma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Goldman describes her detention in Riga and her uncertain plans for the future. Even if she cannot find asylum outside Russia, she refuses to return to watch the death of the revolution.

Notes: Broken type.

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF
MIL. INTEL. DIV. I

1921 0110-154

FEB 10

Riga

December 31, 1921 WAR DEPARTMENT

3284

My Darling:

You will be surprised that we are still in Riga. Yes, we are still here much against our will. We did not know when we left Russia that to start out into the world with a Soviet passport will be like being branded with the mark of Cain on your forehead.

The 22nd of this month we took the train for Reval, from there to embark for Stockholm. The train had hardly begun to move out of the station when three men came through the corridor asking for our documents. They looked at each passport then announced that we are under arrest and would have to get out at the next station. There we found an auto already prepared. We were packed into it baggage and all and were rapidly driven to a building which, as we learned only the next day, was the Political Secret Service Dept. We were searched to the skin and everything taken away from us and put in solitary cells.

That was Thursday. Friday a guard brought a piece of paper for me to sign, the indictment against me. It was in Lettish. But the translation read that I was in contact with the local Communists and some other such "terrible" things. I refused to sign the silly paper. I was then told I would be questioned the next day. Meanwhile, I was held incommunicado, so were Sasha and Shapiro. The next day we were questioned, each separately, of course. I was accused of being a Bolshevik agent on a secret propaganda mission, etc., etc. But the young man who questioned me himself said that he thinks it was all a mistake and that we would surely be released after Christmas. Unfortunately Xmas is a three days Holiday here. So we had to remain in our cells until Wed. On that day we had another hearing. We were told that while our documents (we had some letters, and other things with us) proved that we were anarchists and intended to attend the Anarchist Congress in Berlin, they showed somehow that we were Bolshevik agents on some secret mission, bound. Still it was suspicious that we were given passports when no ordinary mortal can get out of Russia, also that we stopped at one of the Bolshevik places. We explained that while we have passports they carry with them no protection whatever and that while we had been living in one of the Bolshevik houses, it was not due to the hospitality of the Soviet representatives, but to a friend who himself was not a Bolshevik. The result was we were set free on Thursday.

We had been so thoroughly kidnapped that even the Riga Press knew nothing about it. Still less the two or three friends we have in Riga, and we ourselves did not know that we were kept in the building right next to the very Soviet house we had been

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698

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 31, Riga [Latvia to Stella Ballantine, New York (government transcript?)] / Em[ma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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Summary: Goldman describes her detention in Riga and her uncertain plans for the future. Even if she cannot find asylum outside Russia, she refuses to return to watch the death of the revolution.

Notes: Broken type.

living for three weeks in wretched rooms. The experience cost us a loss of a week, about 250 and no end of anxiety, not to speak of the aching bones, we slept on bare boards for a week.

I suppose the dear Communists in and out of Russia will now say "see in Soviet Russia you were unmolested. No sooner do you get to a Bourgeois Country, you are again being persecuted". What these zealots do not know is this, that it is the unfortunate Soviet passport which has already and will make our lives impossible. It is bad enough to travel under our own names, but to travel on Soviet passports is like being afflicted with leprosy, the tragic part is, the Bourgeois look askance and antagonistic the moment they see your passport. Then too we are between two fires, our passports are probably the first of their kind - they carry with them absolutely no protection of any sort. On the other hand, we are exposed to the suspicion of everybody outside Russia. Now, we naturally do not want protection, we knew before hand when we refused to give guarantee of loyalty - guaranter, who may afterwards be held as hostage - we knew then that the Soviet Government would throw us on the "good will" of the world. So there we are - sure to be tossed about on the waves of the general stupidity and madness. We're starting the New Year nicely. Do you not think?

If all goes well, we leave here Monday for Reval - then on Wednesday for Stockholm. We will have lost ten days of our month's stay in Sweden before we get there. No doubt we will be able to get a postponement, for how long I cannot say. At least we have friends here. But it is absolutely certain as I have already written you several times, we'll have to get other papers or be returned to Russia. The last would indeed be dreadful - if the Bolsheviks would take us back. But it is absolutely certain they will not. They gave us passports only because they wanted to get rid of us and that was the easiest way out. It was torture enough to see the Russian Revolution slowly done to death by the idiotic blunders and inefficient experiments of a handful of dictators. To see the new Bourgeois rise on the ruins of the grave of the Revolution. To see it grow more arrogant, and cruel day by day, is more than I could stand. No, I couldn't return to Russia. I must find another way out of our present dilemma. We'll see when we get to Stockholm.

Dearest min, I had a letter from Moscow. Nellie and the boys have arrived. They came the 15th. Think they passed Riga and we did not know it. Our friends write us that Nellie came with "open eyes" but is already stung to the quick by everything she sees, as if the most vivid idea of what is going on in Russia, what reaction - what collapse of everything the Revolution was fought for and compare next the reality. Oh, Stella mine, it is

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699

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1921 Dec. 31, Riga [Latvia to Stella Ballantine, New York (government transcript?)] / Em[ma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Goldman describes her detention in Riga and her uncertain plans for the future. Even if she cannot find asylum outside Russia, she refuses to return to watch the death of the revolution.

Notes: Broken type.

crucially bitter to see the loftiest hopes of a people dragged through the mire. It is so tragic that life for those who saw it all must lose all its meaning. If I did not think that I must at least make our own comrades the world over see what I have seen, I would not consider it worth while to live. But I feel that I must speak and whether I will be heard or not. I must speak out. When and where and how? I cannot say now. I am starting the New Year with nothing firm under my feet. Somehow, I will pull out of the uncertainty.

Dearest, I am not at all in the right mood for a New Years letter, but I did not want this last year to pass without writing you. Do not worry about me, dearest, things will adjust themselves. Let Fittie and our other friends read this letter. It will save me repetition. Tell Fittie I love her very much and think of her constantly. I wish fervently that the New Year may bring her together with Sasha and that they may find peace and joy in each other. Give my affectionate New Years greeting to all our friends, Leonard Abbott and Rose, Stewart Kerr, Van Valkenburgh, Harry R. Ellen Kennen, Edwin Behre, Schleg Miller. Little Dorothy M., the Gleasons. All, all my friends I wish a pleasant and joyous New Year. The same to dear Miller and Pipele. M. must be back, embrace him for me. I am writing Moe and the Rochester folk. Darling, darling, I hold you close in a fond embrace. I hug our own Ish, I kiss Teddy warmly. May the New Year bring you joy and may we be together again, if only for a little while. Devotedly and with deep love. Your Em.

I am waiting to hear from dear H.W. I hope I will find a letter when I reach Sweden as Hogker will forward my mail. Give H.W. my New Years greetings.

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700

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]22 Jan. 2, Alliance, Ohio [to] W[illiam] J. Burns, Director [Bureau of Investigation] Dep[artmen]t of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Ferris Lightfoot.—
1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Lightfoot objects to the publication of articles urging Goldman's return.

Notes: Portions illegible. Enclosed with 870708023. For enclosure, see 870708022. For reply, see 870708020.

On the other hand, if she is really
convinced in what she has said
and has really learned by the
experience of the doctrine of
the doctrine of used to preach, she
might accomplish considerable good
in America by persuading her former
followers that they are on the wrong
track. Let's take a chance on it and
let her in. — Harrison New and
Council.

62

18745

Alliance O. 1/2/22

W. J. Burns, Director
U. S. Dept. of Justice
Washington D. C.

Dear Sir—

I do not wish to intrude on your
time, but I do feel that such news
as is given to the general public as
this item which I here with attach
should be given attention.

I am surprised that the
Publishing Co would even consider
for a moment an item in reference
to this much talked of person who is
considered a dangerous person to
be in this country at all, and then
at what I understand.

Perhaps you saw this before if not
you can see then there a great many who
think highly of this woman, yet not a 2% woman.

RECORDED

Very Respt.
Ferris Lightfoot

The Emma Goldman Papers

870708022

[Let Emma Goldman Return] - 28 cm. In [Charleston? News? and? Courier? (1922? Jan.? 2?, fragment)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The editor of the Charleston News and Courier argues that the government should allow Goldman to return to describe her disagreement with Bolshevism.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible. Upper document only. Enclosed with 870708021.

of the other... if she is really...
one of the... and has real-
ly learned by... the folly of
the doctrine... used to preach, she
might accomplish considerable good
in America by persuading her former
followers that they are on the wrong
track. Let's take a chance on it and
let her in... Charleston News and
Courier.

62

18719

Alliance. C. 1/2/22

W. J. Burns, Director
U. S. Dept. of Justice
Washington D. C.

Dear Sir-

I do not wish to intrude on your
time, but I do feel that such news
as is given to the general public as
this item which I here with attach
should be given attention.

I am surprised that the
Publishing Co would even consider
for a moment an item in reference
to this much talked of person who is
considered a dangerous person to
be in this country at all, and then
at what I consider scarce.

Perhaps you saw this before if not
you can see then there a great many who
think highly of this woman, yet not a 2%
woman.

RECORDED

Very Respt.
Fannie Lightfoot

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

702

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1922 Jan. [2] Alliance, Ohio [to] W[illiam] J. Burns, Director [Bureau of Investigation] Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / [Ferris Lightfoot].—
1 p.; 10 × 17 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Notes: For enclosures, see 870708021 and 870708022.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

703

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1922 Jan. 2, Riga [Latvia to Stuart Heintzelman] Ass[istant] Chief of Staff [Military Intelligence Division] War Dep[artment], Washington, D.C. / T. W[orthington] Hollyday, Military Observer. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Hollyday notifies Heintzelman that a recent report contains interesting material taken from Goldman, Berkman, and Alexander Schapiro in Riga.

Notes: For report mentioned, see 810409020 through 810409028 and 900315000 through 900315003. For reply, see 810402132.

(L.S.)#

COMMISSIONER OF THE UNITED STATES
OFFICE OF THE MILITARY OBSERVER
RIGA

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF
#201 (SHAPIRO) TEL. DIV.
(GOLDMAN)
(BERKMAN)
-10110-154
WAK DEPARTMENT
3280

January 2nd, 1922.

4-F 2/8/22

RECEIVED 1/2 W.D. FEB 7 1922

Subject: Report on SHAPIRO, GOLDMAN and BERKMAN.

To: Asst. Chief of Staff, G-2, War Dept., Washington, D. C.

1. Despatch #1549, dated December 31, 1921, from Commissioner Young to the Secretary of State, forwards a report on Emma Goldman, Berkman and Shapiro reference their stay and activities in Riga.

2. This report also contains the following interesting documents:-

1. Copy of credential issued to Alexander Berkman by the Peter Kropotkin Memorial Committee;
2. Copy of credential issued to Emma Goldman by the Peter Kropotkin Memorial Committee;
3. Provisional program of International Anarchist Congress, Berlin;
4. Copy of letter, December 6, 1921, from Managing Committee, Federation of Communistic Anarchists of Germany;
5. Extracts from letters found in possession of Goldman, Berkman and Shapiro;
6. List of names and addresses appearing in notebook of Berkman's.
7. List of names and addresses contained in a second notebook of Berkman's.
8. Extracts from Berkman's diary.

3. It is thought that the extracts from Berkman's diary are especially interesting.

T. W. Hollyday
T. W. HOLLYDAY
Major, General Staff,
Military Observer.

TWH/efs.

704

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum] 1922 Jan. 2, Riga [Latvia to Stuart Heintzelman] Ass[istan]t Chief of Staff [Military Intelligence Division] War Dep[artmen]t, Washington, D.C. / T. W[orthington] Hollyday, Military Observer. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Hollyday sends Heintzelman a letter from M.E. Fitzgerald to Alexander Schapiro, which the Latvian secret service took from Schapiro.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810409019. For related document, see 810409018.

(L.S.)# 2010

COMMISSIONER OF THE UNITED STATES
OFFICE OF THE MILITARY OBSERVER
RIGA

2-1
#201 (SHAPIRO)
MIL. INT
102
0110-154
77
WAK DEPARTMENT
328X

January 2, 1922.

4F

2/10/22

Subject: Shapiro letter.

To: Asst. Chief of Staff, G-2, War Dept., Washington, D. C.

RECEIVED 8/2 W.D. FEB 7 1922

1. The following enclosure is copy of a letter found in the possession of SHAPIRO who has recently been in Riga together with Emma Goldman and Berkman. It is requested that this be considered as strictly "For Official Use Only".

T. W. Hollyday
T. W. HOLLYDAY
Major, General Staff,
Military Observer.

enc. attached
TWH/efs.

9140-2285

705

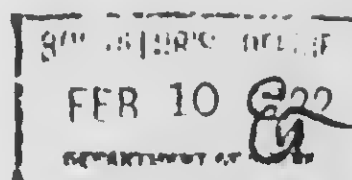
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 192[2] Jan. 3, Riga [Latvia to Charles Evans Hughes] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / Evan E. Young, Commissioner of the United States [Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

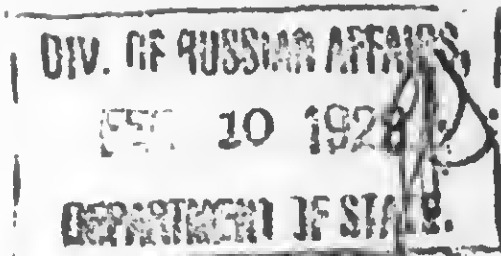
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Young informs Hughes that Goldman, Berkman, and Alexander Schapiro left Riga for Stockholm.

Notes: Incorrectly dated 1921. For report mentioned, see 810409020.



OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER OF THE UNITED STATES
RIGA



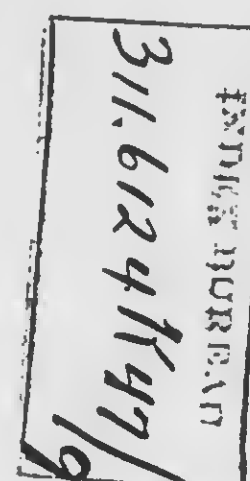
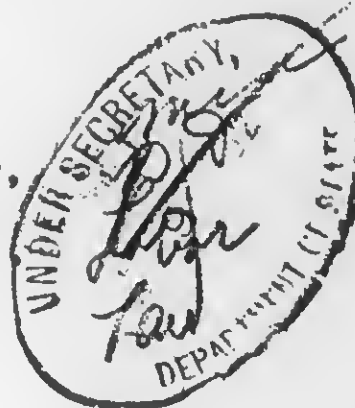
January 3, 1921.

CLASSIFICATION CANCELED Authority: letter
of 1-8-58 from W. H. Anderson, State Dept.
By A. Z. Nessel Date 4-19-64

No. 1554

The Honorable,

The Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.



Sir:

Supplementing my despatch No. 1549, December 31, 1921, I have the honor to report that Emma Goldman, Berkman and Shapiro left for Reval and Stockholm yesterday afternoon.

I have duly informed Consul Albrecht and have directed him to apprise our Legation at Stockholm by telegraph the date of their departure from Reval.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

E. E. Young
Commissioner.

FILED
FEB 18 1922

Confidential File

COPY

from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Decimal File Number 311.6124 K47/9

706

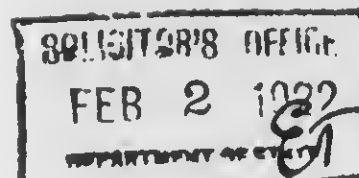
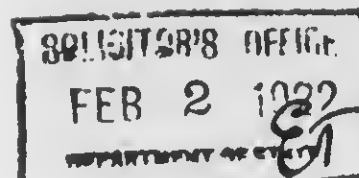
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 5, Stockholm [to Charles Evans Hughes] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / Hallett Johnson, Charge d'Affaires ad interim [American Embassy, Department of State]. — 3 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

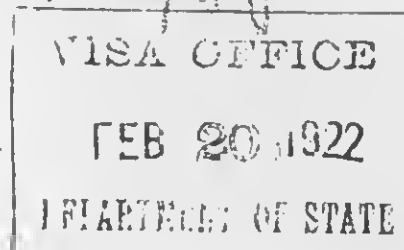
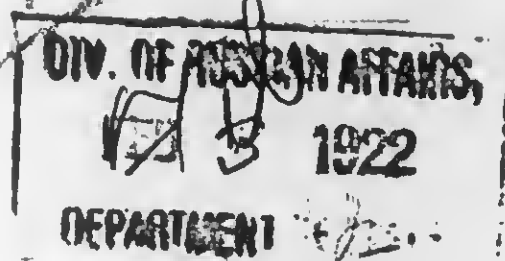
Summary: Johnson reports that Goldman and Berkman have arrived in Stockholm. He quotes extensively a local conservative paper's account of their alienation from Russia and search for asylum in Sweden.

Notes: Enclosed with 890520017. For reply, see 810617087. For follow-up, see 810409079.



Stockholm, January 5, 1922.

No. 2247.



The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman arrived at Stockholm this morning. I have been informed by the Prime Minister, Mr. Branting that they have been travelling on a Russian passport and have been given permission to stay in Sweden for one month. Mr. Branting further stated that before he had given this permission he had made certain that their re-entry into Russia would be permitted as he did not wish them to stay longer than one month in Sweden, but had no reason for refusing a visit of that length.

According

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 5, Stockholm [to Charles Evans Hughes] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / Hallett Johnson, Charge d'Affaires ad interim [American Embassy, Department of State]. — 3 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Johnson reports that Goldman and Berkman have arrived in Stockholm. He quotes extensively a local conservative paper's account of their alienation from Russia and search for asylum in Sweden.

Notes: Enclosed with 890520017. For reply, see 810617087. For follow-up, see 810409079.

-2-

According to the press, however, Goldman and Berkman have had quite enough of Russia and desire to return to America. I have also heard rumours to the effect that they wish to go to England and to Mexico.

The "Nya Dagligt Allehanda", a conservative paper, states this morning:

"The syndicalist movement in Sweden is expecting company in a few days, namely the advanced agitators of the American working world, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. They are accompanied by Alexander Shapiro, Krapotkin's aide de camp and secretary for many years. They all come from Russia where they have not been very well treated. They had to spend Christmas in a Riga prison, being taken for Russian spies.

"We understand that Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman could not feel at home in Russia. The purely anarchist point of view, of the former at least, does not go well together with the situation in the Russia of dictatorship. Emma Goldman could not stand Lenin and Trotsky and their commands.

"The Swedish Government has allowed the three Russians to enter Sweden, their stay here not to exceed a month to begin with. This month they will use to prepare for a journey out into the world, but not back to Russia. They are more than satisfied with the taste they have had of the bolshevist paradise, and the attention the Russian police paid them is said to have been anything but mild. Most likely they will return to their old field of action, America, that is

if

The Emma Goldman Papers

810617047

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 5, Stockholm [to Charles Evans Hughes] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / Hallett Johnson, Charge d'Affaires ad interim [American Embassy, Department of State]. — 3 p. ; 33 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Johnson reports that Goldman and Berkman have arrived in Stockholm. He quotes extensively a local conservative paper's account of their alienation from Russia and search for asylum in Sweden.

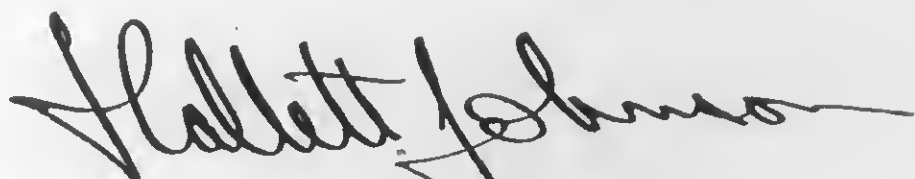
Notes: Enclosed with 890520017. For reply, see 810617087. For follow-up, see 810409079.

-3-

if they are allowed to do so. We take it for granted that they will not be allowed to remain in Sweden even though we have a social democratic government."

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,



Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

709

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409082

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 5, Stockholm [to Charles Evans Hughes] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / Hallett Johnson, Charge d'Affaires ad interim [American Embassy, Department of State]. — 2 p. ; 34 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Notes: Same text as 810617047, but in different format.

Stockholm, January 5, 1922.

No. 2247.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D. C.

Sir:

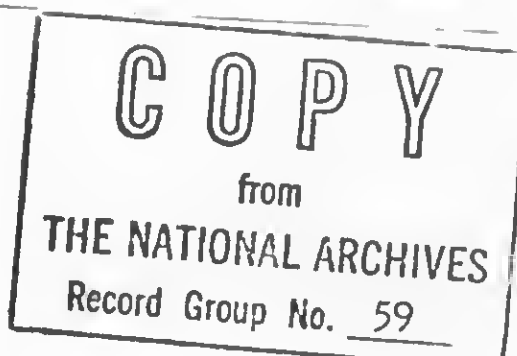
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They



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

710

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409082

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 5, Stockholm [to Charles Evans Hughes] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington, D.C. / Hallett Johnson, Charge d'Affaires ad interim [American Embassy, Department of State]. — 2 p. ; 34 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Notes: Same text as 810617047, but in different format.

-2-

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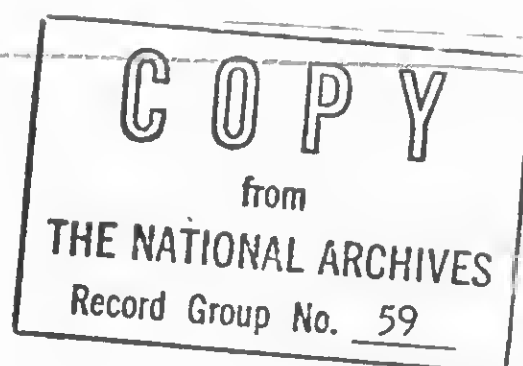
"The Swedish Government has allowed the three Russians to enter Sweden, their stay here not to exceed a month to begin with. This month they will use to prepare for a journey out into the world, but not back to Russia. They are more than satisfied with the taste they have had of the bolshevist paradise, and the attention the Russian police paid them is said to have been anything but mild, most likely they will return to their old field of action, America, that is, if they are allowed to do so. We take it for granted that they will not be allowed to remain in Sweden even though we have a social democratic government."

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) Hallett Johnson

Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

711

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 5 [Washington, D.C. to] E[dward] J. Brennan [Division Superintendent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], New York / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Burns sends Brennan two photographs of Berkman, to help him watch for Berkman's possible return.

Notes: Broken type. For letter mentioned, see 870708011.

GFR.JR.
21-291-1

January 5, 1922.

61-291
Mr. E. J. Brennan,
Box 241, City Hall Station,
New York.

Dear Sir -

Reference is made to my communication of November 10, 1921, concerning the possible return to this country of ~~EMMA GOLDMAN~~.

For your further information on this matter, I desire to quote the following, in a communication from the State Department, dated December 19th -

"I recently received information from Riga, under date of December 10, 1921, to the effect that Goldman and Beraman are waiting at that place. They will doubtless eventually endeavor to enter the United States although at the present time their plans are apparently indefinite."

It would appear from the above that our old friend Alexander Berkman is going to accompany Goldman upon her return to this country.

For identification purposes, I am enclosing herewith two photostat copies of a photograph of Alexander Berkman.

Yours very truly

W. J. Burns
Director.

Encl.

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712

The Emma Goldman Papers

870803001

Emma Goldman Keen To Get Back to U.S.A. — 22 cm. In [unknown periodical (1922 Jan. 7?)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: An unidentified newspaper reports that Goldman and Berkman want to return to the United States.

Notes: Enclosed with 810930111.

General Records of the Department of Justice
D. J. Central Files — Straight Numerical Files
File Number 133149

COPY
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 60

133149
Atlanta Ga.
Jan. 12, 1922.
Hon. H. M. Daugherty,
Attorney General, USA,
Washington, D.C.
Dear Sir: — Surely the authorities will
not permit this gang to ever again set
foot on U.S. soil.

Emma Goldman Keen
To Get Back to U. S. A.
STOCKHOLM, Jan. 7. — The
United States is the only country,
after all, said Emma Goldman, no-
torious woman anarchist, Miss Gold-
man arrived here Saturday from
Reval, accompanied by Alexander
Berkman and Alexander Shapiro.
All had been deported from America
for their anarchistic activities. Miss
Goldman said that all of them
wished to get back to America and
would attempt to do so at the first
opportunity.

Sincerely yours
J. H. Her
133149-12
JAN 17 1922
DIVISION
JAN 19 1922
JAN 14 1922
JAN 17 1922
JAN 14 1922

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

713

The Emma Goldman Papers

Persecutions of Syndicalists and Anarchists in Russia / Emma Goldman [and] Alexander Berkman. — Arbeteren (Jan. 10, 192[2]) [government transcript]. — 5 p.; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Goldman and Berkman describe and protest the persecution of anarchists and other radicals in Russia.

Notes: Broken type. Incorrectly dated 1921. Enclosed with 810409079 and 810409076. For related documents, see 810409032, 810409078, and 810409075.

Translation from "Arbeteren" newspaper, dated Jan. 10, 1921.

PERSECUTIONS OF SYNDICALISTS AND ANARCHISTS IN RUSSIA.

A revolting document concerning the
Bolshevik regime of tyranny and despotism.

It has been reported telegraphically that 35 Social Democrats have resorted to hunger strike in the Bolshevik prison of Butyrki. It is not only Social Democrats who are driven to protest in this manner against the blood methods of the Bolsheviks, but also Anarchists, Syndicalists, and even members of the "workers opposition". The following proclamation explains the situation clearly. It is time that an opinion be expressed against these horrible cruelties.

Dear Brothers!

The persecutions of the revolutionary elements in Russia have not been alleviated in connection with the Bolshevik changes of the political and economical policies. On the contrary it has been more intensified, more precise. The prisons in Russia, the Ukraine, and Siberia are filled with men and women — yes, in some instances with children — who dare to harbor opinions in opposition to the Communist party in power. We say intentionally "harbor opinions", because in Russia of today it is not at all necessary to express in words one's opinions in order to become a legitimate victim of the "tjekan", the almighty Bolshevik secret police, which de facto is the

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- 2 -

supreme power of the country, and the will of which knows neither law nor responsibility.

But of all the revolutionary elements in Russia it is the Anarchists who suffer under the most merciless and systematic persecutions. Their strangulation by the Bolsheviks began as early as 1918, when the communist government in April without warning and provocation attacked the Anarchist Club in Moscow and by means of machine guns and cannons annihilated the whole organization. This was the beginning of the chase after the Anarchists, but it was sporadic in its character, breaking out from time to time, completely aimlessly and often contradictorily. Anarchistic publications consequently were sometimes permitted and sometimes suppressed. Anarchists were arrested in one place while they were released in other places. They were shot at times and on the other hand were offered advantageous posts. But this chaotic situation was brought to a close by the 10th Communist Congress in April, 1921, at which time Lenine declared open war without pardon, not only against the Anarchists but also against all anarchistic and syndicalistic tendencies wherever found. From this time was begun a systematic, organized, and ruthless extermination of the Anarchists in Bolshevik Russia. Scores of Anarchists, Syndicalists and their sympathizers were arrested in Moscow and Petrograd the same day Lenine gave his speech, and the following day mass arrests were made of our comrades throughout the country. The persecutions have since continued with increasing brutality, and it has become perfectly clear that the larger the concessions are that the Communist Government make to the capitalists the more intensive become the persecutions of the

715

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- 3 -

Anarchists.

It is an established policy of the Bolsheviks to disguise their barbaric attacks against our comrades by a standing accusation of "banditism". This accusation is practically brought against all Anarchists and often against their sympathizers; a particularly convenient method, because in this manner any one can be persecuted by the "tjekan" without trial or investigation.

Lenine's warfare against anarchistic tendencies has assumed the aspect of the most revolting Asiatic form of a war of extermination. A great number of comrades were arrested in Moscow last September, and on the 30th of the same month the "Izvestia" published an official report that ten of the arrested comrades had been shot as bandits. Not one of them had been given a trial nor their cases even investigated, nor were they permitted to have their friends and relatives visit them. Among the executed were found two of the best known Russian Anarchists, whose idealism and readiness to make sacrifices for the cause of humanity had endured the trials of the Czar's prisons, deportation, and persecution and suffering in other countries. These were Fanny Baron, who had succeeded in escaping from the prison in Ryazan a few months previously, and Lev Tchorny, the popular lecturer and writer, who had spent many of his years in exile in Siberia on account of his activities during the Czar's regime. The Bolsheviks have not the courage to admit that they have shot Lev Tchorny; he is listed as "Turchanioff" in the report of the executed, which, although it was his real name, was unknown to some of his most intimate friends.

The extermination policy continues. A few weeks ago some Anarchists were again arrested in Moscow.

716

The Emma Goldman Papers

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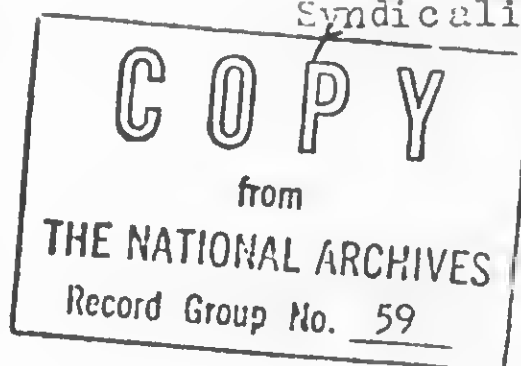
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- 4 -

The victims this time were "Universalist-Anarchists", a group which the Bolsheviks themselves had recognized as very friendly. Among the arrested were Askaraoff, Shapiro, (not A. Shapiro from "golos Truda"), and Stitzenko, member of the secretariat of the Moscow section of the "Universalists" and well known throughout Russia. These abominable arrests were at first regarded by the comrades as caused by some over-zealous official, but it was later ascertained that they were officially accused of being bandits, forgers, followers of Machnow and members of "Lev Tchorny's subterranean group". The meaning of such accusations is too well understood by those who are familiar with the Bolshevik methods. It means execution without warning or trial.

The foul object of these arrests is almost incredible. By accusing Askaraoff, Shapiro, Stitzenko, and others of "membership in Lev Tchorny's subterranean group", the Bolsheviks endeavor to justify the murders of Lev Tchorny, Fanny Baron, and the other comrades, who were executed in September, as well as to create a convenient excuse for the shooting of more anarchists. We can assure the readers without hesitation, that there existed no Lev Tchorny's subterranean group. The contention to the contrary is an abominable lie, one of the many similar lies that have been circulated by the Bolsheviks against the Anarchists.

It is high time that the revolutionary labor movement throughout the world becomes acquainted with the blood and murder regime applied by the Bolshevik Government against all who harbor different political views. It is particularly imperative that the Anarchists and Syndicalists take steps to end this Asiatic barbarism.



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

717

The Emma Goldman Papers

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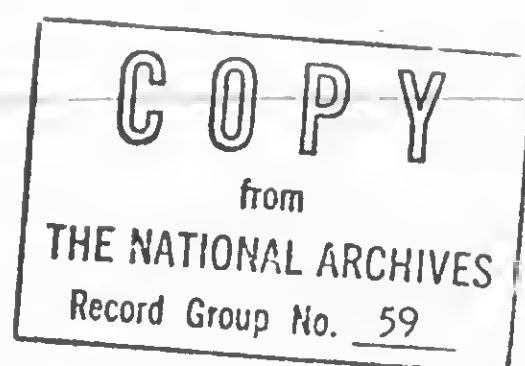
Notes: Broken type. Incorrectly dated 1921. Enclosed with 810409079 and 810409076. For related documents, see 810409032, 810409078, and 810409075.

- 5 -

and - if it is still possible - to save our imprisoned Moscow comrades who are threatened with death. Some of the arrested Anarchists are ready to die through hunger strike, the only available means, to protest against the attempt of the Bolsheviks to insult the memory of the martyred Lev Tchorny. Our comrades demand a real moral support. They have a right to demand it. Their sublime self-sacrifice, their lifelong fidelity to the great cause, their unshaken firmness, all entitles them to it. Comrades and friends everywhere! It is you who must assist in the defence of Lev Tchorny's memory and save the valuable lives of Askaroff, Shapiro, and Stitzenko. Do not delay - or it may be too late. Demand the documents of the Bolshevik Government concerning Lev Tchorny, which they claim to have, that "implicate Askaroff, etc. in the Lev Tchorny group of bandits and forgers". Such documents do not exist, unless they are forged. Compel the Bolsheviks to present them, and let the voices of all honest revolutionists and all respectable humans gather in a world embracing protest against the continuance of the Bolshevik system of outrageous murder of their political opponents. Hasten brothers, for the blood of our comrades flows in Russia!

Alexander Berkman

Emma Goldman



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

718

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 10, Boston [to William J. Burns] Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Charles A. Bancroft, Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.— 1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Bancroft asks Burns for more copies of Berkman's photograph to give to various immigration officials.

Notes: Broken type. Reply to letter similar to 870708015. For reply, see 870708025.

Department of Justice,

Bureau of Investigation.

196/103.

7 Water Street, Boston, Mass. JAN 11 1922

WJW/D.

January 10, 1922.

Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

READ BY W. J. B.

Dear Sir:

Attention Mr. Hoover - 2.

Acknowledgment is hereby made of the receipt of Bureau letter of the 5th instant, No. 21-291-1, initialed GFR-JR, in reference to the possible attempt of ALEXANDER BERKMAN and EMMA GOLDMAN to re-enter the United States.

The two photographs of BERKMAN sent under cover of the above Bureau letter were received. In the future it is requested that, if practicable, the Bureau furnish four copies of each photograph; that is, one to be sent to the U. S. Commissioner of Immigration at Montreal, Canada, for Canadian border ports; one for the U. S. Immigrant Inspector in Charge at Portland, Maine; one for Agent Nolan, who covers incoming vessels at Boston, and one for the files of the office.

Very truly yours,

Charles A. Bancroft

Charles A. Bancroft,
Special Agent in Charge.

JAN 20 1922

61-291-30

RECORDED

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719

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 12, Warsaw [Poland to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Under-secretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / Hugh [S.] Gibson [American Minister, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 34 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Gibson promises to notify Hurley if Goldman comes to Poland.

Notes: Reply to 810617088.

RECEIVED
861.0-668

Warsaw, January 12, 1922.



Dear Bill:

I have this afternoon received your letter of December 23rd with the pretty picture of Emma Goldman.

Yes, my dear friend and colleague, if this alien should come in to tea any day soon I shall not fail to advise you in conformity with your wishes.

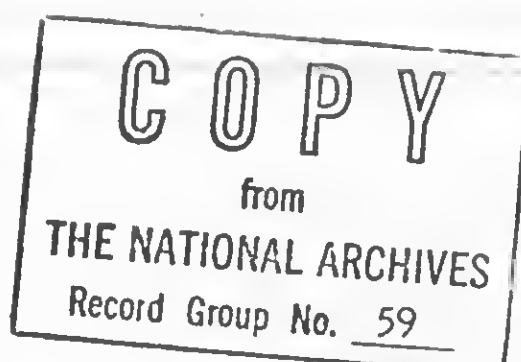
Yours,

Hugh Gibson

W. L. Hurley, Esquire,

Department of State,

Washington, D. C.



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

720

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 12, Atlanta, Ga. [to] H[arry] M. Daugherty, Attorney General
[Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / G.H. Kerr. — 1 p. ; 22 x 29 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: Kerr hopes the attorney general will never allow Goldman to return.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870803001. For reply, see 870708013.

General Records of the Department of Justice
D. J. Central Files — Straight Numerical Files
File Number 133149

COPY
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 60

133149
Atlanta Ga.
Jan. 12, 1922.
Hon. H. M. Daugherty,
Attorney General, USA,
Washington, DC.
Dear Sir: — Surely the authorities will
not permit this gang to ever again set
foot on U.S. soil.
Sincerely yours
G. H. Kerr
133149-12
JAN 19 1922
JAN 14
JAN 17 1922
DIVISION
CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION
File 97A
Amd. 1/17/22
G. H. K.

Emma Goldman Keen To Get Back to U. S. A.

STOCKHOLM, Jan. 7. — The United States is the only country, after all, said Emma Goldman, notorious woman anarchist, Miss Goldman arrived here Saturday from Reval, accompanied by Alexander Berkman and Alexander Shapiro. All had been deported from America for their anarchistic activities. Miss Goldman said that all of them wished to get back to America and would attempt to do so at the first opportunity.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 13 [Washington, D.C. to] Ferris Lightfoot, Alliance, Ohio / W[il-
liam] J. Burns, Director [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].—
1 p.; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Burns thanks Lightfoot for his patriotic letter about Goldman's possible return to the United States.

Notes: Reply to 870708021 and 870708022.

GFR.J.
61-291-21

January 13, 1922.

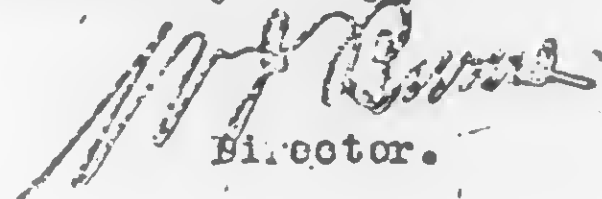
Mr. Ferris Lightfoot,
Alliance, Ohio.

Dear Sir -

I desire to thank you for your communication
of the 2nd instant, enclosing a clipping from the
Charleston News and Courier, concerning the return to
this country of Emma Goldman.

The receipt of information from such patriotic
citizens as yourself is always greatly appreciated.

Yours very truly,


Director.

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722

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409032

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 14, Washington, D.C. [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p.; 34 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Burns asks Hurley to get him a copy of Goldman and Berkman's attack on Bolshevik Russia, published in the Swedish press.

Notes: For reply, see 810409076. For *Arbetaren* article, see 810409137. For *Washington Herald* article, see 810409033.

WM. J. BURNS,
DIRECTOR.



JEH*H

Department of Justice,

Bureau of Investigation,

Washington, D. C.



January 14, 1922.

see letter from Stockholm dated Jan. 19/22.

Hallett Johnson

Mr. W. L. Hurley,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

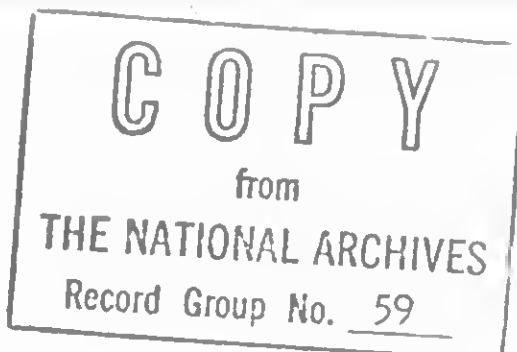
Dear Mr. Hurley,—

I note in the Washington Herald, issue of January 14, 1922, an article relating to a publication called the "Arbetaren" (Worker), of Stockholm, in which appeared an article by Emma Goldman and Alexander Bergman, which is reported to have been a bitter attack upon the Bolshevik government.

I will appreciate it if you will secure for me through your representative abroad a copy of the publication containing this article, or series of articles which they are reported to have been writing.

Very truly yours,

W. J. Burns
Director.



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

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723

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Month's Respite — 36 cm. In Washington Herald [Jan. 14, 1922 (government transcript)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The Washington Herald describes Goldman and Berkman's situation in Sweden, searching for asylum and alienated from Russia.

Notes: Enclosed with 810409078. For related document, see 810409032. For *Arbetaren* article mentioned, see 810409137.

COPY LEM

FROM THE WASHINGTON HERALD

A Month's Respite.

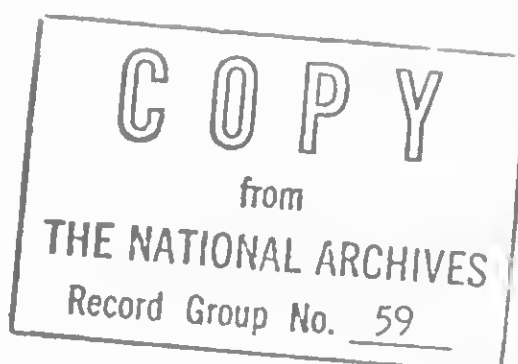
Having disoussed at some length in these oolumns last week the sad case of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman who, safely out of Russia, found no country willing to give them asylum, it is but fair that we call the attention of our readers to their present situation. They are now in Stookholm. It should be said that Alexander Shapiro, another of their ilk, is with them. But do not imagine that Sweden has offered them a refuge and a home. No indeed! Their problem is but postponed a little. They have been granted a month in Sweden; then, doubtless, will come once more the desperate search of a country—Mr. Amundsen is about to start to the North Pole again; perhaps—

One might suppose that these travelers would, eventually (why not now?) be forced to return to Russia, finding nowhere else to go. But in a sense, they have burned their bridges behind them. Miss Goldman and Mr. Berkman have written for the *Arbetaren* (the Worker of Stockholm a bitter attack on the Bolshevik government, branding it as "a blood and murder regime," a "revolting form of Asiatic extermination," "Asiatic barbarism," etc. They complain bitterly against Lenin's warfare against and extermination of anarchists.

If Soviet Russia is death on anarchists, where can a poor anarchist go?

UH: LAW: LEM: SS

UH



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 17 [Washington, D.C. to] G.H. Kerr, Atlanta, Ga. / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Burns assures Kerr that the Bureau of Investigation is prepared for Goldman if she tries to return.

Notes: Broken type. Reply to 810930111.

CPB-15
133149-12

January 17, 1922.

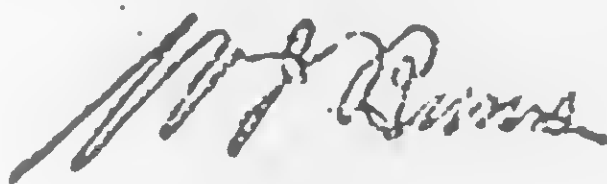
Mr. G. H. Kerr,
 Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Sir:

By reference from the Attorney General, your communication of the 12th instant submitting newspaper clipping concerning the return of EMMA GOLDMAN to this country, has been called to my attention.

I desire to thank you for your interest in such matters, and I want to assure you that should this individual attempt to enter this country she will receive appropriate attention by my agents.

Very truly yours,



Director.

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725

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 17 [New York to] Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, [Stockholm (government transcript?)] / H[arry] W[einberger]. — 5 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Weinberger describes his recent activities, including lobbying for amnesty for political prisoners, trying to get I.W.W. members out of prison, a pardon for Rangel and Cline, and the release of Mollie Steimer and others. He suggests Goldman make a publication contract with *The World* to print her experiences in Russia.
Notes: Reply to 850702020.

OFFICE ~~SECRETARY~~ OF STAFF
MIL. INTEL. DIV. 1

1922/0110-154
82

Jan. 17 1922
WAR DEPARTMENT
325X

My dear Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman:

Your letter of December 9th from Riga reached me at St. Augustine, Florida, on my way back from Texas and Mexico and the Rangel and Cline case, and Stella also read me your other letters and told me about your last one from Riga; stating you were both in jail about one week.

So much of life is only a guess and so much of our hopes turn out to be mere illusions, and so much of our knowledge time shows is not based on facts, that puny man striding the world as he thinks like a colossus, if he really saw himself with his wares and his jails, his passports and his visas, would all be ridiculous and to be laughed at except that they all bring pain and bitterness and suffering. You say you want one of the old time letters that I used to write down at Jefferson City, and so I will try to comply.

I can understand often your inability to write, except now and then. Stella was over to see me and read your last few letters to me. I have received no letters from A.B. nor has Stella said anything about any of his letters, but merely about some postal cards that he sent. I hope that he is his usual serene self. I hope that you having gotten out of Riga into Sweden, that most of your physical requirements are being satisfied, although, of course, the mental uncertainty does not work for peace. I hope the health of both of you is good. I can understand some of your bitter feeling re Russia, all of which facts, some denied and some admitted, friends upholding them and enemies denouncing them, make a book in themselves. The evening world reprinted an article of yours from the syndicalist of Sweden attacking Bolsheviks. Of course, I presume that the facts and arguments will be coming along in some other letters when you have time to write. In fact, I think if you really want to publish the facts, that a definite written contract with the world to print your articles, word for word as written, could give you some funds that I know you must need very much. Of course, I know that you do not like to publish anything in the so-called capitalist press, but mostly, I believe, because they change it and work up things in the wrong way, but a written definite agreement would certainly obviate, most of that and it is something you might consider.

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726

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 17 [New York to] Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, [Stockholm (government transcript?)] / H[arry] W[einberger]. — 5 p. ; 28 x 22 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Weinberger describes his recent activities, including lobbying for amnesty for political prisoners, trying to get I.W.W. members out of prison, a pardon for Rangel and Cline, and the release of Mollie Steimer and others. He suggests Goldman make a publication contract with *The World* to print her experiences in Russia.

Notes: Reply to 850702020.

2.

Things are moving so fast both in Russia and in the world that anything which is not published promptly is stale by the day after tomorrow and therefore almost worthless except as past history.

I think I wrote you that when I was making an argument before the United States Attorney General Daugherty, re amnesty for political prisoners, with other lawyers, and he asked various lawyers questions, one of the questions he fired at me was "Would you allow Emma Goldman to return to this country?" I replied "Certainly. First, because Emma Goldman is a citizen of the United States and the Supreme Court of the United States has never held to the contrary. Her case was never brought to a final decision and that court could probably hold that she was a citizen of the United States. Second, "I replied" that she was deported for her opinions, which was in violation of the Constitution of the United States," even though the Supreme Court in the Alexander Berkman case did not so hold, but on the first point it has always been my opinion though the case of course depended upon technicalities of the law, but I think now, as I thought then, that they were technicalities that the Supreme Court would have approved. Of course, the action against your husband to revoke his citizenship was really aimed at you and you were not made a party defendant and your husband as a matter of fact had his whereabouts unknown.

If the "nadan" was good, I understand it is, it would make assurance fairly sure and rally a good deal of support, I believe.

I do not believe that there should be any immediate hurry of putting things to the test unless the necessity absolutely compels it for black reaction is in the saddle, fear is in the hearts and minds of men, conscience is dead and the American Legion is almost seated in the seats of the mighty. I see they passed a resolution the other day protesting against the State Department allowing Seminoff entry into the United States. Of course, they also protested against Debs' release and the release of other political prisoners. They are used to create public sentiment when the powers that be want that sentiment to be created. Your opinion on the whole situation is almost as good as mine and your conclusions are almost as laible to be correct as mine. This is an honest statement and is not the sugar coetry pill

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

727

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 17 [New York to] Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, [Stockholm (government transcript?)] / H[arry] W[einberger]. — 5 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
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Notes: Reply to 850702020.

8.

My assurance of success usually handed out by my brethern of the black robed bar.

I am sending this letter both to Sweden and to Berlin and hope that one of them gets you.

Apparently my four Russians were in the same city with you. Sorry you did not meet them. They would probably have gone on their way for we learn not from the experience of others, but each one of the human race learns by their own travail and even sometimes the burnt child does not fear fire.

About myself, there is nothing so very much new. After I succeeded in getting the four Russians out and the I.W.W.'s were going back, after Haywood escaped, it was the consensus of opinion that if Debs and the others would get out, the I.W.W. would stay in. I was asked by Gurley Flynn, Vincent St. John, Jack Law, and Charles Ashleigh to handle the cases of the latter three personally to obtain their release, so that if we could even break out with one, it might help all the others, especially as the Government insisted on each case being considered by itself and then I also accepted the case of Giovanni Baldazzi. There was no crawling by any of my clients in their application but a manful demand for amnesty on the ground of being political prisoners. It is a long story about each case. When Debs was released a few of the I.W.W.s (three out of my four) were released. They were Jack Law, Giovanni Baldazzi and Charles Ashleigh. Each case I presented in a different way. Charles Ashleigh I played up as an English poet and got writers, poets, society people, etc., to ask for his release. In the case of Giovanni Baldazzi, I pressed the same, and also finally got the Italian Ambassador to ask for his release. In the case of Jack Law, I proved that he had a fine job waiting for him with a certain Cornfix Company and finally obtained his release. I was sorry indeed that Vincent St. John did not come out, he being probably one of the ablest of all the I.W.W.s. Darrow had originally represented him on his appeal from the Chicago case, which was affirmed in the Circuit Court of Appeals. I presented his case in Washington and am now concentrating on his case to prove that he was framed up and that he had no connection with the I.W.W.s for years before the war and that he was merely made a party defendant, so that, if the other leaders went to jail, they would not be able to call on him to take their place, so that, while in the case of other I.W.W.s who really went to jail merely for the expression of their opinions, there may be a difference of belief between reactionaries and liberals as to whether the I.W.W.s have violated the law, but in the case of St. John, an honest man can have but one opinion and that is that he was deliberately framed up. I am preparing my arguments solely upon that line to re-present them to the President in the hope that

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728

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1922 Jan. 17 [New York to] Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, [Stockholm (government transcript?)] / H[arry] W[einberger]. — 5 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.
Summary: Weinberger describes his recent activities, including lobbying for amnesty for political prisoners, trying to get I.W.W. members out of prison, a pardon for Rangel and Cline, and the release of Mollie Steimer and others. He suggests Goldman make a publication contract with *The World* to print her experiences in Russia.
Notes: Reply to 850702020.

4.
successful.

Back in the old days you both used to write articles in the appeal for the release of Rangel and Cline and the other Mexicans, and lo and behold, that heritage came to me. I went to Texas and saw the Governor and argued it out and failed. I asked him, if the Mexican people wanted their release, would he let them go. He said he did not think the Mexican people were interested. I want to Mexico, got a letter from President Obregon, asking, as an official and as an act of friendship, for their release. I got the Mexican Federation of Labor, representing 400,000 men, to pass a resolution asking for their release. The Governor of the Federal District, which also includes Mexico City, also asked for their release, and a letter from Luis Morones, who is the Samuel Gompers of Mexico, being the head of the Mexican Federation of Labor, also head of the manufacturing of military supplies, was also secured, and I am in hopes that the long eight years of imprisonment of Rangel and his associates may in the very near future be ended. I have also gotten United States Senator Morris Sheppard of Texas interested and he may also write the Governor to obtain their release. Maybe in my next letter I will write you about my perambulations to Texas and Mexico, meeting some of the men like Soto y Gama who for ten years fought in the hills and woods against Diaz with Zapata and who asked me to write Maxon and say that his principles have not changed but only his tactics in taking part in the assembly of Mexico. I might state, as a matter of fact, the so-called combination of the anarchists, socialists and liberals in the House of Deputies, by a majority of four votes, elected a permanent commission which controls Mexico while Congress is not in session.

Now, I am back on the job, trying to revive some of my plain ordinary law business which may keep the wolf from the door though - sometimes one almost feels, with Voltaire, why not let him in, and be done with it. Debs is home at Terre Haute recuperating as he is a pretty sick man, but I think shortly he will begin some sort of a campaign for amnesty and upon his release he made statements asking for general amnesty. Indirectly, I got some word that he would be asked to Washington to argue each and every one of the I.W.W. cases, though it seems improper to me to have him argue individual cases when at all times his position would and should be to argue general amnesty, only because

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729

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Notes: Reply to 850702020.

5.

he being the commanding figure while we, through necessity, while talking general amnesty, can keep driving case by case.

There really isn't very much more to write. Things are moving along a little bit. There is still considerable unemployment. New York has had a very mild winter with the exception of a few days. If I could have an excuse of some business I might come over to Europe in the spring or summer and take that as a little vacation. I have always wanted to see England, Paris and perhaps, Rome and Athens, so whether I will be able to do it or have my nose kept to the grindstone, as it has, is one of the will-o-the-wisps that I keep before me for perhaps, as the Mexicans say, "manna". (*Martina*)

I hope you both will find some place where you will be left in peace and a little comfort to do the writing and do the things you want, and get into good physical and mental condition. Certainly my best wishes go across the ocean waves to you.

Sincerely yours,

HW/b

PS - You remember our banker friend? Was asked if he could help you get into Germany. Someone else is being asked as well, as Banker could not help.

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730

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1922 Jan. 17, Stockholm [to] Hjalmar Branting, Prime Minister, Stockholm / Carl Pettersson [and] Ernst Johansson. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv och Bibliotek, Stockholm, Sweden.

Summary: Pettersson and Johansson of the Young Socialist Party of Sweden explain to Prime Minister Branting that Goldman, Berkman, and Schapiro will not run an international anarchist bureau in Sweden.

Notes: In Swedish.

Ungsocialistiska Partiet, Sverige

722

Herr Statsminister Hjalmar Branting,

S t o c k h o l m .

Med anledning av den borgerliga pressens insinuationer, att de trenne ryssarna Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman och Alexander Schapiro sökt inträde här i landet för att sköta en internationell anarkistisk korrespondensbyrå, som skulle upprättas härstädes, bedja vi att få göra Eder uppmärksam på följande:

1. Det har visserligen varit på tal att hit förlägga en dylik internationell byrå, men det ungsocialistiska partiet har definitivt avböjt att taga hand om en dylik byrå.

2. Till följd av detta avböjande kommer byrån att förläggas till annat land, antagligen till Italien.

3. De trenne nämnda ryssarna ha ingenting med denna byrå att skaffa.

Stockholm 17 januari 1922

Sv. Ungsocialistiska Partis

Centralkommité

STOCKHOLM

Carl Pettersson

Ernst Johansson

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731

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Official Minutes of Andra Kammaren] 1922 Jan. 18 [Stockholm (excerpts)] / [author unknown]. — 5 p. ; 22 × 30 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Riksarkivet (National Archives).

Summary: The Swedish parliament debates the need for surveillance of foreign anarchists.

Notes: In Swedish. Five shots of eight pages.

Nr 3. 18

Onsdagen den 18 januari, f. m.

Vid remiss av statsverkspropositionen. (Ports.)

sätta på den stråten. Jag skall därför icke fördjupa mig i detta. Jag ville blott framhålla, att det icke räcker till att riksdagen sitter här och nagelfar och prövar det ena anslaget efter det andra och prutar litet här och litet där. Nej, det gäller även att Kungl. Maj:t tillser, att anslagen icke överskridas. Men det har skett betänkliga överskridanden. Och det borde icke få förekomma, att statens organ — jag skulle vilja säga i ovist nit — vålla våra kommuner utgifter, som de icke utan svårighet kunna bära. Jag var inne på detta ämne i fjol, då det gällde folkskoleväsendet, och vill nu endast framhålla, hurusom vissa folkskoleinspektörer gå så tillväga, att de mot skoldistriktets bestridande framtvinga dyrbara skolbyggnader med hot om indragning av statens bidrag till lärarne. Detta medför stora utgifter, som kunde uppskjutas, och det är ett missförhållande, som tarvar rättelse, om icke vår så högt skattade kommunala självstyrelse skall bli illusorisk, ja, om icke skolväsendet skall mista sin sympati hos Sveriges invånare.

På en punkt synes emellertid regeringen ha gått för långt i sparsamhetsnit, nämligen beträffande anslag till den frivilliga skytte-rörelsen. Det beror väl mindre på viljan till sparsamhet än på försvarsministerns kända ovilja mot denna rörelse. Jag hoppas, att riksdagen skall rätta detta olyckliga beslut av Kungl. Maj:t emot ifrågavarande i sann mening folkliga, försvarsvänliga och fosterländska rörelse. Jag ser väl i propositionen, att försvarsministern icke nu vill träffa ett principiellt avgörande, utan att det skall ske i samband med försvarsrevisionen. När ha vi då att vänta den? Tyvärr ser det ut, som om det nuvarande desorganisationstillståndet skall fortsätta. I varje fall är det tydligen icke avsikten, att skytterörelsen skall få något understöd nästa år. Men det kan föranleda, att rörelsen går allvarligt tillbaka. Försvaret har uppenbarligen ingen vän i försvarsministern, men försvaret synes även i andra hänseenden icke ha någon stark vän hos regeringen — jag menar försvaret mot intrång i vårt land av icke önskvärda element.

START →

Vi ha funnit, att regeringen givit tillstånd åt både bolsjeviker och anarkister att uppehålla sig här i landet, naturligtvis med möjlighet för dem att sprida sina fördärvbringande läror, att bedriva agitation och göra propaganda. I de flesta andra länder medgives icke sådant, utan det synes endast vara förbehållet vårt land. Sverige har icke heller utomlands något riktigt gott rykte om sig i detta fall. Det märkes särskilt, när det är fråga om lättnader i passväxlet till förmån för samfärdseln. Det har försports i tidningarna — jag vet inte med vad rätt — att det t. o. m. skulle finnas en anarkisteentral i Stockholm. Vet man något härom bland ministärens medlemmar, och vad göres för att övervaka de utlänningar, som fått tillstånd att vistas i riket? Vi borde naturligen hindra alla sådana element att komma in i vårt land, och detta kan göras — frågan är blott, om regeringen vill. Det finnes säkerligen en överväldigande mening bland vårt folk, att bolsjevik- och anarkistpropaganda icke må tillåtas, utan att vi böra bli befriade därifrån.] ← END

Onsdagen den 18 januari, f. m.

Jag skall, herr talman, icke längre uppehålla Eder och kamren. Jag får dock lov att, innan jag slutar, säga några ord om angelägenhet av utomordentlig nationell vikt och betydelse, en angelägenhet, i vilken, sedan vi sist voro församlade, ett avgörande blivit träffat, icke inom vårt eget land utan långt utanför dess gränser, nere i Schweiz, i Genève. Jag syftar, som kamnarens ledamöter förstå, på Ålandsfrågan och dess behandling av nationernas förbunds råd. I trontalet vid riksdagens öppnande konstaterades, vad vi alla för övrigt redan känna, att i överensstämmelse med förbunds rådets utslag förbliver den svenska Ålandsbefolkningen inom den svenska staten. Trontalet endast konstaterar detta faktum. Man lyssnar förgäves efter något som helst uttryck för den djupa missnöje, som denna förbunds rådets dom framkallat i de vidaste kretsar av vårt folk. Ännu för endast två år sedan talades från trontalet med frimodighet om Ålandsbefolkningens rättmätiga anspråk att själv få avgöra sin statliga ställning och om Sveriges bemödande att stödja den härutinnan. Vi minnas alla, vilken tillfredsställelse och anslutning dessa uttalanden väckte, särskilt det kraftiga hävdandet av det rättmätiga i ålänningarnas anspråk. Desto större känslighet missräkningen när avgörandet kom och det visade sig, att dessa anspråk blivit underkända av nationernas förbunds råd, samma nationernas förbund, som säger sig vilja i folkens samliv förverkliga rättens och frihetens heliga grundsatser. För svenskarna på Åland tydde detta domslut grusandet av deras käraste nationella önskan, att få återförenas med det folk, som de tillhöra med blodets, språkets och hjärtats band. För oss här hemma kändes det bittert, att inte ha lyckats bättre i våra ansträngningar att vinna gehör för Ålandsbefolkningens krav. Så starkt som svensk statsmakt engagerat sig i denna fråga framstod det som en nationell hederssak att bringa den till en lycklig lösning. Och på uppfattningen av nationernas förbund som värnare av folkens rätt att leva sitt eget fria liv måste ett domslut som detta få det allra största inflytande. Sällan har en rättsfråga legat klarare än denna, sällan har ett rättsanspråk hävdats med större enighet, entusiasm och trohet än i det sista. Ålänningarnas hängivna kamp för det de kände som sin oförfärliga rätt borde ha gjort dem förtjänta av ett bättre öde än det som beredd dem av nationernas förbunds råd.

Herr förste vice talmannen Hamilton: Herr talman! Jag kan ansluta mig till den siste aktade talarens syn på vårt ekonomiska läge. Ställningen i vårt land är svår — det kunna vi icke blunda för. Den världskris, som följt kriget i spåren, har icke lämnat vårt land oberört. Industri, lantbruk och övriga näringar äro till stor del ej i tillfälle att sysselsätta arbetarskara och tillgodose deras levnadsbehov. Arbetslösheten stiger dag för dag. Därtill komma att höga skatter lägga en tung börda på folket.

Landet runt ställas på oss, nu när vi gå till vårt arbete, om icke krav så åtminstone förhoppningar att vi skola genom sparsamhet, genom indragning och minskning av anslag, reducera statens

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Summary: The Swedish parliament debates the need for surveillance of foreign anarchists.

Notes: In Swedish. Five shots of eight pages.

Nr 8. 126

Onsdagen den 18 januari, e. m.

Fid remiss av
statsverks-
propositionen.
(Forts.)

regeringen bara sysslade med utredningar, och han liksom en annan talare, herr Nylander, klagade över, att man icke redan tidigare åttull- och traktatkommittén, som avgivit ett utlåtande om differentialtullar för reglering av förhållandena gent emot valutasvaga länder, lämnat i uppdrag att taga upp hithörande frågor i större omfattning; han klandrade, att denna åtgärd kommit först efteråt. Denna kommitté hade emellertid fått sitt uppdrag av den föregående regeringen, och det ligger i sakens natur, att om man kastat på kommittén det nya vidgade uppdraget vid en tidpunkt, då den nästan vara färdig med sitt förra uppdrag, den ändå först hade måst avsluta detta — man förlorade därför i verkligheten ingen tid genom det förfarande, som valdes. Regeringen motsåg alltså först uttalandet i den fråga, som tidigare varit förelagd tull- och traktatkommittén, och sedermera, 10 dagar efter det detta utlåtande inkommit, gav man kommittén det vidsträcktare direktivet att undersöka även andra frågor och söka komma in med utlåtande härom så snart som möjligt. Det är att hoppas, att ett sådant uttalande snart skall komma, och jag tror — om jag inte missförstått de meddelanden, som jag erhållit från medlemmar av tull- och traktatkommittén — att det verkligen skulle finnas förhoppningar om att åtminstone vissa delar av de problem, som man nu handskas med, skola ge anledning till utlåtanden från kommittén i en ganska nära framtid.

Över huvud taget är det mycket lätt att säga: gör inte bara utredningar utan gör någonting positivt! Men, såsom redan erinrats gent emot herr Lindman och hans meningsfränder: *landet* har i alla fall gjort ett uttalande, efter det att högern fört sin stora kampanj för förslaget att lösa våra svårigheter genom tullar, och det blev sådant att det bestämt förbjöder tanken på att gå fram den vägen. Det må vara herr Lindman fullt obetaget att lita till en kommande bättre insikt i dessa ting hos de stora massorna i vårt land — jag tror för min del, att han *inte* kommer att uppleva den dagen, då Sveriges arbetarebefolkning tager sin tillflykt till tullbotemedlet. I alla händelser föreligger den situationen icke nu, och det bästa beviset därpå är, att högerpartiet icke ämnar, såsom herr Lindman själv annonserade, upprepa sina förslag från i fjol i detta avseende.

START →

Jag nödgas nu taga upp en annan fråga — inte alls i sammanhang med denna sak, utan närmast därför att det också var herr Lindman, som sysslade med densamma. Det rör sig om en liten detaljfråga såsom jag ser det, men en fråga, som herr Lindman tycktes tillmätta en viss betydelse, och jag måste göra detta uttalande i egenskap av ansvarig för utrikesdepartementet, då den anmärkning, som herr Lindman riktade, drabbade mig just i den egenskapen. Saken gäller påståendet, att man börjar släppa in i landet en förfärlig mängd mindre önskvärda individer. Dessa kunna få möjlighet, menar herr Lindman, att sprida fördärvbringande läror, enär passväsendet handhas på ett mindre strängt sätt än förut. Det har talats om anarkistcentraler, som skulle ha upprättats

Onsdagen den 18 januari, e. m.

127 Nr 8.

Fid remiss av
statsverks-
propositionen.
(Forts.)

här i landet, och herr Lindman frågade, vad som göres för att övervaka sådant. Han yttrade, att det svenska folket helt säkert inte vill, att revolutionärer av olika nyanser få tillfälle att göra skada här i hemlighet. Om hela den agitation, som härvidlag blåsts upp på sistone, särskilt i ett visst pressorgan, matat tydligen av ganska dunkla källor, måste jag säga, att jag inte kan tillmätta den någon synnerlig betydelse eller, rättare sagt, ingen betydelse alls. I själva verket förhåller det sig nämligen så, att det ingalunda någonsin ges tillfälle och möjlighet för personer, som släppas in i landet — de må ha begärt komma hit t. ex. för genomresa eller för att vistas här någon kortare tid — och som varit politiskt kända som mer eller mindre revolutionärt anlagda, att här få driva någon som helst agitation. Den grundförutsättning, som alltjämt följes, är nämligen, att de förbinda sig att icke begagna sin tillfälliga vistelse här i landet till sådan propaganda. Detta är också ganska lätt att övervaka, då man ju kan följa deras verksamhet på det sätt, som herr Lindman mycket väl känner till sedan sin föregående utrikesministertid. I fall man icke litar på de avgivna förbindelserna, finnes det sålunda alltid denna kontroll att tillgå, och jag ber att få försäkra herr Lindman, att om det i något fall skulle visa sig, att missbruk verkligen äga rum på det allvarliga sätt, att folk mot sitt givna ord smyga sig in här i landet och missbruka svensk asylrätt och svensk gästfrihet, det ingalunda är min avsikt att på minsta sätt lägga fingrarna emellan — i så fall är återvägen eller vägen till ett annat land lika lätt, som vägen varit hit.

De uppgifter, som lämnats, och som herr Lindman anspelade på, rörde emellertid vissa namngivna personer, och jag måste då speciellt i avseende å dessa lämna några upplysningar.

Det gällde först tre personer, vilka kommo från Ryssland — av dessa hade två varit i Amerika och tillhörde de många, som under den värsta »anarkisthetsen», såsom det där kallades, blevo utvisade därifrån. Den tredje är en man, som varit privatsekreterare hos den världsbekante Peter Krapotkin, vilken ju var en person, som trots extrema åsikter tillvunnit sig aktning, beundran och erkännande från alla möjliga läger, och som för övrigt, när han år 1917 passerade Sverige på väg till Ryssland, vilket han då trodde skulle bli ett fritt land, även här hälsades med vördnad av folk av allehanda meningsriktningar. Jag har verkligen mycket svårt att tro, att en sådan mans sekreterare skulle vara farlig för det svenska samhället — det måste jag ärligt bekänna. Jag kan över huvud taget icke beteckna den uppfattningen, att faror skulle hota vårt svenska samhälle genom att några enstaka utländska personer med mer eller mindre revolutionära uppfattningar uppehålla sig i vårt land under en kortare tid, annat än som en visserligen mycket gängse reaktionär vidskepelse. Vårt samhälle är verkligen alldeles för säkert grundmurat för att en sådan risk skulle finnas. Tror man, att själva lärorna i och för sig skulle en sådan kraftig verkan åstadkomma, ha vi ju här hemma en mängd representanter för sådana åskådningar, som göra allt vad de kunna, under begagnande

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733

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av den vanliga svenska yttrandefriheten och tryckfriheten, för att sprida dessa åsikter. Inte kunna några enskilda personer från främmande länder i detta fall göra bland oss vare sig till eller ifrån.

Rörande nyssnämnda ryssar har det ifrån ungsocialistiska partiets centralkommitté i Stockholm lämnats mig en upplysning, som visar ovederhäftigheten av de uppgifter, som spridas i vissa tidningar och sedan kritiklöst tros och skrämma upp folk alldeles i onödan. Det upplyses nämligen, att det visserligen varit på tal att hit förlägga en internationell byrå men att det ungsocialistiska partiet definitivt har avböjt att taga hand om en dylik; på grund därav kommer den att förläggas till ett annat land, troligen Italien; och för övrigt ha de tre nämnda ryssarna ingenting med byrån att skaffa.

Man har också gjort stort nummer av hitkomsten av en annan person, en ganska känd medlem av den gamla Internationalen, fru Balabanoff, bekant från mångfaldiga kongresser, särskilt som översättarinna. För sin hälsas vårdande fick hon komma in i landet — för övrigt kan jag tillägga, att hon var på väg till Norge, dit hon är inbjuden. Hon skulle, som sagt, stanna här i Sverige för hälsans vårdande, men nu har man framhållit triumferande i den tidning, som jag nyss syftade på, att det minsann inte gällde någon hälsovårdande verksamhet, utan att hon fortfarande bor kvar på hotell i Stockholm, tager emot besök o. s. v.; det kan vara fråga om sammankomster, och Gud vet allt farligt som kan passera.

Jag ber då att få läsa upp ett par rader ur ett brev från en svensk, som besökt henne och känner henne väl. Det heter häri, att »tidningsangreppen äro fullkomligt grundlösa. Hennes fysiska och psykiska hälsotillstånd förbjuder lika mycket som hennes givna löfte, att hon ägnar sig åt någon som helst politisk verksamhet. För att uppmuntra henne besöker henne någon gång en och annan av hennes gamla vänner, oavsett politisk uppfattning, då ensamheten verkar i hög grad deprimerande på hennes allmänna tillstånd. Ingen utom Svenska Dagbladet kan väl finna detta oegentligt. Dess kampanj är sannolikt organiserad av politiska fiender till den nuvarande regeringen, och därför bryr man sig icke om vilka medel, som användas, även om därvid en sjuk människa får sitta emellan.»

Upplysningar, erhållna på annan väg, visa, att hon stannat här i Stockholm för att konsultera en läkare för en åkomma, men att hon ännu icke kunnat säkert ställa diagnos och föreskriva någon viss behandling. Hon har redan besökt honom ett par gånger, och tredje gången skulle varit för ett par dagar sedan, men då låg läkaren själv sjuk i influensa. Hon befinner sig sålunda under hans behandling och sköter sig efter hans föreskrifter. Samtidigt undergår hon behandling för en ögonsjukdom hos en av våra mera bekanta ögonläkare. Hon har icke sedan sin hitkomst utövat någon politisk verksamhet. Det är grundlöst, att sammankomster skulle hållas hos henne. Att hon icke begivit sig till något sanatorium beror som sagt därpå, att hennes läkare icke ännu kunnat ställa någon diagnos för behandlingen. Det har därför varit nödvändigt för henne att vänta här tills vidare. Hon

Onsdagen den 18 januari, e. m.

129 Nr 3.

bor på ett pensionat. Polisen har varit där och erhållit alla begärda upplysningar.

Så förhåller det sig med dessa affärer, för vilka man sökt röra upp rätt mycket damm. Jag tror, att Sveriges folk i gemen icke har samma skuggrädsla som den ärade talaren på Stockholmsbänken, utan skall kunna se denna sak i den obetydlighet, som den i själva verket har, och förstå, att man icke bör hålla sig så sträng i detta avseende, att man helt stänger landets gränser, därför att det hos en eller annau väcker farhågor eller ovilja, om den ene eller den andre släpptes in. Jag måste tillägga i detta sammanhang, att när man med all rätt håller på asylrätten åt högerkuppmakare, som varit med om allvarliga revolutionsförsök i sitt eget land och sedan tagit sin tillflykt hit, är det orimligt att mäta med två mått i detta avseende. Jag vill för min del icke göra mig skyldig till en sådan orättvisa.

Herr Kilbom hade en hel del anmärkningar mot den svenska polisens förfarande. Jag tror väl, att åtskilligt, som han berörde, kan vara överdrivet, men jag fruktar, att ett och annat icke hade så litet sanning bakom sig. Jag ber emellertid få erinra, att en huvudpunkt i dessa saker just blivit uppmärksammas av regeringen, då den bebadat i trontalet en proposition om skyndsammare rannsaking med häktade. Om en sådan kan komma till stånd, hoppas jag, att det skall i hög grad bidra till att avlägsna vådorna av det nuvarande förfarandet med den nuvarande maktfullkomligheten hos förundersökarna eller polisen, och det skall utan allt tvivel för rättstillståndet i landet bli till stort gagn, att så kan komma att ske.

Herr Kilbom gjorde vidare en vädjan till regeringen att icke haka upp sig på småsaker i avseende på de nu pågående förhandlingarna med Ryssland. Jag tror mig kunna försäkra — och det är allmänt bekant och flera gånger meddelat — att den nuvarande regeringen sannoligen icke vill haka upp sig på småsaker, utan är klart medveten om vikten och betydelsen av, att förbindelser i handelsavseende med det stora avsättningsområdet i öster komma i gång mera än hittills och även att denna sak bör snarast ordnas på så tillfredsställande sätt som möjligt för att hjälpa till att åstadkomma vad som under föregående debatt alla uttalat sig för, nämligen en ökning av arbetstillfällena i vårt land. Men å andra sidan måste man ju säga sig, att vi icke kunna sträcka vårt tillmötesgående i fråga om en uppgörelse så långt, att Sverige endast skulle lämna stora krediter på varor, som här förfärdigas, utan att vi erhålla någon som helst garanti för ersättning för de stora förluster, som i Ryssland tillfogats våra landsmän. Det är uppenbart, att varje svensk regering med bestämdhet måste hålla på, att det skipas rättvisa, där orättfärdighet begåtts, och att det måste träffas någon uppgörelse om skadestånd för de plundringar, som ägt rum, varvid stora värden, tillhöriga svenskar, gått förlorade, liksom ju även svensk statsegendom. Vidare är det klart, att de svenska kreditmöjligheterna på detta område äro begränsade. Därför är det icke så lätt även med bästa vilja i världen att i dessa frågor komma till en uppgörelse, även om alla allvarligt eftersträva en sådan.

Jag vill i detta sammanhang för min del livligt beklaga, att herr

Andra kammarens protokoll 1922. Nr 3.

9

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734

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Official Minutes of Andra Kammaren] 1922 Jan. 18 [Stockholm (excerpts)] / [author unknown]. — 5 p. ; 22 × 30 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Riksarkivet (National Archives).

Summary: The Swedish parliament debates the need for surveillance of foreign anarchists.

Notes: In Swedish. Five shots of eight pages.

Onsdagen den 18 januari, e. m.

131 Nr 3.

lig. Jag tror, att det hos massorna av Sveriges arbetare, som givit sina röster åt vårt parti, finnes en om hög politisk fostran vittnande känsla för vad situationen kräver, och det är i förlitande härpå vi våga föra en så pass — för att begagna herr Edéns ord, fastän jag sätter det inom citationstecken — »borgerlig» politik, som den efter hans framställning skulle vara. Det är ingalunda min mening att öppna tvist på den punkten, utan jag har blott velat göra denna lilla gensaga.

Vid remiss av statsverkspropositionen.
(Forts.)

Efter mitt intryck har denna debatt vittnat om mycket god vilja hos alla partier att försöka med förenade krafter lyfta upp kärran ur det svåra portföre, vari den för närvarande befinner sig. Detta bör göras med gott humör och i förhoppning, att vi dock skola lyckas komma framåt ur de nuvarande svårigheterna. Vi kunna ju också redan se vissa tecken till en inträdande ljusning — det var sluttonen i herr Edéns anförande, som jag ber att på det livligaste få ansluta mig till och ge mitt erkännande åt. Besjålas vi alla av en sådan känsla att, som herr Nylander sade, giva fullt erkännande åt den goda viljan, medan vi naturligtvis tvista om medlen, då tror jag, att vi skola lyckas att vid denna riksdag åstadkomma en hel del av nytta och gagn för vårt folk. Då har också den devisen blivit förverkligad, som finnes i den första regeringsförklaringen om »en svensk folklig landsregering». Det blir dess uppgift att söka på detta sätt verka utjämnande och icke blott verka med hänsyn till en viss klass, de valmän, som stå bakom det socialdemokratiska partiet, utan verkligen söka uppträda så, att det kan samlas betydande breda lager omkring våra gärningar. För detta är det, som vi skola försöka sträva. Det innebär ingen kapitulation från våra åsikter, som vi nog skola försöka försvara så gott vi förmå. Men det innebär ett erkännande av att även våra motståndare kunna vara besjälade av en god vilja. Gå vi till arbetet i detta tecken, då komma helt visst våra överläggningar vid denna riksdag att bliva mera fruktbarande, än föregående riksdagar med sina hetsiga partistrider ha varit.

Herr Lindman: Herr talman! Jag skall först be att få tacka herr statsministern för det meddelande han lämnade i sin egenskap av utrikesminister beträffande dessa främmande personer, som kommit in i landet. Jag ber att få tacka honom för upplysningen, att dylika främmande personer icke få komma hit och bedriva agitation, utan att de övervakas och deras verksamhet iakttagas. Jag hoppas dock, att detta övervakande icke blott sker genom privata personer och att upplysning om deras förehavanden lämnas blott genom privata brev, utan genom vederbörande myndigheter. Jag vill icke vara den, som säger åt staekars sjuka människor, att man icke har hjärta för dem och icke unnar dem att hämta vederkvickelse och vila i vårt land, men driver man satsen alltför långt, kan man komma över gränsen, så att man får in personer i riket, som icke kunna anses önskvärda. Jag kan icke taga detta spörsmål riktigt lika lätt, som Hans Excellens gjorde, när han sade, att några stycken till göra varken till eller ifrån. Jag vet icke, hur många det skall vara, för att det skall göra någon-

← START

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735

The Emma Goldman Papers

870720005

[Official Minutes of Andra Kammaren] 1922 Jan. 18 [Stockholm (excerpts)] / [author unknown]. — 5 p. ; 22 × 30 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Riksarkivet (National Archives).

Summary: The Swedish parliament debates the need for surveillance of foreign anarchists.

Notes: In Swedish. Five shots of eight pages.

Nr 3. 132

Onsdagen den 18 januari, e. m.

Vid remiss av
statsverks-
propositionen.
(Forts.)

ting till. Det sades av honom, att det ändock i vårt land finnes många element, som bedriva dylik verksamhet, men detta är näppeligen något försvar för att släppa hit ytterligare några sådana, då det finnes möjligheter att förebygga detta. J. ← END

För övrigt, herr talman, skall jag endast be att få göra några repliker med anledning av vad som förekommit under debatten.

Av ett yttrande från statsrådsbänken har jag funnit, att man icke har den känsla för att söka undanröja orsakerna till den stora och svåra arbetslösheten, som vore önskvärt. Det sades av socialministern, att man borde göra allt för att hjälpa dem, som lida under arbetslösheten, men det yttrades knappast några ord om, att man bör göra något för att undanröja orsakerna. Hur man än vänder detta, borde väl det viktigaste vara att söka undanröja aledningarna till det onda. Herr socialministern nämnde, att han fått uppbära klander för att det begäres anslag för att sysselsätta de arbetslösa med vägbyggnadsarbeten, och han frågade: kommer icke detta hela laudet och dess befolkning till godo? Jo, naturligtvis gör det det, men i detta uttalande från socialministern ligger, så vitt jag förstår, en grundväsentlig olikhet mellan honom och mig. Jag vill visst icke säga, att det icke är till nytta, att man får nya vägar anlagda och gamla förbättrade, men jag menar, att om någon under vanliga förhållanden skulle tänkt på att lägga ned 42 miljoner kronor i statsbidrag till vägbyggnader, så skulle detta ansetts högst märkvärdigt. Nu tvinga oss måhända förhållandena därtill, men skulle man icke kunna tänka sig någonting, som gäve oss mera produktivt utbyte för alla dessa pengar. Jag har t. ex. pekat på täckdikning och odling av jord, och jag hörde av herr Edén, att han var inne på samma väg. Finnes det verkligen icke någon möjlighet att använda dessa pengar och denna arbetskraft på något sådant sätt, att vi få pengarna tillbaka? Det får man ju egentligen icke vid vägarbete, men man bör försöka att få sådan användning för pengarna, som jag nyss nämnde. Det är, så vitt jag förstår, en stor skiljaktighet i herr socialministerns och min uppfattning av detta spörsmål, och jag har icke kunnat underlåta att som min mening uttala, att i den riktning, jag nu nämnt, borde ansträngningarna inrikta sig.

Herr socialministern uttalade önskvärdheten av att få industrien i gång. Ja, det önskemålet ha vi väl alla. Men han säger, att det är något, som vi icke kunna, som vi icke orka med. Jag frågar då: Skall man verkligen vara så dogmbunden, att man icke kan upptaga förslag, som framkomma från annat håll, än det man själv tillhör, och undersöka, om icke någonting kan göras därmed? Jag förstår ju, att herrarna icke vilja vara med om vare sig tullar eller att röra vid åttatimmarsdagen. Men det finnes ju andra saker. Vi ha valutafrågan, vi ha räntepolitiken, som jag förut talat om, det finnes andra saker.

Herr statsministern uttalade sig om ett uppdrag från regeringen till tull- och traktatkommittén. — Jag vill i förbigående säga, att jag icke klagat över att detta uppdrag till kommittén med begäran

Onsdagen den 18 januari, e. m.

om undersökning angående vad som kunde göras utan vad jag klagade över var, att tull- och traktatkommittén så omfattande uppdrag, att undersöka vad som snarast sagt vilken beskaffenhet som helst. Jag har icke sett det om detta uppdrag i detalj, jag har icke sett det om Post- och Inrikes Tidningar och vet heller icke blivit återgivet där. Jag vet följaktligen icke heller draget omfattar, men det har sagts mig, att det undersökning, om det finnes några andra åtgärder ändamålet i fråga än de, som förut bragts på tal fattande uppdrag, som kommittén ganska nyligen har jag liksom på förmiddagen: Har icke regeringen slag? Har regeringen icke givit tull- och traktatkommissionen visning om hur den skall inrikta sina ansträngningar att hans excellens yttrade, att sedan tullfrågan n landets väljare i somras, så var den vägen icke jag trodde då i min enfald, att liksom vi i fjol och påpekade åtgärder, som vi ansågo lämpliga så skulle vi också från dem, som nu sitta på r höra något förslag, som de icke först efter valet utan som de verkligen haft i fickan förut, och som fram och peka på och säga: Detta är vårt program, som högern kom med, underkändes av valmänningsrådet vårt program, så här låta våra direktiv. Men nu sammans till att man vänder sig till en kommitté, nämligen tull- och traktatkommittén, ingenting själva, men var så god, kom och säg vad

Så står den ena representanten upp efter de klagar över att industrien och näringarna sätta. Ja, vad skall näringslivet göra? En industri eller som arbetar med förlust och icke får någon hjälp, som åtgärder, varken i fråga om valutan eller om skydd eller räntefoten eller på något annat sätt, v Fortsätter den att arbeta, så går det med förlust ledes icke göra. Man måste inrätta sig — och vill på det hållet — för en nedsättning av varupriserna bringande av produktionskostnaderna. Vad har man gjort annat än inrikta sig på dylika åtgärder? Nu att det sker på det sättet. Men om det över huvud taget gram hos dem, som vilja ha billigare priser, så betslönerna skola sättas ned, ty det betyder billig

I sammanhang härmed skulle jag vilja yttra Kilbom, som just talade om nedsättning av arbetslösheten inne på en hel del andra saker, och jag hörde sedan Kilbom talade om hans privatekonomiska insikter i farenhet. Det var väl detta, som föranledde herr Kilbom om bankerna. Jag har icke anledning att inläsa Kilbom sade, trots att han adresserade sig till endast framhålla att det är ju så med sparbanker

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736

The Emma Goldman Papers

870714030

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 18, Stockholm [to] Marquess Curzon of Kedleston [Foreign Secretary?], London / Colville Barclay [British Embassy]. — 2 p. ; 33 x 21 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Public Record Office, Surrey, England.
Summary: Barclay informs the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston that Goldman, Berkman, and Alexander Schapiro are in Sweden. He describes the reaction of the Swedish press.
Notes: Enclosed with 870714029.

FO 371 / 8180 74502

4C

STOCKHOLM

No. 23

January 18, 1922

N 746 42

4a

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform Your Lordship that the Russian anarchists Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and Alexander Shapiro, who have been expelled from Russia, have received permission from the Swedish Government to stay one month in Sweden and have arrived in Stockholm, after spending Christmas in prison in Riga, as suspect Russian spies.

One Conservative paper, "Nya Dagligt Alle handa", takes it for granted that they will not be allowed to stay longer in Sweden and that they will probably return to the United States (which seems very unlikely seeing that they were deported from there). Another Conservative paper "Svenska Dagbladet" attacks the Swedish Government for allowing such undesirable people to enter the country at all and especially without ascertaining that they will be received elsewhere. A telegram from Berlin to this paper a few days ago stated that it had been decided at the Anarchist Conference held there between December 25 and January 1st to open an International Anarchist bureau in Stockholm.

The "Svenska Dagbladet" has also lately attacked the Swedish Government for allowing Madame Balabanoff (see my despatch No. 732 of December 19, 1921) to come to Sweden on the plea of ill-health and points out that she has taken up her abode at an hotel in Stockholm instead

The Most Honourable,

The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston, K.G.,
etc., etc., etc.

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737

The Emma Goldman Papers

870714030

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Notes: Enclosed with 870714029.

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43

12

instead of proceeding to a sanatorium and that she has been holding meetings with Communists at that hotel. "Folkets Dagblad Politiken" in its issue of to-day retorts that Madame Balabanoff called on medical specialists on her arrival in Sweden, that she is having medical treatment and visits her doctor once a week, that she lives at a small boarding-house in Stockholm in order to be able better to follow her doctor's orders as regards diet, medicine etc. and that her meetings with Communists have been restricted to visits from two or three of her personal friends to enquire about her health.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

humble Servant,

Colville Barclay

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738

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 18 [Washington, D.C. to] C[harles] A. Bancroft [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Boston / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Burns sends Bancroft extra copies of Berkman's photograph.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible. Reply to 870708026.

GER. JR.

61-796-I

61-291-35

RECEIVED 1922

January 18, 1922.

Mr. C. A. Bancroft,
Box 5185,
Boston, Mass.

Dear Sir --

Reference is made to your communication of the 10th instant, in regard to the possible exit of ALEXANDER BARKMAN and ALMA BARKMAN to re-enter the United States.

I note your suggestion that, in the future, four copies of photographs be forwarded to your office, instead of two copies.

In accordance with your suggestion, I am enclosing herewith two additional photostat photographs of ALEXANDER BARKMAN.

Yours very truly,



Encl.

ALMA BARKMAN

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739

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409125

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 18 [Berlin to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary
Department of State, Washington, D.C. / Richard E. Pennoyer [Secretary, American Em-
bassy, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 35 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

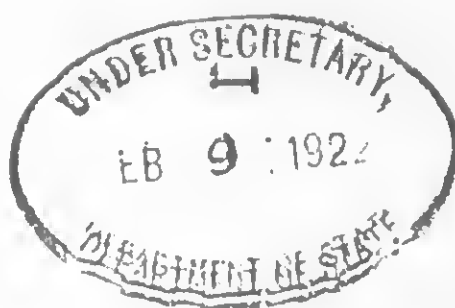
Summary: Pennoyer informs Hurley that he is investigating Goldman's whereabouts as requested.

Notes: Reply to 810617081. For follow-up, see 810409074.

RECEIVED

FILE

861.0-668



January 18, 1923.

file with print

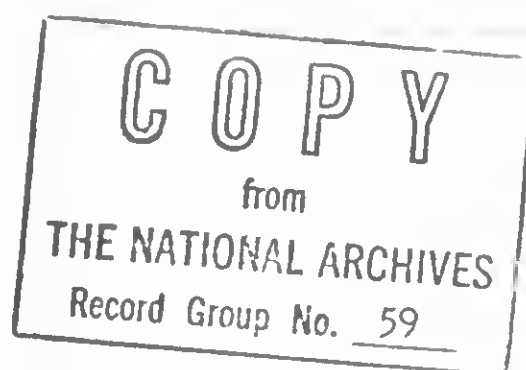
Dear Bill:

I have yours of December 23, 1921, (U2),
regarding Emma Goldman, and am making inquiries
from the secret police here and will let you know
in case they have anything to report.

Very truly yours,

Richard E. Pennoyer

W.L. Hurley, Esquire,
c/o Department of State,
Washington, D.C.



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

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740

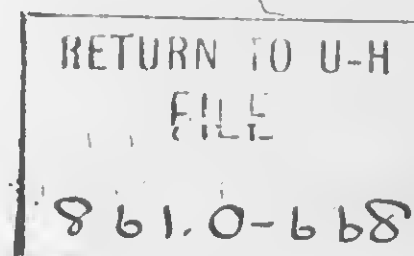
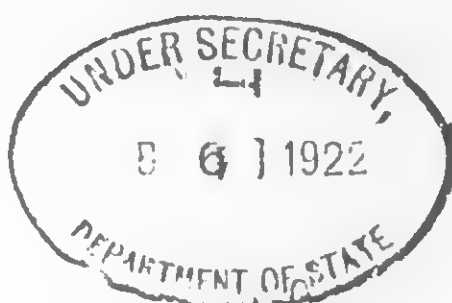
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 19, Stockholm [to] William L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / Hallett Johnson [Charge d'Affaires ad interim, American Embassy, Department of State]. — 2 p. ; 35 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Johnson sends Hurley a supplementary report on Goldman's immigration status in Sweden. He encloses a translation of Goldmao and Berkman's attack on Bolshevik Russia, published in Sweden.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810409137. For dispatch mentioned, see 810409082. For prior correspondence, see 810617087.



Stockholm, January 19, 1922.

Dear Hurley:

I have received your letters of December 19th, 23rd and 24th, 1921.

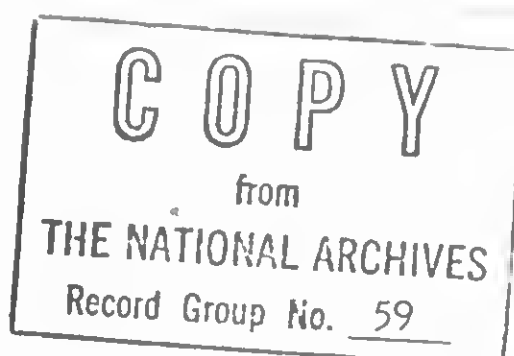
In my despatch No. 2247, of January 5th I informed the Department of the arrival of Emma Goldman in Sweden and of information regarding her up to that date. I have since learned through the Police that it is rather doubtful if Emma will be permitted to re-enter Russia. If this is so it will put Branting in rather a hole. Moreover I imagine the last place that Emma wants to go to is Russia, as the enclosed translation of her article in a Syndicalist sheet will show. She has said that she desires to return to America. The newspapers have stated that a German visa has been refused her, but I am not certain of this fact. The Police think it very

*WLH
note
ret to
Law*

William L. Hurley, Esquire,

Department of State,

Washington, D. C.



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

741

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409079

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 19, Stockholm [to] William L. Hurley [Office of the Under-secretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / Hallett Johnson [Charge d'Affaires ad interim, American Embassy, Department of State]. — 2 p.; 35 x 21 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Johnson sends Hurley a supplementary report on Goldman's immigration status in Sweden. He encloses a translation of Goldman and Berkman's attack on Bolshevik Russia, published in Sweden.
Notes: For enclosure, see 810409137. For dispatch mentioned, see 810409082. For prior correspondence, see 810617087.

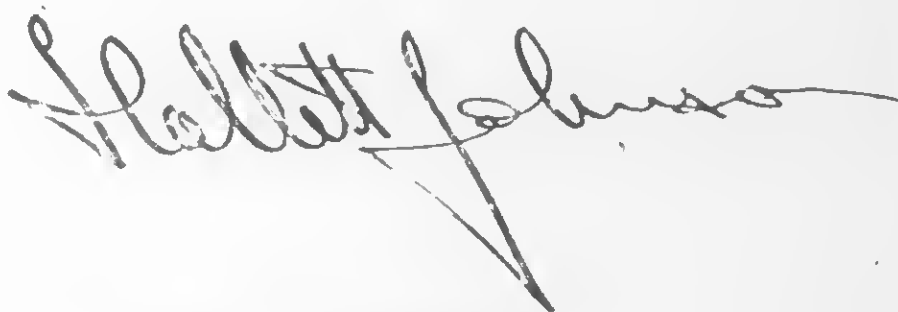
-2-

it very doubtful whether any other bordering state will receive her. While here she has been consorting with a small group of Syndicalists, but not with Bolsheviks or the Swedish Left Socialists.

The Swedish time limit for Goldman's and Berkman's stay here expires on the 25th of January and the Police intend to request a deportation order on that date. They are somewhat doubtful, however, as to their ability to execute this order, for to do so they must find some country to receive these individuals.

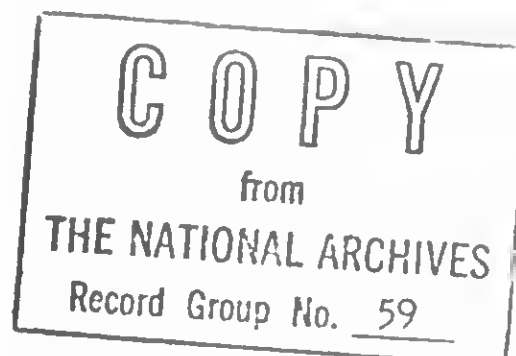
I will follow their movements as closely as possible and advise you accordingly.

Very sincerely yours,



Enclosure:

Translation of article by Goldman and Berkman in "Arbetaren".



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

742

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409078

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 20 [Washington, D.C. to] Hallet[t] Johnson, American Minister [Department of State], Stockholm / W[illiam] L. H[urley, Department of State].—
1 p.; 35 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley asks Johnson to send him a copy of Goldman and Berkman's attack on Bolshevik Russia, published in the Swedish press.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810409033. Response to 810409032. For reply, see 810409075 and 810409137.

RETURN TO U-H
FILE
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In reply refer to
UH

January 20, 1922

Dear Johnson:

I note in the Washington Herald issue of January 14 an article relating to a publication called the "Arbetaren" (Worker) of Stockholm in which appeared an article by Emma Goldman and Alexander Bergman reported to have been a bitter attack upon the Bolshevik Government.

I will appreciate it if you can arrange to secure a copy of the publication contained in this article for series of articles which Goldman and Bergman are reported to have been writing.

A copy of the Herald article is enclosed.

Very truly yours,

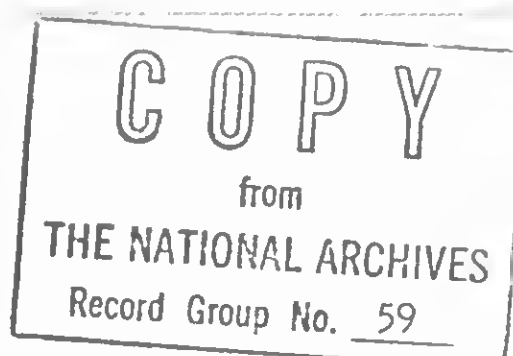
Enclosure:
Herald Article.

W.L.H.

Mr. Hallet Johnson,
American Minister,
Stockholm.

UH:LAW:LEI:SS

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General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

743

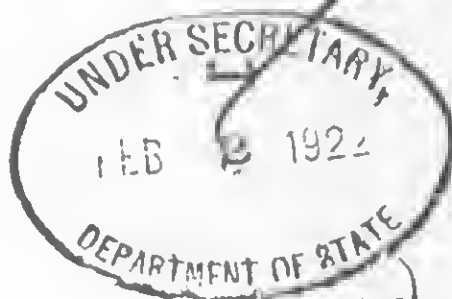
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 20, London [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington [D.C.] / [Boylston A.] B[eal, American Embassy, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 34 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Beal sends Hurley a report on Goldman and Berkman since they left the Soviet Union. He includes a short list of names and addresses taken from Berkman's notebook.

Notes: For related documents, see 870708030 and 870708031.



861.0-668

LONDON, January 20, 1922.

No. 1621.
CONFIDENTIAL.

Dear Bill:

I quote below the contents of a letter
received from our friends regarding Emma Goldman.

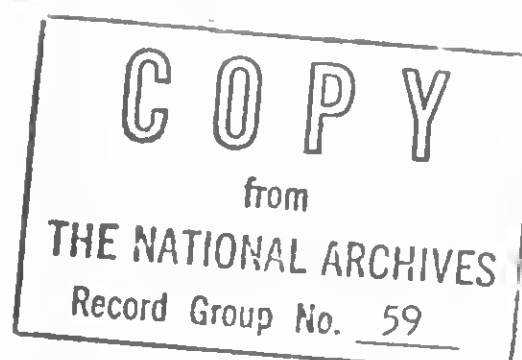
"With reference to your letter of January 10th addressed to Liddell regarding Emma Goldman, our latest information about her is that about the middle of December she was staying with Shapiro and Alexander Berkman at the Bolshevik Consulate in Riga. The trio proposed to go to Germany, where Berkman was authorised to represent the P.K.M. at the International Anarchist Congress to be held in Berlin on the 25th December, at which Malatesta was to be present as the Italian, and Bertoni as the Swiss representative. On their failure to obtain visas for Germany Emma Goldman, Bertoni and Shapiro obtained visas for Sweden, but were arrested by the Lettish authorities on their way to Reval. Among other addresses the following were found on them:

ANDERSON, Marg. 24, W. 16th St. New York.
BLACKWELL, Alice Stone, 3, Manadnock St.
Porchester (Dorchester ?) Mass.
BLANCO, John J. 5512 5th Avenue Bldg. Kolyn(?)
MAX, B. 1356, 182nd Street.
B.-B. 21, Van Dam St. New York.
B. KITTY, 1318 Jeon Bldg.
Klausner Ernst, Braker St. 29.
Ed. BITTE (BERTHE), 45 West 39th St.
DIAMOND, Ida, 1056 Hoe Avenue, Bronx.
FLESHIN, Rose, 2259 E. 73rd St. Cleveland.

W. L. Hurley, Esq.,
&c. &c. &c.,
Department of State,
Washington.

Yours ever,

Beal



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

744

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1922? Jan.? 20? London? to William? L.? Hurley?, Office of the Undersecretary? Department of State?, Washington, D.C.? (fragment)] / [Boylston? A.? Beal? American Embassy? Department of State?]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible. Enclosed with 870708030. Fragment of 810409037.

With reference to your letter of January 18th addressed to Liddell regarding Emma Goldman, our last information about her is that about the middle of December she was staying with Shapiro and Alexander Berkman at the Bolshevik Consulate in Paris. The trio proposed to go to Germany, where Berkman was authorized to represent the P.K.K. at the International Anarchist Congress to be held in Berlin on the 25th December, at which Malatesta was to be present as the Italian, and Bertoni as the Swiss representative. On their failure to obtain visas for Germany Emma Goldman, Bertoni and Shapiro obtained visas for Sweden, but were arrested by the Lettish authorities on their way to Revel. Among other addresses the following were found on them:

ANDERSON, Mary. 24, W. 16th St. New York. ^{NY}
 BLACKWELL, Alice Stone, 3, Madison St. ^{Bos.}
 Porchester (Porchester?) Mass.
 BLANCO, John J. 5512 5th Avenue Bldg. Kelyn(?) ^{NY}
 MAX, B. 1786, 10th Street. ^{NY}
 B.-B. 21, Van Der St. New York. ^{NY}
 B.-KITTY, 1512 Jean Rd. ^{NY}
 Klausner Ernst, Baker St. ^{NY}
 Ed. BITTE (BIRCH), 45 West 35th St. ^{NY}
 DIAMOND, Ill. 1055 Ave. Avenue, Bronx.
 FLESHIN, Rose, 2259 E. 73rd St. Cleveland. ^{NY}

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745

The Emma Goldman Papers

810402123

Sixth Corps Area Situation Survey, week ending Jan. 21, 1922 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpt, transcript)] / [Military Intelligence Division, War Department].— 1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: The Sixth Corps Area situation survey reports that the Swedish government cannot find another country which will accept Goldman and Berkman when their Swedish permits expire.

C O P Y

✓
BAR EMMA GOLDMAN.

Stockholm, Sweden, Jan. 19 - The Stockholm police authorities are in a quandry over the case presented by EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERKMAN, the American advocates of anarchism, who now find it impossible to secure permission to go to any of the surrounding countries. Thus far Germany, Norway and Denmark have refused to grant them passports to cross their borders.

The Soviet representative here, when asked if Russia would allow the pair to return, denounced them in unequivocal terms, declaring that both had caused enough trouble within Russia and that the Bolsheviks were unwilling to give them another opportunity.

Conservative elements here are determined that the couple must leave Sweden when the time allowed them for their stay in the country ends, January 25th. If the government extends permission to remain it will lead to bitter attacks in the riksdag. Emma Goldman has already broken her promise to abstain from any political activity in Sweden by publishing an article condemning the bolsheviks as well as the capitalists.

If the police cannot deport the pair the authorities may face the necessity of keeping them here as prisoners (News 1-19-22).

SOURCE: SIXTH CORPS AREA SITUATION SURVEY
WEEK ENDING January 21, 1922.
VOLUME III ----NUMBER 3.

FILE NUMBER 255-A-17
page 6.

Copy filed 10110-1689 Alexander Berkman's file.

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF
MIL. INTEL. DIV. 10

2-1
1922/0110-154
73

FEB 2

2/2/22

7/7/22

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746

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Bolshevik Scare — 36 cm. In Social Demokraten Leader (Jan. 23 [1922, government transcript]) / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The State Department prepares a translation of an article in the Swedish *Social Demokraten Leader*, which pokes fun at those newspaper editors who fear Angelica Balabanoff's visit to Sweden.

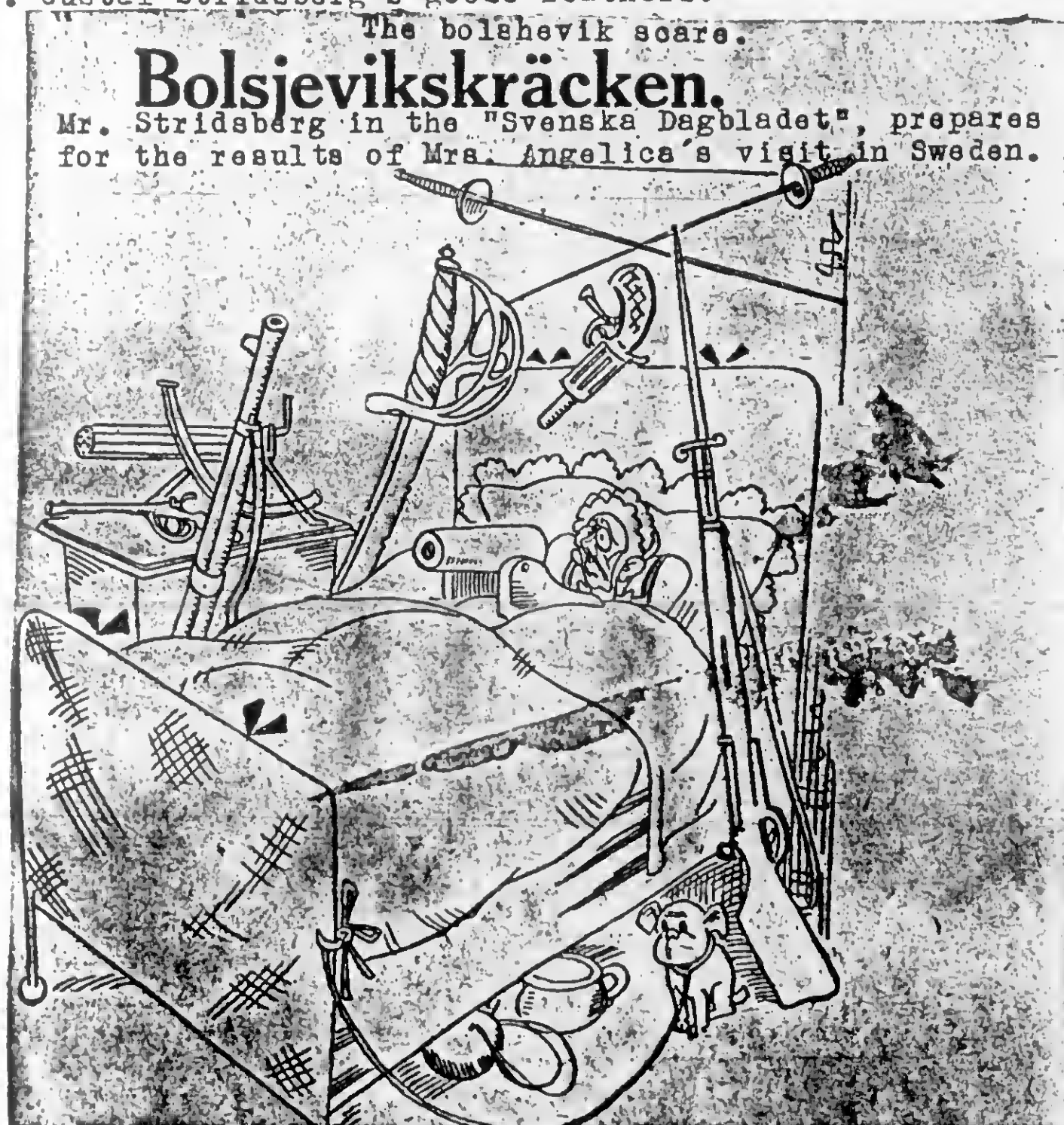
Notes: Enclosed with 810409072.

Mrs. Angelica.

(Social-Demokraten, Leader-Jan. 23)

The Government's action in permitting Mrs. Angelica Balabanoff to stay in our country for a time for her health has been very badly received by some papers. The "Örebro-Kuriren", comments upon this fact and remarks that there is no reason to place Russian citizens in a class of their own and treat them with more severity than citizens of other nations. Our sister paper writes further: "It is true that Soviet-Russians are a set of agitators and that they like to extend their propaganda further than the boundaries of their own country. Mrs. Angelica is not the least important one of these soviet delegates who have made their life work the spreading of the blessings of the world revolution to all the peoples of the world. We have no reason to fear that she will keep anything quiet while she is seeing to her health ~~here~~ in Stockholm. There will not be such a large circle of faithful. But can we not be calm in any case? Messrs. Fredrik Ström, Rinar Ljungberg and Karl Kilbom are already accomplished communists, and even if they do have conversations with Angelica, they can hardly be more dangerous on account of it. Just on account of a few words the community will not fall. When catastrophes happen it is on account of inner forces, weakness in the system itself, which have undermined the whole. If our conscience is clear and we believe in the present Swedish community and believe that it is more sensible than that of the Soviets, we could stick 10 bolshevik agitators in every hotel in the country and still sleep quietly each night on our pillows.

The "Svenska Dagbladet's" fear for shadows is absurd. Messrs. Key and Stridsberg and trembling in their shoes for their own account and for the community just because a talkative woman is allowed over the frontier. If their fear were reasonable let the community fall. It would not be worth keeping. But thank goodness it has stronger pillars to rest upon than Mr. Gustaf Stridsberg's goose feathers."



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747

The Emma Goldman Papers

870714029

[Report on] Russians in Sweden [London, 1922 Jan. 24 (cover page)] / [British Foreign Office]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Public Record Office, Surrey, England.

Summary: Someone in the British Foreign Office prepares a short description of the attached report on Goldman's exile in Sweden.

Notes: For enclosed report, see 870714030.

FO 371/8180

74502

41

N.

N 746

1922

RUSSIA

JAN 24 1922

Registry Number N 746/252/38.

FROM Sir G. Barclay, (Stockholm).

No. 23.

Dated Jan. 18th, 1922.

Received Jan. 24th, 1922.

N : Russia.

Russians in Sweden.

Refers to Stockholm despatch No. 732 of December 19th 1921 (N 14042/915/38/1921). Russian anarchists Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and Alexander Shapiro, who have been expelled from Russia, have received permission from Swedish Government to stay one month in Sweden after spending Christmas in prison in Riga as suspect Russian spies. Swedish papers have attacked government for this and one presumes they will be sent back to United States, while another states it was decided at anarchist conference at Berlin to open international anarchist bureau at Stockholm. Government has also been attacked for allowing Madame Balabanoff to go to Sweden on plea of ill health.

Last Paper.

N 732

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

9) Christiania 14.26 Jan 28
sent Emma
Prague on N 4185/152/38

(Action completed.)

28/1

(Index.)

10/1

Next Paper.

N 747

(Minutes.)

Copy Christiania, as
they will probably go to Norway
next.

M. Luper

Jan 24/22

286973—Wt. 4839/358—97 M.—5.21. W. & S. Ltd. (90.)

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748

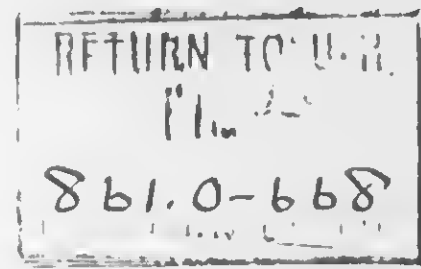
The Emma Goldman Papers

810409077

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 25, Stockholm [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Under-secretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / Hallett Johnson [American Minister, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 35 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Johnson notifies Hurley that the Swedish government has extended Goldman's residence permit, despite local opposition.



Stockholm, January 25, 1922.

Dear Hurley:

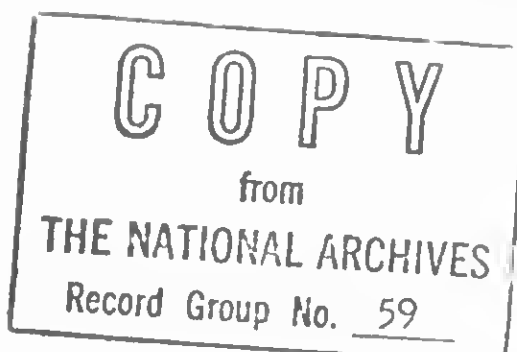
Branting told me yesterday that he has granted an extension to the time limit given Goldman and Berkman for their stay in Sweden. He states that they are trying to get permission to go to Austria and if they succeed in this he believes Germany will give them a transit visa. The conservative section of the press has been attacking the Government for permitting these people to stay in Sweden and for allowing Angelica Balabanoff to live here on account of her health. This morning's paper criticizes the permission which has been accorded Soermus to enter Sweden to give a concert for the benefit of the Russian relief committee. These criticisms do not appear to worry Branting who insists on giving hospitality to one and all provided they behave themselves in Sweden.

*ret to
Law*

Sincerely yours,

W. L. Hurley, Esquire,
Department of State,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Hallett Johnson



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

749

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on International Anarchist Congress] Berlin, 1922 Jan. 25 / Kalle, Staatskommissar für öffentliche Ordnung. — 2 p. ; 29 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Zentrales Staatsarchiv (DDR), Potsdam, Germany.

Summary: Kalle's report on the International Anarchist Congress, held in Berlin in December 1921, lists Goldman and Berkman among the participants.

Notes: In German.

Insb. m. 1459, *Orig. 27.1.1922*
Der Staatskommissar
für öffentliche Ordnung

25. Januar 1922.
Wilhelmstr. 68/64

3. Nr. II. 15543/22
Kn.

R.M. d. 1922

27.1.1922, Abschieds

VII 764

*Jo. Wamper
Koppen*

In der 2. Hälfte des Dezember 1921 fand in Berlin ein internationaler Kongress der Anarchisten statt. Wie ich nachträglich erfahren habe, waren folgende Persönlichkeiten als die Vertreter einzelner Länder anwesend und zwar:

George Barrett - England
George Maincel - Frankreich
Moritz Wassermann - Polen
D. Zeitner - Oesterreich
Goldschmidt - Holland
Maneszko - Rumänien
Bontanowitz - Bulgarien
Bossio - Italien
Sebatin (Swatin) - Litauen
Baumholtz - Tschechoslowakei
Emma Golmann - Russland
Alexander Berchmann - Russland
Lipstein - Estland
Gohlo - Ungarn.

Ausserdem nahmen an dem Kongress teil: Rudolph Rocker, S. Linder, Dr. M. Salkind, Dr. M. A. Cohn, William G. Owen, deren Heimatsländer mir nicht bekannt sind.

Die drei letztgenannten Personen hatten sich wahr-

den
ern Reichsminister des Innern,
ern Minister des Innern,
ern Reichskommissar für Ueberwachung
der öffentlichen Ordnung,

scheinlich

B e r l i n.
=====

22
For 27.1.1922

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750

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on International Anarchist Congress] Berlin, 1922 Jan. 25 / Kalle, Staatskommissar für öffentliche Ordnung. — 2 p. ; 29 × 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Zentrales Staatsarchiv (DDR), Potsdam, Germany.

Summary: Kalle's report on the International Anarchist Congress, held in Berlin in December 1921, lists Goldman and Berkman among the participants.

Notes: In German.

wahrscheinlich als Agenten des englischen Geheimdienstes
eingefunden. Der Kongress nahm scharf Stellung gegen
die Diktatur rechtsstehender Parteien. Angeblich
soll 1922 ein weiterer Kongress in Deutschland statt-
finden, da eine Reihe von Fragen unerledigt blieben.

In Vertretung

Kalle

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751

The Emma Goldman Papers


870708024

[Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman—Alien Anarchist, Detroit, Mich. [19]22 Jan. 28 / J.S. Apelman [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Agent Apelman describes his efforts to prevent Goldman from entering the United States undetected.

Notes: Broken type.

| | | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| REPORT MADE AT:
Detroit, Michigan | DATE WHEN MADE:
1/28/22 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
1/26/22 | REPORT MADE BY:
J.S. Apelman. |
| TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
EMMA GOLDMAN. | | Alien Anarchist. | |
| FACTS DEVELOPED:
At Detroit, Michigan. | | | |
| <p>Reference is made to Bureau Letter 312, dated January 5, 1922.</p> <p>This matter was brought to the attention of P. L. Prentiss, Inspector in Charge, United States Immigration Service, Detroit, Michigan, and of Earl F. Coe, Inspector in Charge, United States Immigration Service, Port Huron, Michigan, and these officials were requested to cooperate with this office with a view of detecting this individual should she attempt to enter this country through their ports.</p> | | | |
| <div style="text-align: right;">  <p>61-50-100</p> <p>MAK</p> </div> | | | |
| REFERENCE:
Mr. Hooyer | COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: | | |

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752

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 28, Washington [D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State.— 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Hurley sends Burns information from Stockholm about Goldman and Berkman, including a letter from M.E. Fitzgerald to Alexander Schapiro, which the Latvian secret service took from Schapiro.

Notes: Broken type; light copy. For enclosures, see 810409019 and 810617047. For reply, see 810409048. For copy, see 810409049.

RECEIVED OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASHINGTON

In reply refer to

U-2

311.6124 K 47/8

January 28, 1922.

Dear Mr. Burns:

I am enclosing herewith copy of a letter which has been received from Riga, found in the possession of Schapiro, who has recently been in that city with Emma Goldman and Berkman. There is also enclosed copy of despatch No. 2247 dated January 5, from the Legation at Stockholm, concerning Emma Goldman and Berkman which I am sure will be of interest to you.

I am given to understand that other interesting documents and a complete report of the case will be sent to the Department in the near future. If so, I will be only too pleased to transmit whatever information may come along.

May I ask that you treat the enclosed very confidentially as any publicity that might be given the same would tend to dry up the source from which it has been received. In the event of your making investigation, I would greatly appreciate being rendered an account of the results.

Very truly yours,

William J. Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Enclosure:

Copy of letter
and despatch,
as stated.

RECORDED

By *Ran* 2/10/22

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753

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409049

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 28 [Washington, D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] L. H[urley], Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.
Notes: Copy of 890520017.

file with Goldman

RETURN TO C-11

8614-668

In reply refer to
U-2
311.6124 K 47/8

January 28, 1922.

Dear Mr. Burns:

I am enclosing herewith copy of a letter which has been received from Riga, found in the possession of Shapiro, who has recently been in that city with Emma Goldman and Berkman. There is also enclosed copy of despatch No. 2247 dated January 5, from the Legation at Stockholm, concerning Emma Goldman and Berkman which I am sure will be of interest to you.

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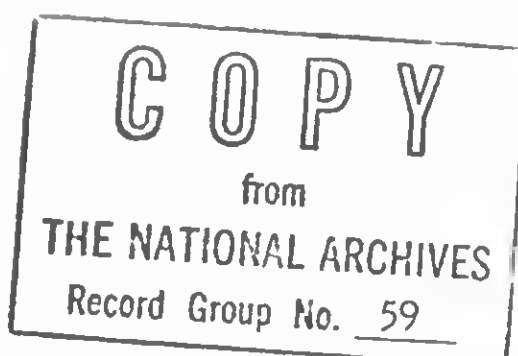
Very truly yours,

W. J. Burns

William J. Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Enclosure:
Copy of letter
and despatch,
as stated.

U-a LAW:MVB SS



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

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754

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409029

[Letter] 1922 Jan. 30, Riga [Latvia to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Under-secretary] Department of State, Washington [D.C.] / Evan E. Young, Commissioner of the United States [Department of State].— 1 p.; 35 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Young acknowledges receipt of Hurley's request for information about Goldman and reminds him that he sent numerous reports on Goldman's recent stay in Riga.

Notes: Reply to 810617080.



OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER OF THE UNITED STATES

RIGA



RETURN TO U-H
FILE

861.0-668

January 30, 1922.

Dear Mr. Hurley:-

I am in receipt of your letter of December 23, 1922, enclosing copy of photograph of Emma Goldman and requesting that you be advised at the earliest possible moment of any information relative to her which I may procure.

I trust you have received safely my several telegraphic and written reports regarding Emma, Shapiro and Berkman. We followed them carefully while they were in the Baltic Provinces and our Legation at Stockholm was informed by telegram the date of their departure from Reval for Stockholm.

" Emma is still an anarchist and to an agent of this office stated that she would never return to the United States as a "prodigal daughter". "

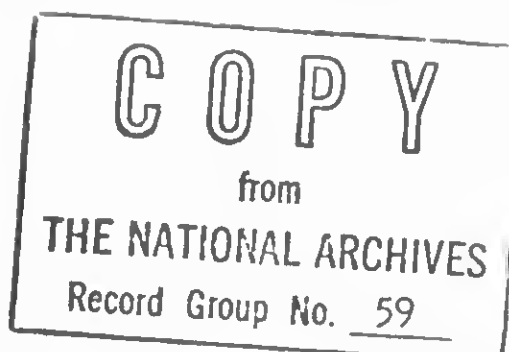
Very Sincerely yours,

W. L. Hurley, Esquire,

Commissioner.

Department of State,

Washington.



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

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755

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409048

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 4, Washington, D.C. [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice.— 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Burns asks Hurley to send him a copy of the letter to Alexander Schapiro, which he promised to send.

Notes: Reply to 890520017. For reply, see 890520008.

WM. J. BURNS,
DIRECTOR.



GFR:FF

Department of Justice,
Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D. C.

February 4, 1922.

RETURN TO U-H
FILE

861.0-668

Mr. W. L. Hurley,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Hurley:

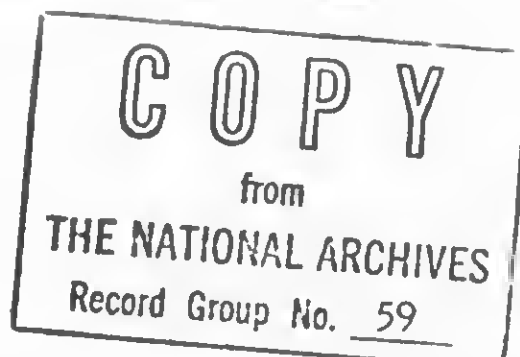
Reference is made to your communication of the 28th ultimo, File U-2, 311.6124 K 47/8, referring to letter found in the possession of Shapiro, who has recently been in Riga with Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman.

I find copy of despatch No. 2247 inclosed with your letter, but the communication which you refer to as having been found in the possession of Shapiro was not inclosed with your letter.

I am greatly interested in this matter and would therefore appreciate receiving a copy of this communication.

Very truly yours,

W. J. Burns
Director.



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

756

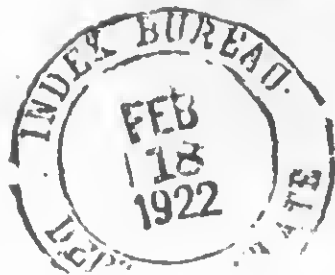
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 6, The Hague, Netherlands [to Charles Evans Hughes] Secretary of State [Department of State], Washington [D.C.] / William Phillips [American Minister, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Phillips sends the secretary of state a Dutch Army report on Goldman and Berkman, who hope to visit the Netherlands.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870803023. Enclosed with 810409067 and 810409068. Reply to 810617085.



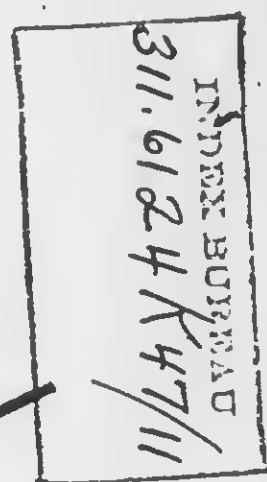
The Hague, Netherlands,
February 6, 1922.

No: 860

CONFIDENTIAL.



copy taken
for my file
M. D.



The Honorable,

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to Mr. Hurley's letter U2 of December 23, 1921, relating to Emma Goldman's efforts to gain readmission to the United States.

In this connection, there is enclosed a translation of a memorandum furnished the Legation by the Chief of the 3rd. Section of the General Staff of the Dutch Army relative to the activities of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman who desire to visit the Netherlands as well as England and the United States.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant

Enclosure as
stated above.

William Phillips

FILED
MAR 4 1922

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum on Activities of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, The Hague, Netherlands, 1922 Feb. 6?] / [Chief of the Third Section of the General Staff, Dutch Army].— 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The Dutch Army reports that the government should not allow Goldman and Berkman to enter the Netherlands because they are very effective speakers and will attract large audiences.

Notes: Enclosed with 810617046, 810409067, 810409068, and 870708033.

ENCLOSURE TO DESPATCH NO 86

The well Russian anarchists Emma Goldman, Alex Berkman and Alexander Schapiro are residing at Stockholm at present. A few years ago they were deported to Russia by the American Government and are tired and sick of the treatment, meted out to them in Russia. They had a very luxurious life in the U.S.A. and received much money from the anarchists.

It seems that Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman have been invited by RIJNDERS, Frederik Hendrikstr. 32, Amsterdam, editor of the "Vrye Socialist, to come to Holland for the purpose of holding a few lectures on "Anarchism " and " Anti-Militarism". Emma Goldman is a very clever speaker and she is able to attract a great audience of quite another standard than the ordinary anarchists, on which account her presence in Holland is entirely undesirable.

Emma Golsman and A. Berkman are very anxious to come to Holland on account of the agreeable recollections, dating from 1907 (International Anarchist Congress held at Amsterdam) They also received several invitations from British anarchists, free-thinkers etc., who are very anxious to have lectures given by Emma Goldman and A. Berkman in the industrial centres of England.

Emma Goldman and A. Berkman are of opinion that the U.S. Government is more indulgent with regard to the revolutionaries and that they wish to go back to the U.S.A. via Canada and Mexico. For them money is no matter of trouble, because the anarchists in the U.S.A. will give them the money for their passage. That Emma Goldman and A. Berkman are dangerous anarchists and that it is of interest for Holland and England that they should not be admitted

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum on Activities of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, The Hague, Netherlands, 1922 Feb. 6?] / [Chief of the Third Section of the General Staff, Dutch Army].— 2 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The Dutch Army reports that the government should not allow Goldman and Berkman to enter the Netherlands because they are very effective speakers and will attract large audiences.

Notes: Enclosed with 810617046, 810409067, 810409068, and 870708033.

- 2 -

be admitted is proved from the following: They have very special methods of making anarchist propaganda; they understand their work thoroughly and are generally successful. They appeal to all classes of people and attract a great audience by their comprehensive publications. They give not only lectures on "Anarchism" and "Anti-Militarism" but make a special study of the modern dramas and other subjects, which apparently have nothing to do with anarchistic propaganda.

They are very clever in launching their anarchist ideas on the most proper moment. During her propaganda tours in the Western States of America, Emma Goldman had great success and made a great number of converts. On one of her lectures at Spokane about 200 people subscribed to her anarchist paper "Mother-earth". It even happened in small Western towns that a clergy-man allowed her to lecture in his church, under the pretext that her lecture was based exclusively on scientific subjects. He soon discovered her plans and requested the police to arrest her.

759

The Emma Goldman Papers

810402128

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 9, Washington, D.C. [to] W.H. Cowles, Chief, Military Intelligence Division, 4, War Department, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Burns thanks Cowles for sending him letters addressed to Goldman and in return he sends him copies of Goldman's replies.

WM. J. BURNS,
DIRECTOR.



JFH*H

Department of Justice,

Bureau of Investigation,

Washington, D. C.

2 Encls.
OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF
MIL. INTEL. DIV.

1922

10110-154

83

WAR DEPARTMENT

3286

FEB 10

February 9, 1922.

Major W. H. Cowles,
Chief, Military Intelligence Division, 4,
War Department,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Major Cowles,-

I want to thank you for the confidential communication recently transmitted to me enclosing certain letters sent by friends of Emma Goldman in this country to her abroad.

This information is very interesting to us, and while you have been able to send me communications from this country to Emma Goldman, I enclose copies of replies to the letters sent by her, which I believe will be very interesting reading.

Permit me also to thank you for your letter concerning Alexander Hume Ford, of the Pan-Pacific Union, which is very entertaining.

Very truly yours,

W. J. Burns
Director.

(Enclosure)

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RECEIVED
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761

The Emma Goldman Papers

810402127

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 9, Washington [D.C. to] S[tuart] Heintzelman [Assistant Chief of Staff] Military Intelligence Division, War Department, [Washington, D.C.] / W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Hurley sends Heintzelman reports on Goldman, Berkman, and Alexander Schapiro from the American commissioner in Riga.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810409020. For dispatch mentioned, see 810409031.

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



In reply refer to
U-2 311.6124 K 47/9

DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASH. DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON 3284

February 9, 1922.

Dear Colonel Heintzelman:

With reference to previous correspondence regarding the three well known anarchists, Emma Goldman, Berkman and Shapiro, I enclose herewith a copy of a confidential despatch No. 1549, dated December 31, which has been received from the American Commissioner at Riga. Under date of January 3 the Commissioner reported by despatch that Goldman, Berkman and Shapiro left for Reval and Stockholm on the afternoon of January 2. The Consul at Riga has been instructed to notify our Legation at Stockholm by telegraph the date of their departure from Reval.

Very truly yours,

W. L. Hurley

Enclosure: *new*
As above.

Colonel S. Heintzelman, U.S.A.,
Military Intelligence Division,
War Department.

762

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409016

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 9 [Washington, D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, [Washington, D.C.] / W[illiam] L. H[urley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley sends Burns copies of reports on Goldman, Berkman, and Alexander Schapiro from the American commissioner in Riga.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810409020. For dispatch mentioned, see 810409031.

In reply refer to
U-2 311.6124 K 47/9

February 9, 1922

RETURN TO U-H
81-61.0-668

Dear Mr. Burns:

With reference to previous correspondence regarding the three well known anarchists, Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and Shapiro, I enclose herewith copy of a confidential despatch No. 1549, dated December 31, which has been received from the American Commissioner at Riga. Under date of January 3 the Commissioner reported by despatch that Goldman, Berkman and Shapiro left for Reval and Stockholm on the afternoon of January 2. The Consul at Riga has been instructed to notify our Legation at Stockholm by telegraph the date of their departure from Reval.

Very truly yours,

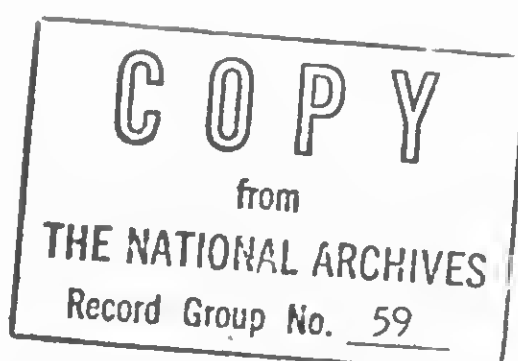
WJH.

Enclosure:

From Riga, No. 1549,
December 31, 1921.

William J. Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice.

U-2:LAW\SDM:SS



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

763

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 9 [Washington, D.C. to] W[alter] W. Husband, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor, [Washington, D.C.] / [William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley sends Husband a report on Goldman, Berkman, and Alexander Schapiro from the American commissioner in Riga.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810409020. For dispatch mentioned, see 810409031.

RETURN TO U-H
FILE

861.0-668

In reply refer to
U-2 311.6124 K 47/9

February 9, 1922.

Dear Mr. Husband:

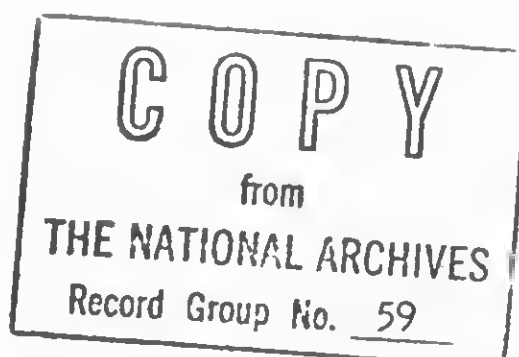
With reference to previous correspondence regarding the three well known anarchists, Emma Goldman, Berkman and Shapiro, I enclose herewith a copy of a confidential despatch No. 1549, dated December 31, which has been received from the American Commissioner at Riga. Under date of January 3 the Commissioner reported by despatch that Goldman, Berkman and Shapiro left for Reval and Stockholm on the afternoon of January 2. The Consul at Riga has been instructed to notify our Legation at Stockholm by telegraph the date of their departure from Reval.

Very truly yours,

Enclosure:
As above.

W. W. Husband, Esquire,
Commissioner General of Immigration,
Department of Labor.

U-2:LAW\SDM:SS



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

The Emma Goldman Papers

890520003

[Agent Report] In re: [Number] 2, New York [19]22 Feb. 10 / J.B. Brown [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.
Summary: Reporting on a telephone wiretap, Agent Brown notes that the New York World is paying Goldman fifteen hundred dollars for a series of articles.

Instructions: Edward J. Brennan, Special Agent in Charge

| | | | |
|---|---|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| REPORT MADE AT:
New York City | DATE WHEN MADE:
2-10-22 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
2-10 | REPORT MADE BY:
J. B. Brown |
| TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
IN RE: #2. | | | |
| FACTS DEVELOPED:

Was engaged from 5.30 P.M. to 10.30 P.M. and the following information was obtained:

7.45 PM. (Incoming)

Dr. A Cohen called and asked for Joseph Cohen. Said he would not be able to attend the meeting tonight as he had too many sick people to take care of. Joseph Cohen said someone was to receive \$1500.00 from the NY World for a series of articles written by Emma Goldman, but that it had been sent back to her for some corrections. Dr. Cohen asked about the Bergman letter and was told that a certain party whom he knew, had it. | | | |
| <p>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-18-83 BY 367</p> <p>NOTED
G.F.B.</p> <p>MAR 30 1922</p> <p>61-802-1418</p> <p>BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
MAR 10 1922
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE</p> <p>HOOVER</p> <p>FILE</p> <p>RECORDED</p> <p>JBB JWD</p> | | | |
| REFERENCE: | COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:
Washington 2- New York -1- | | |

765

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409046

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 11, Washington [D.C. to] W[illiam] L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State, Washington, D.C. / W.H. Cowles, Chief, M[ilitary] I[n]telligence Division] 4, War Department. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Cowles sends Hurley a letter from M.E. Fitzgerald to Alexander Schapiro, taken from Schapiro in Riga. He forwards an excerpt of a report on Goldman, Berkman, and Schapiro's departure from Russia.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810409047. For original report, see 810402119.

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

In replying refer to

G-2 10110-154
M.I.4-F.

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON

February 11, 1922.

RETURN TO U-H
FILE

861.0-668

Mr. W. L. Hurley,
Office of the Under Secretary,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.



My dear Mr. Hurley:

Herewith is transmitted, in connection with previous correspondence, a copy of a letter found in possession of Shapiro who has recently been in Riga, together with Emma Goldman and Berkman. This letter, a copy of which was forwarded to this office from the Military Observer, Riga, is from M. Eleanor Fitzgerald, 45 Grove Street, New York City, and contains information regarding the various Communists in this country and in Russia.

In this connection the following is quoted from a report recently received from Riga, dated December 19, 1921.

"Emma Goldman is at present in Riga, as is also Berkman and Alexander Chapiro. Emma Goldman was interviewed by the Associated Press correspondent, Mr. Rennick. She states she is going to travel through Europe and hopes eventually to return to the United States; that she is going to fight to get back her American citizenship. She also states that she is not returning as a prodigal daughter, but still believes in anarchy. Last reports indicate that she was trying to get a German visa, but, so far, has been refused.

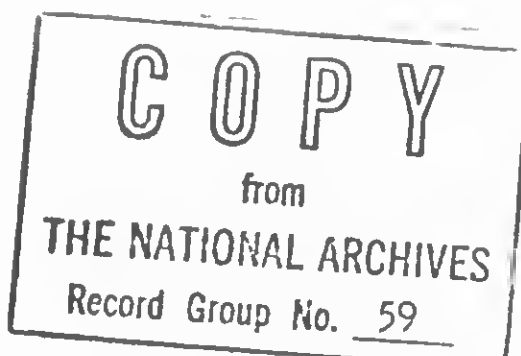
"It is not known what the movements of Berkman and Chapiro will be, but it is believed that they also will endeavor to eventually return to the United States."

Very truly yours,

For the A. C. of S., G-2:

W. H. Cowles
W. H. COWLES,
Major, Cavalry,
Chief, M.I.4.

D.J. informed
1 incl.
bk



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

766

The Emma Goldman Papers

810402129

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 11 [Washington, D.C. to] W[illiam] J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / W.H. Cowles, Chief, M[ilitary] I[n]telligence] 4 [War Department]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Cowles sends Burns a letter from M.E. Fitzgerald to Alexander Schapiro, taken from Schapiro in Riga. He includes information on Schapiro, Goldman, and Berkman's whereabouts.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810409047. For original report, see 810402119.

JV:TAH

G-2 10110-154
M. I. 4-P.

February 11, 1922.

Mr. W. J. Burns,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Burns:

Herewith is transmitted a copy of a letter found in possession of Shapiro who has recently been in Riga together with Emma Goldman and Berkman. This letter, a copy of which was forwarded to this office from the Military Observer, Riga, is from M. Eleanor Fitzgerald, 45 Grove Street, New York City, and contains information regarding various Communists in this country and in Russia.

In this connection the following is quoted from a report recently received from Riga, dated December 19, 1921.

"Emma Goldman is at present in Riga, as is also Berkman and Alexander Chapiro. Emma Goldman was interviewed by the Associated Press correspondent, Mr. Remick. She states she is going to travel through Europe and hopes eventually to return to the United States; that she is going to fight to get back her American citizenship. She also states that she is not returning as a prodigal daughter, but still believes in anarchy. Last reports indicate that she was trying to get a German visa, but, so far, has been refused.

"It is not known what the movements of Berkman and Chapiro will be, but it is believed that they also will endeavor to eventually return to the United States".

Very truly yours,

For the A. C. of S., G-2:

W. H. COWLES,
Major, Cavalry,
Chief, M.I.4.

State informed
1 incl.
bk

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767

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 13 [Washington, D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, [Washington, D.C.] / [William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley sends Burns a translation of Goldman and Berkman's attack on Bolshevik Russia, published in Sweden.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810409137. Reply to 810409032. For letter mentioned, see 810409049.

RETURN TO U-H
FILE

861.0-668

February 13, 1922.

Dear Mr. Burns:

With reference to my letter of January 28, 1922, relative to Emma Goldman and Berkman, I enclose herewith a translation of an article by these two individuals which appeared in the "Arbetaren" under date of January 10, 1922.

Very truly yours,

William J. Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice.

COPY
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

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768

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 13, Washington [D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, [Washington, D.C.] / W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

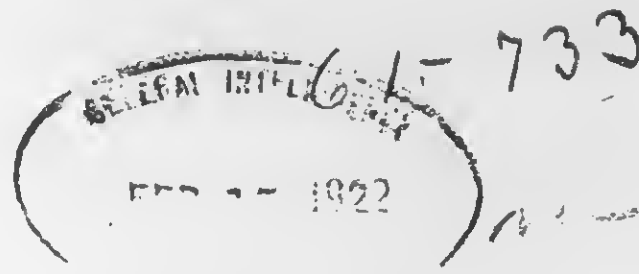
Summary: Hurley explains to Burns what happened to the Alexander Schapiro letter that he promised to send.

Notes: For documents mentioned, see 810409048, 810409049, 810409019, and 810402129.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

February 13, 1922.



Dear Mr. Burns :

Please refer to your letter of February 4, referring to my letter of January 28, with which was transmitted copy of despatch No. 2247 from the Legation at Stockholm.

Has come in 8/77

The communication which you refer to as having been found in the possession of Shapiro and which failed to accompany my letter of January 28, is the enclosure to a letter dated February 11, from Military Intelligence, copy of which is enclosed, which has also, I understand, been sent to you.

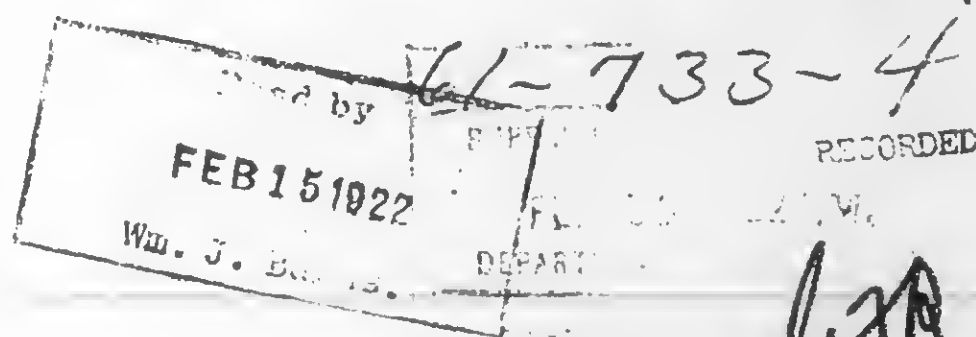
As this document is rather long, I thought perhaps the copy sent you by M.I.D. would serve the purpose.

Very truly yours,

W. L. Hurley

William J. Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice.

*1 encl
ELW 2/14/22*



42R
NEZ

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 13 [New York to] John H. Edwards, Solicitor, Post Office Department, Washington, D.C. / [Harry Weinberger]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Weinberger explains at length why the postal solicitor should cancel his ban on Berkman's *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist*.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; portions illegible.

Feb. 13, 1922.

John H. Edwards, Esq.,
Solicitor,
Post Office Department,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Judge: Re: "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist"
by Alexander Berkman.

Recapitulating my remarks and discussion with you re "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist" by Alexander Berkman, I desire to state:

The very title "Prison Memoirs" shows, as the dictionary defines the word, that it is intended as "a narrative of events happening within the memory of the narrator and relating to his entire life or to some portion of his life with which he has been particularly connected", so that, the very title itself shows it does not advocate any particular beliefs but that it is merely a narrative of past events in the life of Alexander Berkman. The book is autobiography frankly written as such, and therefore, necessarily explains the thoughts of the writer and the actions that follow, and the punishment society inflicted for said actions. Clearly, for those who believe that imprisonment and punishment is a deterrent for the commission of crime, and government certainly believes it is, the description of prison life is certainly sufficiently vivid in this book to be a deterrent for anyone desiring to commit murder, arson or assassination, so that, on that point alone, it could be easily decided that the book does not advocate attempts, or, otherwise, the punishment following it would not be given so vividly.

The book furthermore very clearly in the "introductory" shows that the intent was to advocate nothing, but to give a picture to illustrate a life, to describe the thoughts of Alexander Berkman, not that "people should join any group of social philosophers or revolutionists." I believe that the book be widely read because the general and correct reading of it would definitely add to true civilization. It is a human document. It shows up prison and prison life. Hutchins Hanford further says, in reference to Berkman's book, and his attempt at the killing of which: "This part of the book will cause extreme disagreement and disapproval of his ideas and his act. But I see no reason why this, with the rest,

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770

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 13 [New York to] John H. Edwards, Solicitor, Post Office Department, Washington, D.C. / [Harry Weinberger]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Weinberger explains at length why the postal solicitor should cancel his ban on Berkman's *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist*.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; portions illegible.

Mr. J.H.E.

-2-

2/15/22.

should not rather be regarded as an internal part of a human document, as part of the record of a life, with its social and psychological suggestions and explanations."

I have delayed this letter a day or two so that I could reread the entire book, especially pages called to my attention by you, numbers 707, 101, 122, 179, 416 and 417. I feel that the entire book, giving a true picture of past events, giving discussions and arguments pro and con of the past, advocates nothing except as my statements are, no all except as a fact or object, or any opinions or beliefs explaining the conditions of an act are not an advocacy of those beliefs or opinions, but are a picture in order to understand the human individual involved.

On page 7 Berkman gives his experience with his comrades of old, which are necessary to know for a real understanding of the man's future acts, as pictured in the pages following.

Page 17 gives the happening and his reasons.

Page 101 tells of his desire to ^{commit} suicide (no advocacy of suicide - no advocacy of anything) and his opinion of Mont's disagreement with his act.

Page 122 gives his thoughts while in jail.

Page 179 says "Again and again I review the arguments elucidating to my comrades the significance of my attempt". Suppose he had merely ended that sentence with "the significance of my act", it would mean the same thing and be clearly not the advocacy of anything.

Pages 416 and 417 is a letter, a most excellent discussion. Years had rolled by in prison, and now that on page 416 he praises Mary Goldman "for seeing that she would faithfully nurse the wounded man (McKinley) if he required your (her) services" and he points out "the great change wrought in us by the ripening years. Yes, in us, in both, for my heart echoed your beautiful sentiments. You in earlier days a thought would have been to us in the days of a decade of a should have considered it treason to the spirit of revolution; it would have outraged all our tradition, even to call the humanity of an official representative of capitalism." and that, he does not approve of the killing of McKinley. He does

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771

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 13 [New York to] John H. Edwards, Solicitor, Post Office Department, Washington, D.C. / [Harry Weinberger]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Weinberger explains at length why the postal solicitor should cancel his ban on Berkman's *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist*.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; portions illegible.

Mr. J.H.E.

-3-

2/13/22.

understand it, he does explain. He points out the difference between America and Russia and that we do not have in America the feeling of political oppression, and therefore the whole letter is really against the assassination of political office holders, and on page 416 he says: "But I am confident you will not mistake my expressed disagreement for condemnation." He does disagree about the killing of McKinley. He has, however, learned by experience, he has understanding of the act and so he does not condemn.

But the whole book is a sincere picture of the thoughts and acts of a human being. The thoughts and the logic at various periods of the life of the individual are necessary to understand the individual. The book has been sold openly by book dealers throughout the country, by Berkman himself, and Emma Goldman, when in this country, and the book has never been even hinted at as being the cause of anyone committing murder, arson or assassination. The charge now made by the Post Office Department was never thought of and known before, and no official, Federal or State, ever stopped the sale of the book before, and no criminal charge was ever made on account of it.

The book is in every important library of the country, used in colleges as a book to be read in psychology and sociology courses and is quoted very often in books on prisons and criminology, and considered by the leading text book writers as a book of authority.

In reference to the printed cover, we will ink out "He upholds the attempt as the only argument of the friends of labor and of liberty".

There are only eight hundred copies in English and eight hundred Jewish copies of the book left for sale. The publisher will not, if the books are allowed through the mails, play up in ads or otherwise "Books suppressed by Post Office Department now allowed through the mails" or any similar ads.

This book is sold at \$2.10 a copy which shows clearly and conclusively on its face that it is not what is considered a propaganda book because no book of that kind can get a very large distribution and reach the people ordinarily desired to be reached. It is an autobiography, a human document, a book that can stand alongside of the other great biographies of the world. It does not offend

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772

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 13 [New York to] John H. Edwards, Solicitor, Post Office Department, Washington, D.C. / [Harry Weinberger]. — 4 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Summary: Weinberger explains at length why the postal solicitor should cancel his ban on Berkman's *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist*.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; portions illegible.

Mr. J.H.E.

-4-

2/15/22.

murder, assassination or arson, and the fact that it has been openly advertised and sold since 1912 and no violation of law has ever been shown to have been caused by anyone reading this book, ought to be conclusive with the Department which, under this administration, has shown itself liberal and understanding of the free press clause of the Constitution, and I hope, therefore, that you will order the ban of its selling to be removed.

Respectfully yours,

HW/b

2 c to JHE

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773

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 15, Stockholm [to] Marquess Curzon of Kedleston [Foreign Secretary?, London] / Colville Barclay [British Embassy]. — 1 p. ; 33 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Public Record Office, Surrey, England.

Summary: Barclay reports that the Swedish government extended Goldman, Berkman, and Alexander Schapiro's visas for three weeks.

Notes: Enclosed with 870714031. For dispatch mentioned, see 870714030.

FO 370/8180

74502

No. 73

Confidential.

STOCKHOLM

N 1695
February 15, 1922
FEB 21 1922

57

32

My Lord,

With reference to my despatch No. 23 of January 18th this year, I have the honour to report that the Swedish Government has granted the Russian anarchists, Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and Alexander Schapiro an extension of three weeks to their stay in Sweden, viz until 22nd February.

Another Russian, C.J. Soerums, said to be a Bolshevik agent who was once deported from Great Britain, received permission from the Swedish Government to visit this country for three weeks in November last year, but did not avail himself of this permission. He has now requested to be allowed to come here with his wife in February instead for a similar period, and has obtained this permission. The Swedish Government has ascertained that there is no objection on the part of the Estonian authorities to Soermus and his wife returning to Reval at the end of the said period.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

humble Servant,

Colville Barclay

The Most Honourable,

The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston, K.G.,

etc., etc., etc.

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774

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409075

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 15, Stockholm [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Under-secretary] Department of State, Washington [D.C.] / Hallett Johnson [American Minister, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Johnson explains that he already sent Hurley the article he requested and that the Swedish government extended Goldman's visa for three weeks.

Notes: Reply to 810409078. For article mentioned, see 810409137, enclosed with 810409079.



RETURN TO U-H
FILE

861.0-668

Stockholm, February 15, 1922.

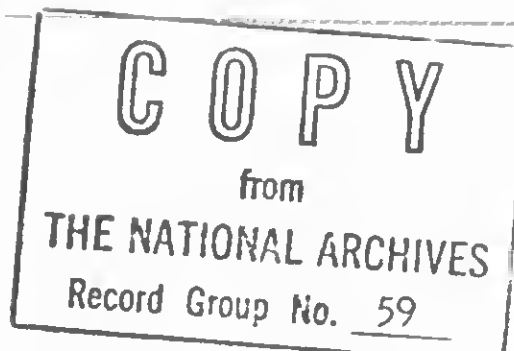
Dear Hurley:

The article written by Goldman which you asked me for in your letter of January 20th I sent you with my letter of January 19th. This is the only article under her authorship which has appeared, as she has promised the Government not to write. Branting told me that it was owing to a misunderstanding that this one article was published.

The Swedish Government has extended the visas for Goldman and Berkman to February 22nd. I have not as yet been able to secure any information as to their plans after that date.

Sincerely yours,

W. L. Hurley, Esquire,
Department of State,
Washington.



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

775

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re:] Radical Press in the Detroit District, Detroit, Mich., 1922 Feb. 17 [excerpt] / [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The Bureau of Investigation's report on the radical press in Detroit mentions Goldman's *Anarchism and other Essays*.

| | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| REPORT MADE AT:
Detroit, Mich. | DATE WHEN MADE:
2/17/22 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
Jan. 16 to
Feb. 15, 1922 | REPORT MADE BY:
(6)(7)(C) |
| TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
RADICAL PRESS IN THE DETROIT DISTRICT. | | | |
| FACTS DEVELOPED:
<u>At Detroit, Michigan.</u>

<u>SPECIAL REPORT.</u>

The following is submitted:

"WOLNA".

Issue #25 for the month of January, 1922, made its first appearance in the Detroit District on January 28, 1922, having been distributed at a ball and theatrical performance, given by the Union of Russian Workers at the Workers' Home, Yeamans Street, Hamtramck, Michigan, on that day.

The following are the contents of this new issue:

1. The Adoption of Deportation.
2. A Particle of Theory.
3. For the Characteristic of our Tactics.
4. The Contemporary Government.
5. The Memory of Comrade Rodunoff.
6. Ideal Programs.
7. Poetry.
8. A Letter from Paris.
9. The Anarchist Revolution.
10. Plea of Serg. Borisoff.
11. The Family Under the Present and Future Order.
12. The Protest of the Union of the Italian Anarchists.
13. The Mexican Struggle.
14. Correspondence from Germany.
15. Announcements and Statements.

(6)(7)(C) Issues # 22, 23 and 24 of this publication were distributed at the meetings and entertainments held under the auspices of the | | | |
| REFERENCE:
Mr. Hoover-2 | COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: | | |

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7-2-2

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FEB 21 1922
DIVISION

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776

The Emma Goldman Papers

890414014

[Agent Report In re:] Radical Press in the Detroit District, Detroit, Mich., 1922 Feb.
17 [excerpt] / [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].—
2 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The Bureau of Investigation's report on the radical press in Detroit mentions Goldman's *Anarchism and other Essays*.

(S)(d)(c)

2/17/22

P-4

What is Property ?

Political Justice: Essay on Property.

God and the State.

News from Nowhere.

A Dream of John Ball.

Syndicalism and the Co-operative Commonwealth. By E. Pataud and
E. Pouget.

Anarchism and other Essays.

Selected Works of Voltairine de Cleyre.

Anarchism and the World Revolution.

Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist.

Economics of Liberty.

Roads to Freedom: Socialism, Anarchism and
Syndicalism.

The Servile State.

Origin and Ideals of the Modern School.

Man versus the State.

A History of Freedom of Thought.

The Soul of Man under Socialism.

Walden.

Essays and other Writings.

Civilisation: Its Cause and Cure.

England's Ideal.

The Ego and His Own.

Shelley, Godwin, and their Circle.

By P. J. Proudhon.

By William Godwin.

By Michael Bakunin.

By William Morris.

By William Morris.

By E. Pataud and
E. Pouget.

By Emma Goldman.

By Fred S. Graham.

By Alexander Berkman.

By John Beverley Robinson.

By Bertrand Russell.

By Hilaire Belloc.

By Francisco Ferrer.

By Herbert Spencer.

By Professor J.B. Bury.

By Oscar Wilde.

By Henry Thoreau.

By Henry Thoreau.

By Edward Carpenter.

By Edward Carpenter.

By Max Stirner.

By H.N. Brailsford.

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777

The Emma Goldman Papers

890414033

Special Report [of Radical Activities, New York] 1922 Feb. 18 [excerpt] / [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The Bureau of Investigation reports that the Swedish government is worried about the activities of Goldman, Berkman, and Alexander Schapiro, who recently arrived in Stockholm.

Notes: Enclosed with 890414032.

(+)(7)(c) SPECIAL REPORT

FEB. 18, 1922.

3. INDIVIDUALS

(+)(7)(c)
outside of
scope

EMMA GOLDMAN - ALEXANDER BERKMAN

Both the above individuals, according to a recent dispatch
dispatch, are in Stockholm, Sweden, and their presence, together with
that of [REDACTED], is said to be causing the authorities
considerable concern, especially in view of the fact that the recent
Anarchist Congress in Berlin is said to have passed a resolution to
establish an Anarchist International Bureau at Stockholm. It is
understood the authorities will take prompt steps to see that no such
Bureau is established.

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778

The Emma Goldman Papers

890520006

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 18 [Washington, D.C. to] E[dward] J. Brennan [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], New York / [William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Burns sends Brennan a copy of a letter from M.E. Fitzgerald to Alexander Schapiro that discusses many activists in the New York area.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible. For enclosure, see 810409019.

1949

OSM-JR.

61-733.-3

February 18, 1922.

FEB 25 1922

Mr. E.J. Brennan,

Box 241, City Hall Station,

New York.

Dear Sir: -

For your strictly confidential information, I am enclosing herewith copy of a letter found in the possession of Shapiro, who has recently been in Riga, together with Emma Goldman and Berkman.

This letter, which was forwarded to the office of the Military Intelligence Division from the Military Observer, at Riga, is from M. Eleanor Fitzgerald, Grove St., New York City, and contains
ing various Communists in this coun

Years

Encl.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
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779

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409074

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 20 [Berlin to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary]
Department of State, Washington, D.C. / Richard E. Pennoyer, Secretary [American]
Embassy [Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Pennoyer sends Hurley a summary of the German secret police's report on Goldman, which is largely incorrect.

Notes: Reply to 810617081. Follow-up to 810409125.

RETURN TO U-H
FILE
861.0-668



DJ
3-14-22

card mounts
file Goldman

February 20, 1922.

Dear Bill:

With reference to your letter regarding Emma Goldman of December 23, 1921 (U-2).

" The secret police report that about two years ago she came from America to Europe and spent most of her time in Sweden. In 1920 she planned to return to America via Russia for the purpose of resuming her revolutionary work. In Russia she belonged to the "League for the Promotion of Anarchist Ideals." She was also, among other things, a member of the anarchist burial committee at the funeral of the well-known Russian anarchist Peter Kropotkin, who died last year.

Up to her recently renewed deportation from America on December 21, 1921, no further reports have reached the police in Berlin. Her entry into Germany was refused by the German Government, so that she could not, as she had planned, take part in the anarchist conference in Berlin last December.

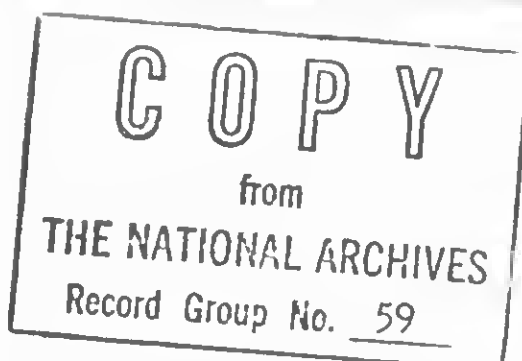
According to press reports about the beginning of last January the Swedish Government gave her permission for temporary residence in Sweden. In spite of inquiries instituted she has not been discovered in Berlin. "

Yours sincerely,

Richard E. Pennoyer

Secretary of Embassy.

W.L. Hurley, Esquire,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

780

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 20, New York [to William J. Burns] Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Edward J. Brennan, Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Brennan forwards the Special Report of Radical Activities for the New York area.

Notes: For enclosure, see 890414033.

OFFICE OF
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

TELEPHONE, BARCLAY 81
POST OFFICE BOX 241
CITY HALL STAT.

Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation

15 PARK ROW, 14TH FLOOR
NEW YORK, N. Y.

February 20th, 1922.

Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
Re: Special Report of Radical
Activities, period ending Feb.
18th, 1922.

Dear Sir:

I am transmitting herewith in triplicate Special
Report of Radical Activities for period ending February 18th,
1922, covering the Greater New York District.

Yours very truly,

EDWARD J. BRENNAN,
Special Agent in Charge.

(6)(17)(cc)

Enclos. 3.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/27/84 BY SP 6BJA/PSK
235042



MAR 4 1922

RECOR

21

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781

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on] Russian Communists in Sweden [London, 1922 Feb. 21? (cover page)] / [British Foreign Office].— 1 p. ; 34 × 21 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Public Record Office, Surrey, England.
Summary: The British Foreign Office prepares a cover sheet for Colville Barclay's report on Goldman in Sweden.
Notes: For enclosure, see 870714032.

| | | |
|--|--|-----------------------------|
| 10
1922 | FO 371/8180 74502
N.
RUSSIA | 56
N 1695
FEB 21 1922 |
| Registry Number
FROM Mr. Barclay
(Stockholm).
No. 73.
Dated Feb. 15th 1922.
Received Feb. 21st 1922.
N : Russia. | Russian communists in Sweden.
Refers to Stockholm despatch No. 23 of January 18th (N 746/252/38).
Swedish Government has granted Emma Golden ^{man} , Alexander Berkman and Alexander Schapiro extension of three weeks to their stay in Sweden. C.J. Socrums has received permission to visit Sweden for three weeks. | |
| Last Paper.
N. 1420.
(Print.) | (Minutes.)
copy Christiania reg.
Mr. L. L. L.
L. L. L.
Feb 22/22 | |
| (How disposed of.)
2). Christiania to 50.
Feb. 23rd. | | |
| (Action completed.)
MB 23/2 | (Index.)
Bef | |
| Next Paper.
N. 1966 | | |

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on International Anarchist Congress] Berlin, 1922 Feb. 21 / Reichskommissar für Überwachung der öffentlichen Ordnung. — 2 p. ; 28 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Zentrales Staatsarchiv (DDR), Potsdam, Germany.

Summary: The Reichskommissar describes the International Anarchist Congress, held in Berlin in December 1921.

Notes: In German.

Reichskommissar
für Überwachung der öffentlichen
Ordnung.

1863/22. I.

Berlin NW. 40, den 21. Februar 1922.

Poststraße 8.

Telefon: 1000-1000

3

R. M. d. I. R. A. C. A.

23.2.1922

Betrifft: Anarchistenkongress.

Bezug: VII. 764 vom 11.2.22.

VII 1459

VII 764

Der im Bericht Nr. II 15543/22 vom 25.1.22 des Preussischen Herrn Staatskommissars an den Herrn Reichsminister des Innern erwähnte Internationale Anarchistenkongress begann am 26. Dezember 1921 in Berlin und tagte bis zum 29. Dezember 21. Die Versammlungen wurden unter umfassenden Vorsichtsmaßnahmen, bei täglichem Wechsel des Tagungsorts, abgehalten. Die ausländischen Teilnehmer haben, soweit vertraulich ermittelt werden konnte, durchweg keine Einreiseerlaubnis gehabt. Sie sind inzwischen wieder abgereist. Neben der scharfen Stellungnahme der Kongress-Teilnehmer gegen die Diktatur rechtsstehender Parteien, ist von den bei dieser Tagung gefassten Beschlüssen nur noch von wesentlicher Bedeutung, dass anscheinend wieder ein internationales Anarchistenbüro gegründet werden soll, wie es in der Vorkriegszeit in Holland bestand. Das Büro soll diesmal seinen Sitz in einem der skandinavischen Länder erhalten und ein internationales mehrsprachiges Bulletin herausgeben.

Nach dieser internationalen Anarchistentagung fand am 1. und 2. Januar 22 in Berlin im Gewerkschaftshaus unter dem Namen "Naturerhaltung-Kongress" ein weiterer Anarchistenkongress statt, der von etwa 200 Personen besucht war. Veranstalter und die meisten Mitglieder sind, soweit festgestellt werden konnte, harmlose Anarchisten der vor dem Kriege von Landauer geführten

Richtung.

An das
Reichsministerium des Innern
Berlin.

Pa 22 1000

1.4.

Pa 22 1000

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783

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Report on International Anarchist Congress] Berlin, 1922 Feb. 21 / Reichskommissar für Überwachung der öffentlichen Ordnung. — 2 p. ; 28 × 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Zentrales Staatsarchiv (DDR), Potsdam, Germany.

Summary: The Reichskommissar describes the International Anarchist Congress, held in Berlin in December 1921.

Notes: In German.

Richtung, die auf Gründung kommunistischer Kleinsiedlungen ausging. In dieser besonderen Form des kommunistischen Anarchismus spielten auch die Worpeweder Edelanarchisten eine Rolle. Ein gewisser H a r j e e -Worpewede macht für den "Arbeiter-Siedler" "Freie Erde", der jetzt die Bezeichnung "Erdbund" führt, Propaganda. Die Mitglieder des "Erdbundes" sind gegen die Anwendung jeglicher Gewalt. Die anarchistische Bewegung, die jetzt im allgemeinen von terroristischen Propagandamitteln absieht, ist zur Zeit in Deutschland ohne jede Bedeutung. Sie hat auf die Arbeiter nur wenig Einfluss.

Emma

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784

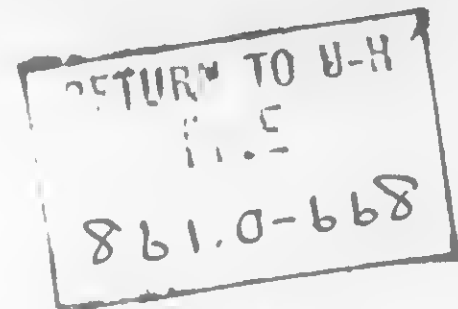
The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 23 [Washington, D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, [Washington, D.C.] / W[illiam] L. H[urley], Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley informs Burns that the Swedish government extended Goldman and Berkman's visa despite local press criticism.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810409073. For original report, see 810409077.



February 23, 1922.

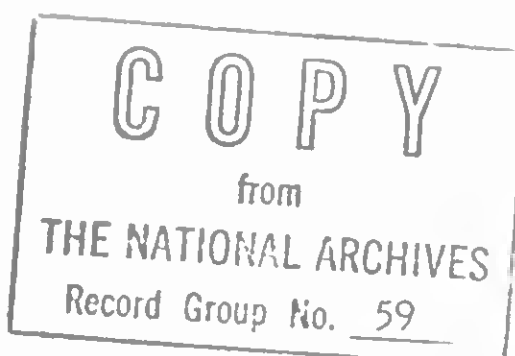
In reply refer to
U-2

Dear Mr. Burns:

Under date of January twenty-fifth, the Legation at Stockholm advised the Department that an extension has been granted to the time limit given Goldman and Berkman for their stay in Sweden. It is stated that they are trying to get permission to go to Austria, and if they succeed in this it is believed that Germany will give them a transit visa. The conservative section of the press has been attacking the Government for permitting these people to stay in Sweden and for allowing Angelica Balabanoff to live there on account of her health. The morning paper for January 25th criticised the permission which had been accorded Soerms to enter Sweden to give a concert for the benefit of the Russian Relief Committee.

These

William J. Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice.



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

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785

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409072

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 23 [Washington, D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, [Washington, D.C.] / W[illiam] L. H[urley], Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley informs Burns that the Swedish government extended Goldman and Berkman's visa despite local press criticism.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810409073. For original report, see 810409077.

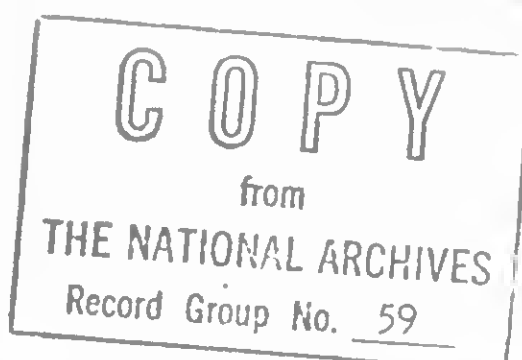
- 2 -

These criticisms do not appear to worry the authorities, who insist on giving hospitality to one and all, provided they behave themselves in Sweden.

Very truly yours,

WJH

U-2 LA7/HA3:33



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

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786

The Emma Goldman Papers

880615417

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 23, Washington [D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, [Washington, D.C.] / W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State. — 1 p. ; 16 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.
Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

Notes: One shot of two pages. Copy of 810409072.



In reply refer to
U-2

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

61-291

February 23, 1922

RECEIVED
FEB 23 1922
OVIS

Dear Mr. Burns:

Under date of January twenty-fifth, the Legation at Stockholm advised the Department that an extension has been granted to the time limit given Goldman and Berkman for their stay in Sweden. It is stated that they are trying to get permission to go to Austria, and if they succeed in this it is believed that Germany will give them a transit visa. The conservative section of the press has been attacking the Government for permitting these people to stay in Sweden and for allowing Angelica Balabanoff to live there on account of her health. The morning paper for January 25th criticised the permission which had been accorded Soccrms to enter Sweden to give a concert for the benefit of the Russian Relief Committee.

These



Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice.

MAY 1 1922

61-291-40

RECORDED
649

These criticisms do not appear to worry the authorities, who insist on giving hospitality to one and all, provided they behave themselves in Sweden.

Very truly yours,

W. L. Hurley

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787

The Emma Goldman Papers

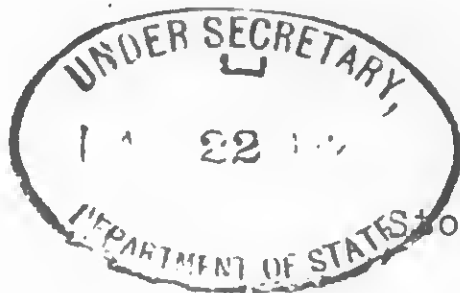
810409071

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 25, Stockholm [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington [D.C.] / Hallett Johnson [American Minister, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Johnson informs Hurley that Sweden has extended Goldman's visa another two weeks.

861.0-668



Stockholm, February 25, 1922.

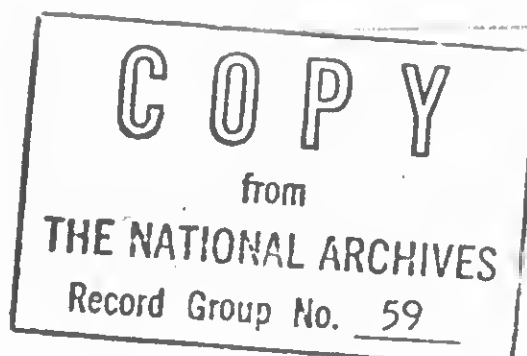
Dear Hurley:

Our soft-hearted Premier, Mr. Branting, has granted a further extension of two weeks, dating from February 22nd, to the time which Emma Goldman is permitted to stay in Sweden. He tells me that she is trying to get permission to go to Austria. She has kept perfectly quiet here lately, written no articles and given no interviews.

Yours as ever,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Hallett Johnson". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

W. L. Hurley, Esquire,
Department of State,
Washington.



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

788

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409068

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 27 [Washington, D.C. to] W[alter] W. Husband, Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / [William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.
Summary: Hurley sends Husband a report from the Netherlands on Goldman.
Notes: For enclosure, see 810617046 and 870803023.

RETURN TO U-H
FILE

861.0-668

In reply refer to
U-2 H

February 27, 1922.

Dear Mr. Husband:

With reference to previous information which has been furnished you relative to the efforts of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman to gain readmission to the United States, I enclose herewith copy of a despatch dated February 6, 1922, which has been received from The Hague.

Very truly yours,

Enclosure:
Copy of despatch from
The Hague, February 6,
1922.

W. W. Husband, Esquire,
Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration,
Department of Labor,
Washington, D.C.

COPY
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

789

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 27 [Washington, D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] L. H[urley], Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley sends Burns a Dutch report on Goldman.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810617046 and 870803023.

RECORDED
FILE

861.0-668

*file with
prior*

In reply refer to
U-2 H

February 27, 1922.

Dear Mr. Burns:

With reference to previous information which has been furnished you relative to the efforts of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman to gain readmission to the United States, I enclose herewith copy of a despatch dated February 6, 1922, which has been received from The Hague.

Very truly yours,

W.D.

Enclosure:

Copy of despatch from
The Hague, February 6,
1922.

William J. Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

U-2 LAW:AH:SS

COPY
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

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790

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409096

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 28, Washington, D.C. [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Burns asks Hurley for a photograph of Alexander Schapiro, since he believes Schapiro is in Mexico en route to the United States.

Notes: Reply to 810409045. For reply, see 810409088.

WM. J. BURNS,
DIRECTOR.



GFR:JWM

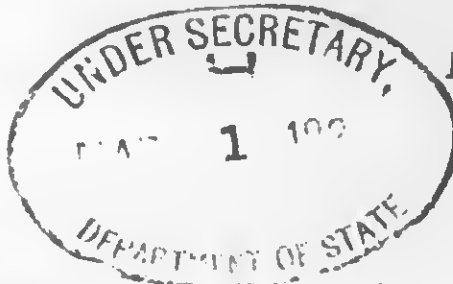
Department of Justice,

Bureau of Investigation,

Washington, D. C.

RETURN TO U-H
FILE

861.0-668



February 28, 1922.

Mr. W. L. Hurley,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hurley:

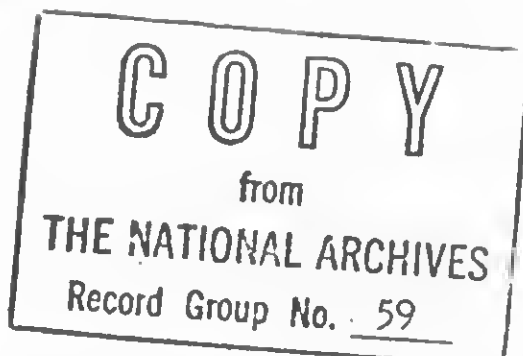
Reference is made to your communication of the 13th instant concerning ALEXANDER SHAPIRO.

I would greatly appreciate it if you would secure a photograph and description of this individual in order that I may transmit same to my Agents, for their information, in detecting the return of this individual to this country.

According to information which I have received from a strictly confidential source, Shapiro is now supposed to be in Mexico, and contemplating a return to this country in the immediate future. Possibly you may be able to secure more information from your representative in Mexico, which would tend to confirm this report.

Yours very truly,

W. J. Burns
Director.



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

791

The Emma Goldman Papers

850205060

[Letter] 1922 Feb. 28, Washington, D.C. [to] Stuart Heintzelman [Assistant Chief of Staff] Military Intelligence Division [War Department], Washington, D.C. / W[illia]m J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165. Summary: Burns asks Heintzelman for a photograph of Alexander Schapiro in case he tries to return to the United States.

WM. J. BURNS,
DIRECTOR.



GFR:JWM

Department of Justice,
Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D. C.

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF
MIL. INTEL. DIV.

1922

10110-154

84

WAR DEPARTMENT
328x

MAR 1

February 28, 1922.

Lieut. Colonel Stuart Heintzelman, Director,
Military Intelligence Division,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Colonel Heintzelman:-

Reference is made to previous correspondence relative to ALEXANDER SHAPIRO who has been in Riga, Russia with Alexander Bergman and Emma Goldman.

As the information indicates that this individual will attempt to return to this country, I would greatly appreciate a photograph or description of him, which would assist my agents materially.

Yours very truly,

W. J. Burns
Director.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

792

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 March 1, Pittsburgh, Pa. [to] W[illia]m J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / R.B. Spencer, Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Spencer reports that Goldman is writing a series of articles for the New York World.
Notes: Broken type; barely legible.

Department of Justice,

Bureau of Investigation.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

March 1st, 1922.

Director, Wm. J. Burns,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington D.C.

Dear Sir:-

Attention Mr. Hoover.

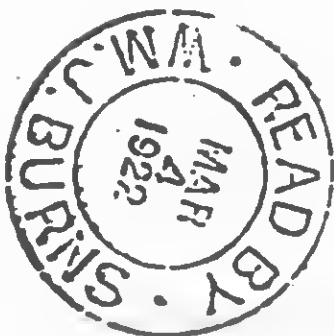
I beg to quote the following memorandum, which was submitted to this office by 236:-

"EMMA GOLDMAN is to give a series of articles in the New York World commencing coming Saturday; there is to be seven articles of 1500 words each for which she is to receive \$300.00 each."

Very truly yours,

R.B. Spencer
R.B. SPENCER,
Special Agent in Charge.

RBS:O



61-271-54

| | |
|----------|------|
| RECEIVED | P.M. |
| DEPT. | |
| HOOVER | |

H.O.L.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

793

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 19[22] March [2?] Washington, D.C. to] E[dward] J. Brennan [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], New York / [William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Burns asks Brennan to investigate a list of people whose names were taken from Goldman and Berkman in Riga.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; illegible. For related documents, see 870708029 and 870708031.

CTR. JR.

61-291-56.

March 2, 1922.

Mr. E. J. Brennan,
Box 241, City Hall Station,
New York.

Dear Sir -

The following names and addresses were
obtained from confidential persons of the
Berkman and Goldman, who were arrested by the British
authorities on their way to Russia.

ANDERSON, Miss. 34 E. 25th St., New York
BRADDO, John F. 3012 7th Avenue, New York (1)
MAN, R. 1035 Avenue C
3-42 St., New York
J. BROWN, 1011 3rd Ave. (New York City)
H. BROWN, 1011 3rd Ave. (New York City)
H. BROWN, 1011 3rd Ave. (New York City)
H. BROWN, 1011 3rd Ave. (New York City)

I am sure that you will find these names
confidential in character and will be able to
identify them, and will be able to find out
the names of the persons who gave them to you.

Very truly yours,
W. J. Burns

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794

The Emma Goldman Papers

870708030

[Letter] 1922 March 2, Washington [D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, [Washington, D.C.] / W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Hurley sends Burns a copy of a report on Goldman and Berkman.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870708031. For related document, see 810409037.

WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
U2

March 2, 1922.

61-211

Dear Mr. Burns:

I enclose herewith copy of a strictly confidential report which has been received from a reliable source in London relative to Emma Goldman.

This is for your information and as being of possible interest.

Very truly yours,

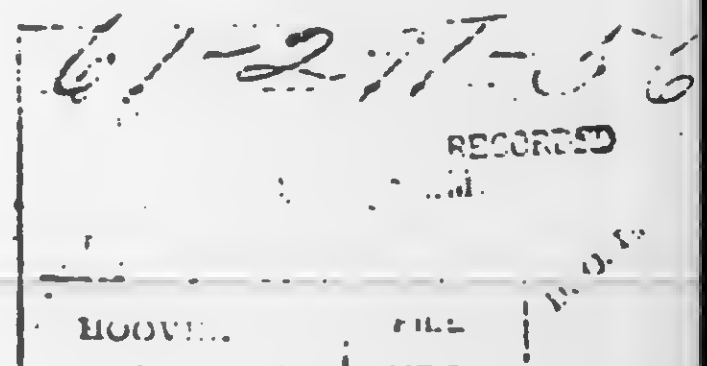
W. L. Hurley

Enclosure:
As stated.

William J. Burns, Esquire,

Director, Bureau of Investigation,

Department of Justice.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

795

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409029

[Letter] 1922 March 2 [Washington, D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, [Washington, D.C.] / W[illiam] L. H[urley], Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley informs Burns that Goldman, despite her disillusionment with Bolshevik Russia, is still an anarchist.

Notes: For letter mentioned, see 810409029.

RETURN TO U-H
FILE

861.0-668

In reply refer to
U2

March 2, 1922.

Dear Mr. Burns:

I have recently received a communication from *file*
Riga, dated January 30, 1922, relative to Emma Goldman.
The impression created upon my informant is that Emma
is still an anarchist, and she is quoted as having
said that she will never return to the United States
as a "prodigal daughter." Emma, Shapiro and Borkman
were followed very carefully while they were in the
Baltic Provinces and the American Legation at Stockholm
was informed by telegram the date of their departure
from Reval for Stockholm.

Very truly yours,

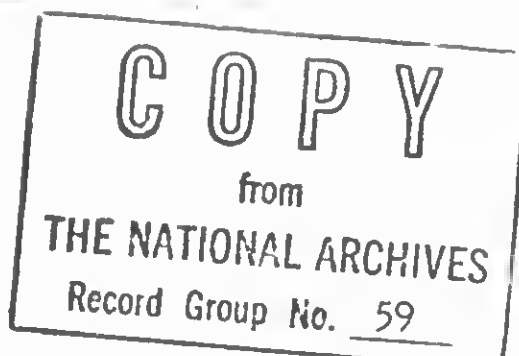
WJH

William J. Burns, Esquire,

Director, Bureau of Investigation,

Department of Justice.

U2-11AW/GC/ss



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

796

The Emma Goldman Papers


[Letter] 1922 March 2, Washington [D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, [Washington, D.C.] / W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State. — 1 p. ; 18 x 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.

Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

Notes: Copy of 810409065.

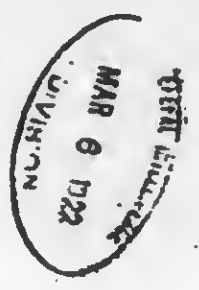
61-291



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
U2


March 2, 1922.



Dear Mr. Burns:

I have recently received a communication from Riga, dated January 30, 1922, relative to Emma Goldman. The impression created upon my informant is that Emma is still an anarchist, and she is quoted as having said that she will never return to the United States as a "prodigal daughter." Emma, Shapiro and Berkman were followed very carefully while they were in the Baltic Provinces and the American Legation at Stockholm was informed by telegram the date of their departure from Reval for Stockholm.

Very truly yours,
W. L. Hurley



William J. Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice.

MAR 1 0 1922 ✓

61-291-52

RECORDED

INDEXED

W. A. R.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

797

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In] re: [Number] 3, New York [19]22 March 2 / William Ralph Palmera [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.
 Summary: Reporting on a wiretap of Carlo Tresca's telephone, Agent Palmera describes Elizabeth Gurley Flynn's displeasure at Goldman's articles in the New York World.

| | | | |
|---|--|---|--|
| REPORT MADE AT:
NEW YORK, N.Y. | DATE WHEN MADE:
3/2/22 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
3/2/22 | REPORT MADE BY:
WILLIAM RALPH PALMERA |
| TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
RE: #3. | | | |
| FACTS DEVELOPED:
<p>Was engaged on the above matter today from 9:00 A.M. until 5:30 P.M., during which time the following information was secured:</p> <p style="text-align: right;">11:55 A.M.</p> <p>Outgoing: (In Italian)</p> <p>Nieri called Styvesant 9571 and ordered some books from one, DE GREGORIO and told him that he was going to return some books to De Gregorio, which he could not sell.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">12:00 P.</p> <p>Incoming: (In Italian)</p> <p>One Bianchi asked for Tesca. Nieri told him that Tresca had not come yet. Bianchi told Nieri to remind Tresca of what he had to do for Bianchi.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">12:05 P.M.</p> <p>Incoming: (In Italian)</p> <p>A man told Nieri that he will be on the lookout after the trick they played on him in Brooklyn in the printing shop. He said he had given De Pamphilis \$60. for the ad in the Martello which before cost \$27.00.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">12:20 P.M.</p> <p>Incoming: (In English)</p> <p>Berna Flynn told Carlo to call Spring 8363 and speak to Fitzi about some articles that will appear in the New York World written by Emma Goldman.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">12:25 P.M.</p> | | | |
| REFERENCE: | COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:
WASHINGTON (2) NEW YORK (1) | | |
| <p>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 7-15-83 BY 367</p> | | <p>RECORDED</p> <p>HOOPER</p> <p>FILE</p> | |

798

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In] re: [Number] 3, New York [19]22 March 2 / William Ralph Palmera [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Reporting on a wiretap of Carlo Tresca's telephone, Agent Palmera describes Elizabeth Gurley Flynn's displeasure at Goldman's articles in the New York World.

-2-

NEW YORK, N.Y. 3/2/22 3/2/22 RE: #3. W. R. PALMERA

knew about the articles that Emma Goldman will publish in the New York World. Fitzi said that Stella told her that the New York World will treat Goldman's articles the same as Wells'. Stella will correct the proofs and see that no change at all will take place in the headings and in the body of the articles. The New York World will decline all responsibility for what she will have to say. Emma Goldman wrote to Fitzi that she has been ill-treated in the damn press; that she is not longing for America and is not afraid of the Bolsheviks - all she wishes to do is to be treated fairly. Then Fitzi asked about Caminita's deportation. Carlo said that he will never be deported as long as he is under the protection of the Department of Justice and Blossom. Then Tresca invited Fitzi to lunch tomorrow and promised her to show her something about Caminita that will shock her. Fitzi promised to go.

12:55 P.M.

Incoming: (In Italian)

Tartamella asked Tresca about last night's meeting. Tresca said it was fine - that they collected about \$300.00 and the place was full of people and half full of detectives. Then Tresca told Tartamella to lose no opportunity to know something more about that. Tartamella said all right.

1:45 P.M.

Outgoing: (In English)

Tresca called Chelsea 4598 and told Mr. Cohen of the Pamphile Press that it is time for him to start the work on Tresca's book, otherwise it will never be published. Mr. Cohen said that it was Tresca who held the job up by not correcting the proofs - as they were ready for correction.

3:25 P.M.

Outgoing: (In English)

Tresca called Styvesant 6488 and told a woman who called herself Katie how sorry he was that Fitzpatrick would not speak at last night's meeting as he did not know much about Sacco-Vanzetti case. Katie

7-1169

799

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In] re: [Number] 3, New York [19]22 March 2 / William Ralph Palmera [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Reporting on a wiretap of Carlo Tresca's telephone, Agent Palmera describes Elizabeth Gurley Flynn's displeasure at Goldman's articles in the New York World.

-3-

NEW YORK, N.Y. 3/2/22 3/2/22 RE: #3. W.R. PALMERA

said that Fitzpatrick had expressed his wish to speak about the two prisoners. Tresca said that if he can he will arrange a meeting for Fitzpatrick.

3:52 P.M.

Incoming: (In Italian)

Tartamella told Carlo Tresca that Esteve did not understand right. He said he had the letter in his possession and read a paragraph from it in which it is said "Let us suppose even for hypothesis that I have committed an imprudence and have appeared as a spy, bear in mind that I was kicked and cornered and beaten, Esteve ought to never have said that, it is an infamy."

Tartamella said that the other letter which is in the possession of Caminita's friend, is a very long one, full of harsh expressions against Tresca, Tartamella et al, and it would take three days to read it. Tresca advised Tartamella to leave the toad alone and let him vomit his gall. Tartamella said that he will see Tresca this Saturday and talk the matter over.

4:10 P.M.

Incoming: (In English)

Fred Moore asked for JAROSSE. Tresca said that Jarossi had told him that he had tried to get in touch with Moore but did not succeed; Moore could get in touch with him by calling Coney Island 1735. Moore said that Curley had promised to call him before 1:00 P.M. but he never did. He said that luckily the man they wanted is in New York and will be interviewed tomorrow. Tresca told Moore that Moore's statement appeared to him a little too strong. Moore said it was all right as long as he referred to the West and South. Tresca told Moore to call him every now and then and not let him worry with his silence.

4:23 P.M.

Incoming: (In English)

Berna Flynn asked Carlo Tresca about Fitz. Tresca said that Goldman's articles will be published in

7-1109

800

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In] re: [Number] 3, New York [19]22 March 2 / William Ralph Palmera [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.
 Summary: Reporting on a wiretap of Carlo Tresca's telephone, Agent Palmera describes Elizabeth Gurley Flynn's displeasure at Goldman's articles in the New York World.

-4-

NEW YORK, N.Y.

3/22

3/2/22

RE: #3.

W. R. PALMERA

the World without any doubt. Berna expressed her resentment and displeasure at this news and she said that it will injure the cause more than help it. Anything ought to be done to stop such a nonsensical thing. Then Tresca told Berna that he had a check for her for \$35.00 for printing matter. Berna said that she already received \$35.00 for the hall. Tresca said that she will get all the money that is coming to her and will be charged to the Defense Committee.

4:37 P.M.

Incoming: (In English)

Fred Moore told Tresca to get in touch with the boy from Newark who is investigating on his behalf and have him call Moore at once. Tresca said he would.

4:42 P.M.

Outgoing: (In Italian)

Carlo Tresca called Branch Brook 7106 and told one, CANTALDI to call OSVALDO to the 'phone. Then Tresca told Osvaldo to call right away Murray Hill 7100 - Room 1201 and ask for Lawyer Fred Moore from Boston. Osvaldo said that he would at once.

5:17 P.M.

Incoming: (In Italian)

Osvaldo told Carlo Tresca that he called Murray Hill 7100 and was told that nobody knew Moore there. Tresca said that instead of Murray Hill he should call Bryant 7100.

7-1100

801

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 March 3, Washington [D.C. to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / I[rrving] F. Wixon, Assistant Commissioner General, Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Wixon explains the steps the Bureau of Immigration has taken to watch out for Goldman and Berkman's re-entry.

Notes: For letters mentioned, see 810409015 and 810409068.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION
WASHINGTON

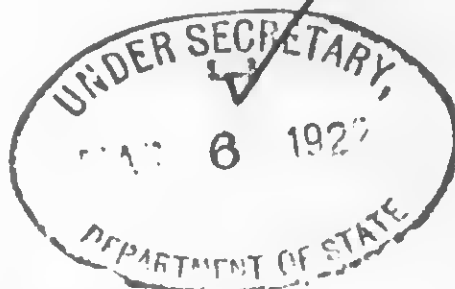
RETURN TO U-H

FILE

861.0-668

ADDRESS REPLY TO
COMMISSIONER GENERAL OF IMMIGRATION,
AND REFER TO
No. 52410/43-C

March 3, 1922.



W. L. Hurley, Esq.,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

file with prev

My dear Mr. Hurley:

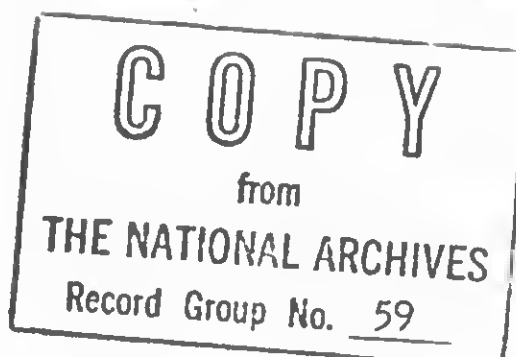
I have your letters of the 9th and 27th ultimo, with which you inclosed certain information relative to Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and Alexander Shapiro.

Some time ago the Bureau sent out "lookout" notices to all ports advising of the probability that these aliens would eventually seek to enter the United States. In view of the statement contained in one of the papers which you forwarded that Miss Goldman and Berkman propose to go to Mexico, the Supervising Inspector at El Paso, Texas, is being advised to instruct all of the border officers to be on the watch for this pair.

Very truly yours,

Assistant Commissioner General.

WJP*REM



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

802

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 March 4 [Washington, D.C. to] W[illiam] J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / [Stuart Heintzelman] A[ssistant] C[hief] of S[taff], Military Intelligence Division, War Department].—
1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Summary: Heintzelman informs Burns that he cannot find a photograph of Alexander Schapiro, but he is looking further.

Notes: Reply to 850205060. For related document, see 810402132.

10110-154

G-2
JVH/MAH

March 4, 1922.

Mr. W. J. Burns,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Burns:

With reference to your letter of February 28, 1922, concerning Alexander Shapiro, who, according to report, has been in Riga and Stockholm and who it is thought may attempt to return to this country, you are informed that a search of the files of this office reveals no photograph or description of this man. A request has been made of the Military Observer in Riga to secure such information as is obtainable concerning Shapiro and the same will be transmitted to you upon receipt.

Very truly yours,

For the A. C. of S., G-2.

W. H. Cowles,
Major, Cavalry,
Chief, M. I. 4.

hsr.

RECORDED DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

734 342

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803

The Emma Goldman Papers

810402132

[Memorandum] 1922 March 4 [Washington, D.C. to T. Worthington Hollyday]
Military Observer, Riga, Latvia / [Stuart Heintzelman] A[ssistant] C[hief] of S[taff],
Military Intelligence Division, War Department]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.
Summary: Heintzelman asks for a photograph of Alexander Schapiro.
Notes: For reply, see 810402139. Reply to 810402124. For copy, see 810402133.

10110-154

G-2
JYK/PAH
10110-154
87
WAR DEPARTMENT
328

March 4, 1922.

From: The A. C. of S., G-2.
To: Military Observer, Riga, Latvia.
Subject: Alexander Shapiro.

1. With reference to your letter of January 2, 1922 you are requested if possible to furnish this office with a photograph and description of Alexander Shapiro who, it is thought, may attempt to return to the United States; also any current information you may obtain concerning his activities.

For the A. C. of S., G-2.

M. Churchill,
Major, General Staff.

hsr.

MAILED M.I.D.G.S. MAR 6 1922

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

804

The Emma Goldman Papers

810402133

[Memorandum] 1922 March 4, Washington [D.C. to T. Worthington Hollyday]
Military Observer, Riga, Latvia / [Stuart Heintzelman] A[ssistant] C[hief] of S[taff]
Military Intelligence Division, War Department. — 1 p. ; 28, x 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.
Notes: Upper document only. Signed copy of 810402132.

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

In replying refer to

10110-154

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON

CHIEF OF STAFF
MIL. INTELL. DIV.

1922

10110-154

WAR DEPARTMENT

March 4, 1922.

From: The A. C. of S., G-2.
To: Military Observer, Riga, Latvia.
Subject: Alexander Shapiro.

1. With reference to your letter of January 2, 1922 you are requested if possible to furnish this office with a photograph and description of Alexander Shapiro who, it is thought, may attempt to return to the United States; also any current information you may obtain concerning his activities.

For the A. C. of S., G-2.

M. Churchill
M. Churchill,
Major, General Staff.

hsr.

L.S.# 1235

1st Ind.

#201 - SHAPIRO

Office, Military Observer, American Commission, Riga, Latvia, May 3, 1922 - To: A. C. of S., G-2, W.D., Washington, D.C., Returned:

1. With information that the only available photograph of Alexander Shapiro was forwarded in a communication from Commissioner Young to Mr. W. L. Hurley of the Department of State, under date of April 3, 1922. The despatch forwarding the photograph was in reply to State Department No. U-H.861.0-668.

T.H/cis.

T.W. Hollyday
T. W. HOLLYDAY,
Major, General Staff,
Military Observer.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

805

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409030

[Agent Report In] re: Leon Malmed - Anarchist, Albany, N.Y. [19]22 March 6 / John H. Dolan [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. - 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59. Summary: Dolan describes the radical associations of Leon Malmed, whose name appears in Berkman's address book. Malmed's last brush with the law occurred when he sent flowers to Goldman in prison.

COPY
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

| | | | | |
|--|--|--|-----------------------------------|---------------|
| Instructions received from Acting Agent in Charge Nelson on Bureau File #1. | | | | RETURN TO U-H |
| REPORT MADE AT:
Albany, N.Y. | DATE WHEN MADE:
March 6/22 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
March 4th/22 | REPORT MADE BY:
John H. Dolan. | 511.01-304 |
| TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
RE: L. M. (LEON MALMED)
121 S. Pearl St., Albany, N.Y. Anarchist. | | | | |
| FACTS DEVELOPED:
At Albany, N. Y.
Reference is made to a communication from the Director, initials GFR. JR., dated March 1, 1922, to the effect that the name and address, L. M., 121 S. Pearl St., Albany, N.Y. was obtained from the confidential papers of the Anarchist, ALEXANDER BERKMAN.
The initials "L.M." refer to LEON MALMED, who, at present, conducts a delicatessen store at #121 So. Pearl St. This office has on various occasions inquired into the activities of MALMED, a summary of which is that MALMED was formerly a cigar maker, and during the time that he worked at the cigar business, he was one of the active members of the Left Wing Branch, or Radical End of the Socialist Party. MALMED is a member of the "WORKMEN'S CIRCLE" and at one time was engaged in a movement to disrupt the Local branch of the "WORKMEN'S CIRCLE", because the Local Branch refused to endorse or become affiliated with the Communist Party.
It is well known that EMMA GOLDMAN, whenever in Albany, made MALMED's store her headquarters, but since the deportation of the GOLDMAN woman and BERKMAN, there seems to be no activities of the Radicals in this locality. It is very probable that if any of the pronounced Radicals were to come to Albany, they would be received by MALMED, though it is generally believed that whatever hospitality MALMED would show to any of | | | | |
| REFERENCE: | COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:
Washington-3; Albany-2. | | | |

7-1109
H.D.
H.D.-IR D

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

806

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409030

[Agent Report In] re: Leon Malmed — Anarchist, Albany, N.Y. [19]22 March 6 / John H. Dolan [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59. Summary: Dolan describes the radical associations of Leon Malmed, whose name appears in Berkman's address book. Malmed's last brush with the law occurred when he sent flowers to Goldman in prison.

COPY
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

J. H. Dolan

March 6th, 1922

#2.

the Radical element would be more through fear of reprisals than for any other reason.

MALMED is quite prosperous, and as is usually the case with this class of people, "prosperity cools their ardor for Radicalism".

The last time this office had any occasion to inquire into the activities of MALMED was on June 25th, 1919, when the information was received that MALMED had ordered a bouquet of flowers of the ROSERY FLOWER SHOP at Albany, N. Y. to be telegraphed to EMMA GOLDMAN at the time of her incarceration at the Jefferson Prison, Missouri.

This office is constantly on the look-out through confidential sources as to any revival of radical activities in this locality.

Unless further instructions are received, this matter is closed.

7-1100

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807

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409008

[Agent Report In re:] Miss Aline Barnsdal - Anarchist Activities, Los Angeles, 1922
March 6 / A.A. Hopkins [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. -
1 p.; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hopkins describes the radical associations of Aline Barnsdal, whose name appears in Berkman's address book.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

RETURN TO U-H
FILE

ATTENTION: Mr. Hoover, #2.

| | | | | |
|--|---|--|--|--------------------------|
| REPORT MADE AT:
LOS ANGELES. | DATE WHEN MADE:
Mar. 6th-1922 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
3/6/'22 | REPORT MADE BY:
A.A.HOPKINS: | 811.01-304
/mp |
|--|---|--|--|--------------------------|

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

MISS ALINE BARNSDAL:

Box 209,
Beverly Hills, Cal., and
#715 Merritt Bldg., Los
Angeles, Cal.

ANARCHIST
ACTIVITIES.

FACTS DEVELOPED:

At Los Angeles, California:

Reference is made to letter of Director, initialed "GFR-JR" - under date of March 1st, 1922.

This address refers to MISS ALINE BARNSDAL, who has heretofore been reported on in detail. See report of Agent A.A.Hopkins, Los Angeles, Cal., January 7th, 1920, -- "Re: MISS ALINE BARNSDAL, Beverly Hills, Los Angeles County, Calif., - Radical Activities."

"A.B." in the confidential papers of Alexander Berkman, refers to MISS ALINE BARNSDAL. "Sugartop" is the pet name of the daughter of Miss Barnsdal. - this daughter is about 6 or 7 years old, and is the daughter of Miss Barnsdal and a Polish musician with whom she lived in New York.

MISS ALINE BARNSDAL appears to have made a present of \$2500.00 (twenty-five hundred dollars) to EMMA GOLDMAN. at the time Goldman and Berkman were deported. Since that time no further radical activities of subject have been noted by this office.

Investigation closed.

MAE 8-1922
actg Ralph N. Ledwith
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE
LOS ANGELES, - CAL.

REFERENCE:

See
above.

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:

Washington--3; file-2

7-1100

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

808

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409003

[Agent Report In re:] Katherine Irvine, formerly Kitty Beck, Portland, Ore., 1922
March 6 / T.M. Word [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].—
3 p.; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Agent Word describes Kitty Beck Irvine's history of radical associations, including her work as a stenographer for C.E.S. Wood, and her friendship with Goldman.

C O P Y
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

RETURN TO U-H
FILE 1.

Attention Mr. Hoover.

| | | | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|--|
| REPORT MADE AT:
Portland, Ore. | DATE WHEN MADE:
Mar. 6/22. | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
March 6, 1922. | REPORT MADE BY:
T.M. Word. | 811.01-304 |
| TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
KITTY, 1310 Yeon Bldg.,
419 Chamber of Commerce Bld.
Portland, Ore.
KATHERINE IRVINE, formerly BECK, Maiden name SEAMAN. | | | | Card from
Alexander
Berkman,
Anarchist. |
| FACTS DEVELOPED:

Portland:

Under date of March 1, 1922, the following letter was received from the Director, initialed GFR:JR:

"The following name and address was obtained from the confidential papers of the Anarchist Alexander Berkman, who was deported from this country.
Kitty. 1310 Yeon Bldg. or
419 C of C Bldg., Portland.
I desire that you make a complete and thorough confidential investigation of the above mentioned individual and advise me in great detail as to same.
Prompt attention to this matter is desired."

In addition to the above letter, reference is made to a letter written by W.R. Bryon, dated November 24, 1920, regarding the above named person; also to report of Agent R.A. Darling, Seattle, Wash., March 10, 1920, re above person.

The Director's letter was handed to this agent with instructions from Agent in Charge Watt to make the desired investigation.

This woman's maiden name was KITTY SEAMAN. She was first married to a man by the name of BECK, from whom she separated, and about 14 years ago she was married to Dr. IRVINE, and she goes now by the name of KATHERINE IRVINE.

No. 1310 Yeon Building, Portland, Ore., is the office of Wood, Montague & Hunt, lawyers. Agent learned from a confidential source that KATHERINE IRVINE has a sister, MISS SEAMAN, | | | | File No. 1273. |
| REFERENCE: | COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: | | | |

7-1100

809

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409003

[Agent Report In re:] Katherine Irvine, formerly Kitty Beck, Portland, Ore., 1922
March 6 / T.M. Word [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].—
3 p.; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Agent Word describes Kitty Beck Irvine's history of radical associations, including her work as a stenographer for C.E.S. Wood, and her friendship with Goldman.

C O P Y
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

T.M. Word.

March 6, 1922.

2.

who is stenographer for Wood, Montague & Hunt; that the card that came to "Kitty" 1310 Yeon Bldg., from ALEXANDER BERKMAN, was from Letvia, one of the new countries that is organized in Russia; that it said that EMMA GOLDMAN was sick and had been for some time; that they expected to go to Berlin shortly; that they had been having a hard time in that country and would be glad to get out of it; that MISS SEAMAN had not delivered the card to KITTY, but had thrown it in the waste basket after taking the stamp off and giving it to a little girl who was saving foreign stamps, and that KITTIE had not received this card.

KATHERINE IRVINE has been a book-keeper and confidential stenographer for Col. C.E.S. WOOD, a member for many years of the firm of WOOD, MONTAGUE & HUNT, previous to that the firm was known as Linthecum, Wood & Williams. At 419 Chamber of Commerce Bldg., this city, Col. C.E.S. Wood keeps a separate office from that of the firm at 1310 Yeon Bldg., where he has been handling what they call the Wagon Grant Road, which is being disposed of, and KITTY was his secretary and book-keeper and her headquarters were usually in the Chamber of Commerce Bldg., Room 419. My informant does not think that Kitty is an anarchist but states that she was a high-strung, quick tempered person and that she felt that these people had been abused or misused and he thinks that under the influence of Col. C.E.S. Wood she had become more of a radical than she would under any other conditions; that her sister was of the same temperament but had not come in contact with the same radical element that Kitty had, and as above stated, she had not given this card to Kitty.

7-1100

810

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409003

[Agent Report In re:] Katherine Irvine, formerly Kitty Beck, Portland, Ore., 1922
March 6 / T.M. Word [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].—
3 p.; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Agent Word describes Kitty Beck Irvine's history of radical associations, including her work as a stenographer for C.E.S. Wood, and her friendship with Goldman.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

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General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

T.M. Word.

March 6, 1922.

3.

This agent has personally known Col. C.E.S. Wood for more than 20 years and considers him one of the most dangerous radicals in the United States. He is one of the most brilliant lawyers on the Pacific Coast and belongs to one of the leading and influential families of this community. He has been an attorney for many years of the big corporations and is a man of wealth. He has raised a family all of whom are now married and at the present time he is living with a woman in San Francisco, Cal., who is not his wife, He is not only a radical and an anarchist but a free lover. He has taken part in all the I.W.W. troubles in this country for many years and during 1912-13, while this agent was sheriff of Multnomah County, would encourage these people to agitate and be arrested and would then go their bond and defend them in the courts without any cost to them. Whenever EMMA GOLDMAN and BERKMAN would come to Portland Col Wood would entertain them and KITTY IRVINE was a great admirer of Emma Goldman, but agent has information that she disliked BERKMAN and would have nothing to do with him. This card is the only communication that these people know of BERKMAN ever having sent to KITTY.

Investigation CLOSED unless otherwise instructed.

7-1100

811

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re:] Alice Stone Blackwell—Alleged Radical Activities, Boston, 1922 March 7 / W.J. West [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 6 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Agent West submits a biographical sketch of Alice Stone Blackwell, whose name appears in Berkman's address book. He describes Blackwell's long history of involvement in liberal causes and her association with Katarina Breshkovskaya.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

RETURN TO U-H

Instructions received from Spl. Agt. in Charge L. Letherman

| | | | |
|--|--|---|--------------------------------|
| REPORT MADE AT:
Boston, Mass. | DATE WHEN MADE:
Mar. 7, 1922. | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
Mar. 7, 1922. | REPORT MADE BY:
W. J. West. |
| TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL. : 3 Monadnock St., Dorchester, Mass.: Alleged
: 585 Boylston St., Boston, Mass. : Radical
: : Activities | | | |
| FACTS DEVELOPED:
<u>At Boston, Mass.:</u> | | | |
| <p>Acknowledgment is hereby made of receipt of Bureau communication of the 28th ultimo, initialed GFR, referred to the writer by the Special Agent in Charge.</p> <p>The above Bureau letter advised that amongst the confidential papers of the anarchist ALEXANDER BERKMAN, when departed from the United States, were found the following:</p> <p>"A. S. B. (old friend of Bab) 3 Monadnock St.,
Dorchester, Mass.</p> <p>"Blackwell, Alice Stone, 3 Monadnock St.,
Dorchester, Mass."</p> <p>and the Bureau directed that an investigation of the above named individuals be made. At the outset it may be stated for the information of the Bureau that "A. S. B. (old friend of Bab) 3 Monadnock street, Dorchester, Mass." refers to ALICE STONE BLACKWELL and, therefore, the investigation relates solely to one person, rather than two. The quotation "old friend of Bab" is evidently intended to convey the impression that ALICE STONE BLACKWELL was an old friend of MADAM CATHERINE BRESHKOVSKY, or, as she is known in Russia, MADAM EKATERINA KONSTANTINOVNA BRESHO-BRESHKOVSKAYA, otherwise known as "THE LITTLE GRAND-MOTHER OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION", the word "Bab" being an abbreviation of the Russian "BABOUSHKA", which, if the writer recalls correctly, is a term of endearment for "Little Mother". MADAM BRESHKOVSKAYA, it</p> | | | |
| REFERENCE: | COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:
WASHINGTON 3. BOSTON 2. | | |

812

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409013

[Agent Report In re:] Alice Stone Blackwell—Alleged Radical Activities, Boston, 1922 March 7 / W.J. West [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 6 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Agent West submits a biographical sketch of Alice Stone Blackwell, whose name appears in Berkman's address book. He describes Blackwell's long history of involvement in liberal causes and her association with Katarina Breshkovskaya.

C O P Y

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

W. J. West.

-2-

March 7, 1922.

will be recalled, made a tour of the United States in February, 1919, which is referred to hereinafter.

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL is a spinster, is 65 years of age, resides at No. 3 Monadnock street, Dorchester district of Boston, is a journalist by profession and is at the present time an editor of the "Woman Citizen", with an office at 585 Boylston street, Boston.

Miss Blackwell was born in East Orange, New Jersey, September 14, 1857, and is the daughter of Henry Brown Blackwell and Lucy Stone. Her father, Henry Brown Blackwell, was born in Bristol, England, May 4, 1825, and was an editor by profession. Her mother, Lucy Stone, was born at West Brookfield, Mass., August 13, 1818, was graduated from Oberlin College in 1847, and was married at West Brookfield, May 1, 1855.

From 1881 to 1892 Miss Blackwell assisted her father and mother in the publication of the "Women's Journal" at Boston, and after their death was editor-in-chief of that paper until 1917 when the "Women's Journal", the "Woman Voter" and the "Headquarters News-Letter" were consolidated into the "Woman Citizen", referred to above.

Her mother, Lucy Stone, in 1854 and thereafter published various tracts on women's rights, such as "Freedom for Women", by Wendell Phillips; "Public Function of Women", by Theodore Parker, and "Enfranchisement of Women", by J. S. Mill. Her parents, as well as herself, were intensely interested in the women suffrage movement in the United States.

In 1881 Miss Blackwell received her A. B. at Boston University and was commencement speaker and class president in 1882.

7-1166

813

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409013

[Agent Report In re:] Alice Stone Blackwell—Alleged Radical Activities, Boston, 1922 March 7 / W.J. West [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 6 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Agent West submits a biographical sketch of Alice Stone Blackwell, whose name appears in Berkman's address book. He describes Blackwell's long history of involvement in liberal causes and her association with Katarina Breshkovskaya.

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THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

W. J. West.

-3-

March 7, 1922.

She is also a member of the Gamma Delta, Phi Beta Kappa and Philomathean societies.

From 1885 to 1905, Miss Blackwell was also editor of the paper called the "Woman's Column". For many years she has been intensely interested in and has been an extensive writer upon subjects relating to woman suffrage. She has been president of the New England and of the Massachusetts Associations for Woman Suffrage; is honorary president of the Massachusetts League of Women Voters, and is counsellor of the Boston League of Women Voters. It is understood that the New England and Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Associations are not in existence at the present time.

Miss Blackwell is author of the "Yellow Ribbon Speaker", a book on woman suffrage, published in 1890. In addition to this and other writings on woman suffrage, Miss Blackwell, in 1896 and in 1906, translated from Armenian into English various Armenian poems. In 1906 she published "Songs of Russia", translations from the Russian; and "Songs of Grief and Gladness", translations from the Yiddish, in 1908. She is also the author of an article in poet lore on the Hungarian poet Petofi. In 1917 she published "The Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution. Katherine Breshkovsky's Own Story", which is a book of reminiscences and letters of Katherine Breshkovsky concerning the revolutionary movement in Russia. This book had quite a large sale and it is reported that five editions of the same were printed.

Miss Blackwell has also in past years displayed great interest in the Armenians and has been a writer and speaker on behalf of the

7-1100

814

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409013

[Agent Report In re:] Alice Stone Blackwell—Alleged Radical Activities, Boston, 1922 March 7 / W.J. West [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 6 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Agent West submits a biographical sketch of Alice Stone Blackwell, whose name appears in Berkman's address book. He describes Blackwell's long history of involvement in liberal causes and her association with Katarina Breshkovskaya.

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General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

W. J. West.

-4-

March 7, 1922.

people of Armenia, as a result of which she received the order of Melusine from Prince Guy de Lusignan.

Miss Blackwell has also been a member of the "American Friends of Russian Freedom", which is understood to have been an organization formed in the United States in 1904 upon the occasion of the tour of this country by Madam Breshkovsky, referred to hereinafter.

In addition to the above mentioned organizations, Miss Blackwell is a member of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston; of the New England Women's Press Association; of the Massachusetts Society for University Education of Women; of the Anti-Vivisection Society; of the Free Trade League; of the Women's Trade Union League; of the National Society for Advancement of Colored People; of the American Civil Liberties Union, and of the League for Democratic Control. The American Civil Liberties Union and the League for Democratic Control will be, of course, recognized by the Bureau as radical, or at least pacifist, organizations, with branches in Boston. So far as can be ascertained, her activities in these two organizations have been limited to mere membership. She was also for 20 years secretary of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association, and was also Associate National Superintendent of Franchise of the W. C. T. U., as well as Honorary member of the New England Women's Club at 585 Boylston street, Boston.

MADAM CATHERINE BRESHKOVSKY, referred to above as "Bab", arrived in Seattle, Washington, from Russia in January, 1919, reaching New York City on January 20, 1919, where she was met by Miss Blackwell.

7-1100

815

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409013

[Agent Report In re:] Alice Stone Blackwell—Alleged Radical Activities, Boston, 1922 March 7 / W.J. West [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 6 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

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THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

W. J. West.

-5-

March 7, 1922.

having previously been met at Seattle by MISS HELENA S. DUDLEY, who is an officer in the American Civil Liberties Union, in the League for Democratic Control, and is now associated with MRS. ELIZABETH GLENDOWER EVANS in the Federated Press League and the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee. In a report made February 6, 1919, Agent W. B. Snow of the Boston office reports an interview had with Miss Alice Stone Blackwell on February 4, 1919, in which she informed Agent Snow that she was an intimate friend of MADAM BRESHKOVSKY, having met her at Boston in 1904 when she addressed large audiences in the larger cities of the United States under the auspices of the society of "Friends of Russian Freedom", of which the HON. WILLIAM DUDLEY FOLKE was president, and that at that time Madam Breshkovsky stayed at the Dennison House, 93 Tyler street, Boston, which at that time was conducted by Helen S. Dudley, above referred to, and at which time Miss Dudley, Miss Blackwell and MRS. ISABELLE C. BARROWS, wife of then Congressman Barrows, were interested in the woman suffrage movement. In the same report Agent Snow states that probably no one in the United States is as well acquainted with Madam Breshkovsky as is Miss Blackwell. In a report made February 11, 1919, Agent Snow also incorporates a copy of an article appearing in the "Woman Citizen" for February 8, 1919, by Miss Blackwell, in reference to Madam Breshkovsky and the purposes of her visit to the United States, by reference to which it appears that the article, if anything, is anti-bolshevist.

In addition to the membership of Miss Blackwell in the American Civil Liberties Union and the League for Democratic Control,

7-1160

816

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409013

[Agent Report In re:] Alice Stone Blackwell—Alleged Radical Activities, Boston, 1922 March 7 / W.J. West [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 6 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Agent West submits a biographical sketch of Alice Stone Blackwell, whose name appears in Berkman's address book. He describes Blackwell's long history of involvement in liberal causes and her association with Katarina Breshkovskaya.

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from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

W. J. West.

-6-

March 7, 1922.

the records of the Boston Office indicate that on December 7, 1920, Miss Blackwell sent her check on the Second National Bank of Boston in the amount of \$5.00 as a subscription to the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee of Boston.

In closing it may be stated that Miss Blackwell is a person of high character and excellent reputation in this city, although it might be inferred from the above that she has at least pacifist leanings.

CLOSED.

WJW
WJW:D.
LC

7-1169

817

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409004

[Agent Report In re:] Names and Addresses Found in Papers of Alexander Berkman, Chicago, 1922 March 7 / Jacob Spolansky [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p.; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Agent Spolansky describes the radical history of Cassius Cook, Reitman, and the Workers' Institute in Chicago.

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from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

RETURN TO U-H
FILE

| | | | |
|--|---|--|------------------------------------|
| REPORT MADE AT:
Chicago, Ill. | DATE WHEN MADE:
Mar. 7, 1922 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
Mar. 4, 1922 | REPORT MADE BY:
JACOB SPOLANSKY |
| TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
NAMES AND ADDRESSES FOUND IN PAPERS OF
ALEXANDER BERKMAN | | | Anarchist
Matter |
| FACTS DEVELOPED:
<u>AT CHICAGO ILL.</u>
Reference is made to Bureau communication noted below advising that the following names and addresses were obtained from the confidential papers of the anarchist ALEXANDER BERKMAN, who was deported from this country:-
"COC, 1117 Harris Building, Chicago, Illinois
WORKERS INSTITUTE, 1006 Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Illinois.
BEN --, 25 E. Walton Place, Chicago (?)
"COC" 1117 Harris Bldg., Chicago is CASSIUS COOK, an engineer by occupation, whose office is located at 1117 Harris Trust Bldg., Chicago. COOK is a well-known character to the Bureau office in connection with EMMA GOLDMAN'S activities in this country, also in connection with the activities of the HUMANITY LEAGUE, a known philosophical anarchist organization of which he was president. Shortly before EMMA GOLDMAN'S departure COOK was actively engaged in the organization of the DEPORTATION LEAGUE, and while EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERKMAN were in Chicago, CASSIUS COOK was chairman of numerous mass meetings and farewell meetings held in honor of EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERKMAN. At the present time COOK is not actively engaged in the anarchist movement, but frequently attends lectures and meetings held under the auspices of the local Anarchist Kropotkin group.
"WORKERS INSTITUTE" 1006 Ashland Blvd., Chicago was established about ten years ago by ALEXANDER TOBINSON alias KRASNOCHERKOFF, who left the United States in 1917 and subsequently became president of the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia. During the years 1917, 1918 and 1919 the WORKERS INSTITUTE was the congregating place of anarchists and the headquarters of the so-called Russian Red Guard. This institute is still in existence. H. AUSTIN SIMONDS, one of the old pals of | | | |
| REFERENCE:
GFR:JR
2-28-22 | COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:
Washington 1; Chicago 2. JS:EH | | |

7-1100

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818

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409004

[Agent Report In re:] Names and Addresses Found in Papers of Alexander Berkman, Chicago, 1922 March 7 / Jacob Spolansky [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Agent Spolansky describes the radical history of Cassius Cook, Reitman, and the Workers' Institute in Chicago.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

JACOB SPOLANSKY

PAGE 2

Mar. 4.

EMMA GOLDMAN is the president of this institute, which is now the educational center for several branches of the Workmen's Circle and the P. KROPOTKIN Anarchist group of which the following individuals are members:- DR. NATHANSON, DR. LEAF, BEN KIEPS, DR. GOLDMAN, DR. BLUM, J. BURNSTEIN, J. KAPLAN, M. KRUPNIK, one MILLER. The activities of this institute have been the subject of numerous reports to the Bureau office.

"BEN" 25 E. Walton Place, Chicago, is DR. BEN REITMAN who resides at that address, and who is known as a "free thinker", former organizer and president of the DILL PICKEL CLUB, now president of the BLUE FISH club, employed by the Health Department of the City of Chicago. His activities have been under investigation and reports of his activities have been submitted on several occasions. Recently one was submitted in connection with his contemplated trip to Europe and the cancellation of his passport by the State Department.

CLOSE.

7-1100

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819

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Memorandum, 19]22 March 7 [Washington, D.C. to] Brist, Division of Passport Control, Department of State, [Washington, D.C.] / W.? B. Oswald [Division of Passport Control? Department of State?]. — 1 p. ; 22 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Mrs. Oswald tries unsuccessfully to find the Goldman file.

Notes: One shot of two pages.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Division of Passport Control

MEMORANDUM

Mr. Oswald:
Not here.
Hav'n't seen the case
for some weeks — or
months. *MB*

3/8/22

Mr. Eastey:
You haven't seen
the Emma Goldman
papers, have you?
MB Oswald

MAR 8 1922 3 08 PM

I have not seen
the papers. *MB*

Dear Mr. Brist

Do you know
where the Goldman
papers are? See
encs.

MB Oswald

3/7/22

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The Emma Goldman Papers

810409012

[Agent Report In re:] Jacob Henshear and Frank P. O'Hare — Alleged Anarchists, St. Louis, Mo. [19]22 March 8 / Emil A. Solanka [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Agent Solanka describes the radical associations and current activities of Jacob Henshear and Frank O'Hare, whose names appear in Berkman's address book.

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from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

Attention #2

Instructions received from Special Agent in Charge McLaughlin FILE

| | | | |
|---|--|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| REPORT MADE AT:
ST. LOUIS, MO. | DATE WHEN MADE:
3/8/22 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
3/3 & 7/22 | REPORT MADE BY:
EMIL A. SOLANKA |
| TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
JACOB HENSHEAR and FRANK P. O'HARE : Alleged Anarchists | | | |
| FACTS DEVELOPED:
At St. Louis, Mo. | | | |
| <p>Reference is made to Bureau letter of March 1, 1922-GFR-JR, stating that the following names and addresses were obtained from the confidential papers of Alexander Berkman, anarchists, and requesting an investigation thereof:-</p> <p>J H. 1722 Carr St., St. Louis.</p> <p>O. St. F. P., 1011 Holland Bldg., St. Louis.</p> <p>The first item undoubtedly refers to JACOB HENSHEAR, a Russian Jew, who lived at 1722 Carr Street during 1917 and 1918. According to information on file in this office, Henshear was an anarchist and associated with others who were intimately connected with Berkman and Emma Goldman. It is probable that he was acquainted with Berkman during the latter's presence in St. Louis, and this accounts for the presence of the above memorandum among Berkman's effects. Henshear removed from the above address several years ago; and does not appear to be in St. Louis. Efforts to ascertain his whereabouts were of no avail.</p> <p>The second memorandum in all probability refers to FRANK P. O'HARE, husband of Kate Richards O'Hare. It may be that closer examination of the memorandum in possession of the Bureau will disclose that the letter H was mistaken for St.</p> | | | |
| REFERENCE:
3/1/22
GFR/Jr | COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:
Was: ington-2 St. Louis-1 | | |



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821

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re:] Jacob Henshear and Frank P. O'Hare — Alleged Anarchists, St. Louis, Mo. [19]22 March 8 / Emil A. Solanka [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Agent Solanka describes the radical associations and current activities of Jacob Henshear and Frank O'Hare, whose names appear in Berkman's address book.

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from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

Emil A. Solanka, St. Louis, Mo.

#2

During the war, O'HARE occupied room #1011 at the Holland Bldg., but removed from there about two years ago to the Pontiac Bldg., and is now located at 1049a No. Grand Avenue, where he publishes the "NATIONAL RIP-SAW," a radical monthly, of which KATE RICHARDS O'HARE is the editor. A copy of same is attached to the original of this report. O'Hare is now busy organizing a "Childrens' Crusade" for the purpose of going to Washington to ask for amnesty for the so-called political prisoners. It is not known that O'Hare is now in any way connected with any Anarchistic movement.

This subject will continue to receive the attention of this office and further report will be made as occasion demands.

Investigation concluded.

7-1166

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822

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 March 8 [Washington, D.C. to] Lawrence Letherman [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Boston / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Burns sends Agent Letherman a report from the Netherlands.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870803023. For letter mentioned, see 870708011.

WFR.JR.

March 8, 1922.

Mr. Lawrence Letherman,
Box 3185, Winthrop Building,
Boston, Mass.

61-291

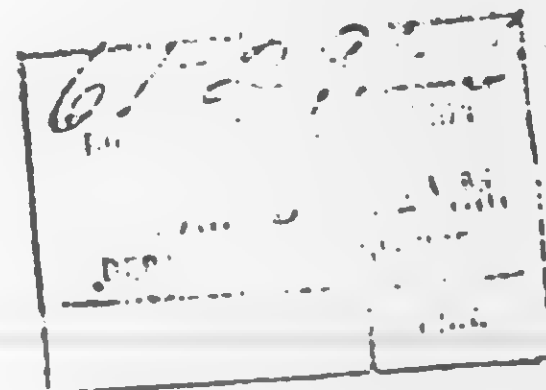
Dear Sir -

Supplementing information contained in my communication of November 10, 1922, concerning the return to this country of EMMA GOLDMAN, I desire to call your attention to the enclosed report recently received by the State Department from The Hague.

Yours very truly,

W. J. Burns
Director.

Encl.



RECORDED

WJ

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823

The Emma Goldman Papers

890520005

[Letter] 1922 March 9 [Washington, D.C. to] Lawrence Letherman [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Boston / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 25 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Summary: Burns asks Agent Letherman to investigate Alice Stone Blackwell, whose name appears in Berkman's address book.

Notes: For report, see 810409013.

Mr. Lawrence Letherman,

Box 5185,

Boston, Mass.

Dear Sir -

The following name and address was obtained from confidential papers of Emma Goldman, Bertoni and Shapiro, who were arrested by the Lettish authorities on their way to Reval -

BLACKWELL, Alice Stone, 3 Monadnock St.
Portchester (Dorchester ?) Mass.

I desire that you make a complete and thorough confidential investigation of the above mentioned individual, advising me in great detail as to same.

Prompt attention to this matter is desired.

Yours very truly,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-13-83 BY 3670RT/ell

Director.

RECORDED

61-276-2

| |
|-------------------------|
| BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION |
| MAR 10 1922 P.M. |
| DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE |
| FILE |

W. J. B.

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824

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 March 9 [Washington, D.C. to] Bliss Morton [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice], Cleveland, Ohio / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Burns asks Morton to investigate Rose Fleshin, whose name appears in Berkman's address book.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible. For reply, see 810409005.

GPR.JR.

March 9, 1922.

61-291-56.

MAR 11 1922

Mr. Bliss Morton,
Federal Bldg.
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Sir -

The following name and address was obtained from confidential reports of Emma Goldman, Bertoni and Shapiro, who were arrested by the Russian authorities on their way to Reval -

FLESHIN, Rose, 2259 E. 78th St., Cleveland.

I desire that you make a complete and thorough confidential investigation of the above individual, advising me in great detail as to same.

Prompt attention to this matter is desired.

Yours very truly,

W. J. Burns
Director.

RECEIVED

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825

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re:] Rose J. (or F.), Kansas City, Mo. [19]22 March 9 / Donald E. Long [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.
Summary: Agent Long describes his unsuccessful efforts to locate Rose J. or F., whose name was found in Berkman's address book.

COPY
 from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
 Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
 Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

RETURN TO S-H
 FILE

| | | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| REPORT MADE AT: | DATE WHEN MADE: | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: | REPORT MADE BY: |
| Kansas City, Mo. | March 9, '22. | March 7, '22. | Donald E. Long. |
| TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: | | | |
| ROSE J. (or F.) : KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI INFORMATION. | | | |
| FACTS DEVELOPED: | | | |
| At Kansas City, Missouri. | | | |
| The following letter from the Director was handed to Agent by Agent in Charge, Oscar Schmitz for attention. | | | |
| "The following names and addresses were obtained from the confidential papers of the Anarchist, Alexander Berkman, who was deported from this country. | | | |
| Beau C. -613 Jackson St., Topeka, Kansas.
Rose J. (or F) 274 Mercer St., Kansas City.
Kate, Box 47, Jeff. City, Missouri. | | | |
| I desire that you make a complete and thorough confidential investigation of the above mentioned individuals and advise me in great detail as to same. | | | |
| Prompt attention to this matter is desired." | | | |
| There is not any 274 Mercer Street, Kansas City, Mo., or Kansas City, Kansas. There are any number of J. or F. ROSES in Kansas City, Missouri, but only one ROSE could be found, who has lived on Mercer Street within the last few years. The first Street on Mercer begins with the number 1200. | | | |
| A JOHN S. ROSE, Laborer, lived at 1841 Mercer place, according to the 1921 City Directory, however, in 1920 he lived at 2109 West Prospect, therefore, it is hardly probable that this is the ROSE whose name appears in the above letter. His address is not now known. | | | |
| The files of the Bureau office do not disclose any party by the name of ROSE as being affiliated with Radical Organizations | | | |
| REFERENCE: | COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: | | |

7-1100

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826

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re:] Rose J. (or F.), Kansas City, Mo. [19]22 March 9 / Donald E. Long [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.
Summary: Agent Long describes his unsuccessful efforts to locate Rose J. or F., whose name was found in Berkman's address book.

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from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

Donald E. Long.

March 9, 1922.

Page 2.

A further investigation will be made in Kansas City,
if it is so desired by the Director.

DEL:K

7-1169

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827

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409010

[Agent Report In] re: M.S., care [of] Mrs. Lawrence — Suspected Anarchist, Albany, N.Y. [19]22 March 9 / Thomas Guilfoyle [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 34 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Agent Guilfoyle describes his unsuccessful attempts to locate "M.S., care of Mrs. Lawrence," whose name comes from Berkman's confiscated address book.

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from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

Instructions received from Acting Agent in Charge Nelson Boyd. FILE #1.

| | | | |
|---|---|--------------------------------------|--|
| REPORT MADE AT:
Albany, N. Y. | DATE WHEN MADE:
Mar. 9/22 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
March 8/22 | REPORT MADE BY:
Thomas Guilfoyle. |
| TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
RE: M.S., care MRS. LAWRENCE :
Oneonta, N. Y. | | | (Initials and address obtained from the confidential papers of Alexander Berkman.) |
| FACTS DEVELOPED:

At Oneonta, N. Y.

The following communication was received at this office:

"DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Bureau of Investigation
401 1/2-404 Federal Bldg.
Buffalo, N. Y. March 6, 1922

Mr. G.O. Holdridge
P.O. Box 13
Albany, New York

Dear Sir:

I am enclosing herewith copy of a letter received from the Director of the Bureau which is self-explanatory and as Oneonta is in your district, I am forwarding the same to you.

Very truly yours

(signed) M.F. Blackmon
Special Agent in Charge."

MFB-ES
Enc.

The enclosure refers to the address "M.S. care MRS. LAWRENCE, Oneonta, N. Y." which was taken from the confidential papers of the Anarchist ALEXANDER BERKMAN, sent by the Director to Special Agent in Charge Blackmon at Buffalo, N. Y., said communication bearing initials GRR:JR.

Agent on this date called on POSTMASTER F.G. SHERMAN at Oneonta, N.Y., and learned that there are six families by the name of LAWRENCE in Oneonta and on the R.D. routes covered by the Oneonta office, four of whom are in the city proper. The carriers | | | |
| REFERENCE: | COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:
Washington-3; Buffalo-2; Albany-1. TG-MRD T.G. | | |

7-1169

828

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409010

[Agent Report In] re: M.S., care [of] Mrs. Lawrence — Suspected Anarchist, Albany, N.Y. [19]22 March 9 / Thomas Guilfoyle [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 34 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Agent Guilfoyle describes his unsuccessful attempts to locate "M.S., care of Mrs. Lawrence," whose name comes from Berkman's confiscated address book.

C O P Y

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

T. Guilfoyle.

March 9, 1922

#2.

who cover the territories in which the LAWRENCE families reside were called in by the Postmaster, and interviewed by Agent, but none of them could recall ever having delivered any mail to anyone whose initials are M.S. Agent learned also that the delivery system in Oneonta would necessitate a house number and street in the city proper, which, of course, was not furnished in the communication received at this office.

Agent called at the residence of MRS. ELBERT LAWRENCE, 4 Bronk St.; MRS. MARY LAWRENCE, 7 High St.; MRS. GARALA LAWRENCE, 121 Spruce St.; MRS. HELEN LAWRENCE, 31 Fairview St., but at none of the places was Agent able to obtain any information. None of the ladies mentioned above recalled ever having anyone in their house whose initials are M.S. The rural carrier who served the mail to MARY LAWRENCE, R.D. 2, and MISS EDNA LAWRENCE, R.D. 2 could not recall ever having delivered any mail to anyone whose initials were M.S.

Agent also interviewed CHIEF OF POLICE F.N. HORTON, but was unable to obtain any information that would indicate that there was ever a resident of Oneonta of radical tendencies whose initials are M.S.

If the Department has any further address, such as the street and number, this matter will receive further attention.

Unless further instructions are received, this matter is closed.

7-1100

829

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 March 9, Washington [D.C. to] W[alter] W. Husband, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State. — 1 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Summary: Hurley notifies Husband that Sweden extended Goldman's visa.

Notes: Bleedthrough. For copy, see 810409062.

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



In reply refer to
U-H 861.0-668

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

RECD, BU, March 9, 1922.
ST. LOUIS, MO.

MAR 11 1922

Dear Mr. Husband:

MAIL AND FILES

I have just received information from Stockholm to the effect that the Swedish Government extended the visas for Goldman and Berkman, to February 22. The Legation was unable to secure any information as to their plans after that date.

Very truly yours,

W. L. Hurley

*mailed
File
mm*

190

W. W. Husband, Esquire,
Commissioner General of Immigration,
Department of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

830

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 March 9 [Washington, D.C. to] W[alter] W. Husband, Commissioner General [Bureau of Immigration] Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. / [William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 34 × 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.
Notes: Copy of 830214082.

RETURN TO U-H
FILE

861.0-668

March 9, 1922.

In reply refer to
U-R 861.0-668

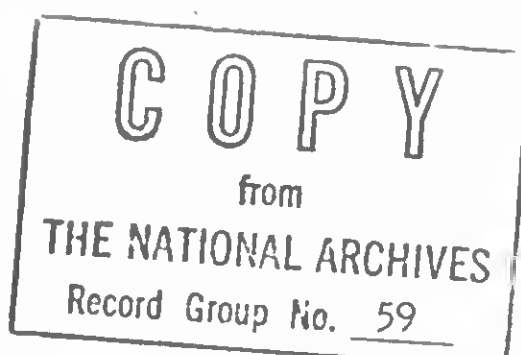
Dear Mr. Husband:

I have just received information from Stockholm to the effect that the Swedish Government extended the visas for Goldman and Berkman to February 22. The Legation was unable to secure any information as to their plans after that date.

Very truly yours,

W. W. Husband, Esquire,
Commissioner General of Immigration,
Department of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

U-2:LAW:KH:SS



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

831

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409063

[Letter] 1922 March 9 [Washington, D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / [William L. Hurley, Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley informs Burns that Sweden extended Goldman's visa.

Notes: For signed original, see 880615411.

RETURN TO U-H
FILE

861.0-668

March 9, 1922.

In reply refer to
U-H 861.0-668

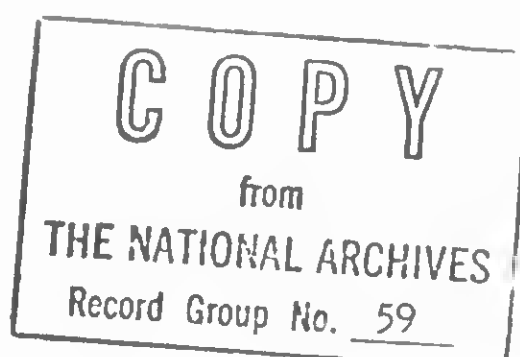
Dear Mr. Burns:

I have just received information from Stockholm to the effect that the Swedish Government extended the visas for Goldman and Berkman to February 22. The Legation was unable to secure any information as to their plans after that date.

Very truly yours,

William J. Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

U-2:LAW:AH:SS



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

832

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 March 9, Washington [D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State. — 1 p. ; 16 × 12 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.

Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

Notes: Signed original of 810409063.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

March 9, 1922.

In reply refer to
U-S 661.0-668

Dear Mr. Burns:

I have just received information from Stockholm to the effect that the Swedish Government extended the visas for Goldman and Berkman to February 22. The Legation was unable to secure any information as to their plans after that date.

Very truly yours,
W. L. Hurley

Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

1317

61-291-6

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833

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409009

[Agent Report In] re: Alexander Berkman—Anarchist Activities, New York [19]22 March 11 / Albert L. Weitsman [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Agent Weitsman describes his efforts to verify various names and addresses of Berkman's correspondents in New York City.

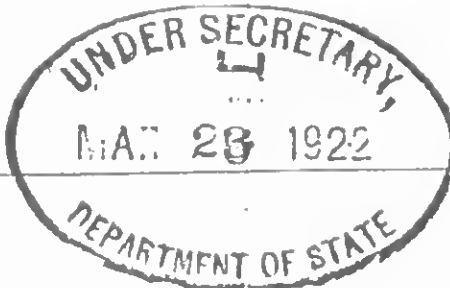
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THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

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FILE

Instructions of Spec. Agt. in Charge Edward J. Brennan

| | | | | |
|---|--|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------|
| REPORT MADE AT:
NEW YORK, N.Y. | DATE WHEN MADE:
3/11/22 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
3/4/22 | REPORT MADE BY:
ALBERT L. WEITSMAN | 811.01-304 |
| TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
RE: ALEXANDER BERKMAN
Anarchist Activities. | | | | |
| FACTS DEVELOPED:

<div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <p>For the purpose of verifying the addresses and later investigating certain persons whose names had been obtained from the confidential papers of ALEXANDER BERKMAN, who was deported from this country on December 21st, 1920, I today called at the Varick Str. Post Office, Station C. and Station O., the latter two being respectively at Hudson & West 13th Str. and 18th Str. West of 6th Ave.</p> <p>The first address covered was that of 24 West 16th Street, from which place mail signed by "M.C. A." have been sent to Berkman. Inquiries developed that this is a Spanish Club and the carrier who serves mail at the above mentioned place stated he was still receiving mail for "M.C.A." but was unable to state the man's full name. He promised, however, to obtain more definite information and will notify me on receipt of same.</p> <p>The next address covered was 63 West 36th Str., from which place mail had been addressed to Berkman signed "L.D.A." Inquiries here developed the information that "L.D.A." is <u>LEONARD D. ABBOTT</u>, a well known radical of this city, who appeared as a witness for the defense in the Goldman-Berkman trial. Abbott has not been so active recently as he had been but is still thought to entertain radical ideas.</p> | | | | |
| REFERENCE: | COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:
WASHINGTON (3) NEW YORK (2) ALW-WED | | | |

7-1100

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834

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In] re: Alexander Berkman—Anarchist Activities, New York [19]22 March 11 / Albert L. Weitsman [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 3 p.; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Agent Weitsman describes his efforts to verify various names and addresses of Berkman's correspondents in New York City.

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from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

RETURN TO
FILE

811.01-304

NEW YORK, N.Y. 3/11/22 3/4/22 ALEXANDER BERKMAN A.L. WEITSMAN

The next inquiry was made at 36 Grove Street, where it was learned that a letter signed "Your Child," and addressed to Berkman, was probably sent by STELLA BALLANTYNE, who is a niece of EMMA GOLDMAN, and entertains strongly radical ideas.

An inquiry was made for the purpose of identifying another correspondent of Berkman who signed himself "B.B." and whose address was at 21 Van Dam Street. No such person was known to the carrier and the above address is at present occupied by a MR. WALEFORD, a police officer.

Another correspondent of Berkman was one who signed the name "Lola" and gave the address of 17 West 8th Street. Inquiries at this address developed the information that this woman is without doubt LOLA RIDGE, who is a poetess and who has been connected for some time with the anarchistic movement. She is still receiving mail at the address mentioned, which is The Washington Book Store.

From 857 Broadway a certain communication had been received by Berkman signed "Lioness" and the additional address of 28 Grove Street was signed. I learned that "Lioness" is ELENOR FITZGERALD, who now resides at 45 Grove Street and formerly lived with Berkman as his wife.

From 7 East 15th Street, which is The Rand School, Berkman had received mail signed "E.G.F." This is ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, who is widely known as a radical agitator of considerable prominence.

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835

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In] re: Alexander Berkman—Anarchist Activities, New York [19]22
March 11 / Albert L. Weitsman [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Agent Weitsman describes his efforts to verify various names and addresses of Berkman's correspondents in New York City.

C O P Y
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

-3-

NEW YORK, N.Y. 3/11/22 3/4/22 ALEXANDER BERKMAN A.L. WEITSMAN

Guarded inquiries were made at 40-7th Ave., with regard to another correspondent of Berkman's, who signed himself "J. Hr." but no record could be found of him and the carrier promised to make further inquiries.

From #5 Patchen Place mail had been addressed to Berkman signed "E.A.K." and guarded inquiries at this place developed the information that "E.A.K." are the initials of ELLEN A. KENNAM, who is a well known radical as the files of the Washington Bureau will no doubt show.

Another communication was signed "R. B. and Madeline, Carl's friend of Essex County," from 70-5th Avenue." From inquiries made at the address mentioned I learned that R. B. represented ROGER BALDWIN, head of the American Civil Liberties Union, who served a sentence in Essex County Jail in Jersey for violation of the Draft Act and that Madeline was no doubt MADELINE DOTY, his wife and Carl referred to, was probably CARL NEWLANDER who was deported from this country to Sweden in 1919 for a violation of the Draft Act.

INVESTIGATION CONTINUED.

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836

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 March 11, Atlanta, Ga. [to William J. Burns] Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Lewis J. Baley, Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Baley acknowledges receipt of Burns's letter, sending a report on Goldman from the Netherlands.

Notes: Broken type. Reply to letter similar to 870708033. For report mentioned, see 870803023.

OFFICE OF
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

TELEPHONE IVY 2424
POST OFFICE BOX 1058

Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation
303-309 FEDERAL BUILDING
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

INTELLIGENCE
MAR 14 1922
LJB-D
March 11, 1922.

61-291

Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:- Attention Mr. Hoover.

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 8th instant, GFR-JR, inclosing report recently received by the State Department from The Hague, concerning the return to this country of EMMA GOLDMAN.

Very respectfully,

Lewis J. Baley

Lewis J. Baley,
Special Agent in Charge.



RECORDED

61-291-72

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837

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409061

[Letter] 1922 March 14 [Washington, D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] L. H[urley], Office of the Undersecretary, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Hurley sends Burns the text of a German secret police report on Goldman.

Notes: For signed original, see 880615429. For February report mentioned, see 810409074.

RETURN TO U-H
FILE

861.0-668

file with [unclear]

In reply refer to
U-2

March 14, 1922.

Dear Mr. Burns:

The information quoted below relative to
Emma Goldman has been received from a reliable source
in Berlin, under date of February 20, 1922.

"The secret police report that about two years ago she came from America to Europe and spent most of her time in Sweden. In 1920 she planned to return to America via Russia for the purpose of resuming her revolutionary work. In Russia she belonged to the 'League for the Promotion of Anarchist Ideals.' She was also, among other things, a member of the anarchist burial committee at the funeral of the well-known Russian anarchist Peter Zropotkin, who died last year.

"Up to her recently renewed deportation from America on December 21, 1921, no further reports have reached the police in Berlin. Her entry into Germany was refused by the German Government, so that she could not, as she had planned, take part in the anarchist conference in Berlin last December.

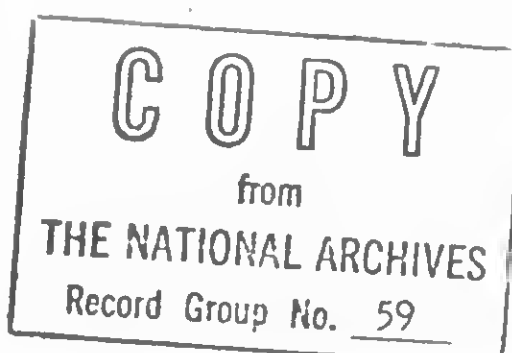
"According to press reports about the beginning of last January the Swedish Government gave her permission for temporary residence in Sweden. In spite of inquiries instituted she has not been discovered in Berlin."

Very sincerely yours,

WJH

William J. Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

U-2-LAW/MFC-38



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

838

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 March 14, Washington [D.C. to] William J. Burns, Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Undersecretary] Department of State. — 1 p. ; 17 x 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.
Institutional Location: Paul Avrich Papers.

Notes: For copy, see 810409061.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

61-291

March 14, 1922

In reply refer to
U-2

Dear Mr. Burns:

The information quoted below relative to Emma Goldman has been received from a reliable source in Berlin, under date of February 20, 1922.

"The secret police report that about two years ago she came from America to Europe and spent most of her time in Sweden. In 1920 she planned to return to America via Russia for the purpose of resuming her revolutionary work. In Russia she belonged to the 'League for the Promotion of Anarchist Ideals.' She was also, among other things, a member of the anarchist burial committee at the funeral of the well-known Russian anarchist Peter Kropotkin, who died last year.

"Up to her recently renewed deportation from America on December 21, 1921, no further reports have reached the police in Berlin. Her entry into Germany was refused by the German Government, so that she could not, as she had planned, take part in the anarchist conference in Berlin last December.

"According to press reports about the beginning of last January the Swedish Government gave her permission for temporary residence in Sweden. In spite of inquiries instituted she has not been discovered in Berlin."

Very sincerely yours,
W. L. Hurley

William J. Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

RECEIVED BY
W. J. BURNS
MAR 21 1922

61-291-74

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839

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re: Suspected Anarchists, Buffalo, N.Y. [19]22 March 15 / W.L. Buchanan [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 3 p.; 34 × 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.
Summary: Agent Buchanan describes his efforts to verify the names and addresses of Goldman's relatives in Rochester, New York.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
 Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

Bureau Letter 3-1-22; initialed GFR-JR.
 Instructions received from Special Agent in Charge M. F. Blackmon.

| | | | | |
|--|--|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------|
| REPORT MADE AT:
Buffalo, N.Y. | DATE WHEN MADE:
3/15/22 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
3/8-14/22 | REPORT MADE BY:
W.L. Buchanan | 811.01-304 |
| TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
RUDIN, - HEPNAU, (SUSPECTED ANARCHISTS). (Initials and address
SISTER, correct name MRS. LENA COMMINSKI, obtained from the confi-
CUMMINS, " " DR. SAXE COMMINS, dential papers of
HYMAN HOCHS, " " HYMAN HOCHSTEIN, Alexander Berkman). | | | | |
| FACTS DEVELOPED:
ATTENTION - MR. HOOVER - 2.
At Rochester, New York. | | | | |
| <p>With reference to above letter, in compliance with instructions, Agent proceeded to Rochester, New York, to make confidential investigation of subjects with the following results:-</p> <p>Agent learned that DR. SAXE COMMINS is a dentist at #529 Mercantile Building, Rochester, New York. He is a Russian Jew about thirty-two years old and single. He is a nephew of EMMA GOLDMAN and his mother is MRS. LENA COMMINSKI, sister of EMMA GOLDMAN. His father is SAM COMMINSKI a tinsmith by trade and is now visiting his son in Los Angeles, California, address unknown. He is expected to return to Rochester in a few weeks. DR. COMMINS original name was SAXE COMMINSKI, but he had it legally changed to COMMINS in Rochester. He is a member of the Monroe County Dental Association, which is affiliated with the Allied Dentists of New York City. This information was obtained under pretext and from parties in the Mercantile Building. The COMMINSKIS formerly lived at #475 Clinton Avenue, North, Rochester, N.Y. and own that building, but now reside with the mother of EMMA GOLDMAN at #462 South Goodman Street, Rochester, N.Y.</p> <p>SISTER, referred to in above letter as residing at #475</p> | | | | |
| REFERENCE: | COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED:
Washington-3; Buffalo-2. | | | |
| | WLB-ES | | | |

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409014

[Agent Report In re: Suspected Anarchists, Buffalo, N.Y. [19]22 March 15 / W.L. Buchanan [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.
Summary: Agent Buchanan describes his efforts to verify the names and addresses of Goldman's relatives in Rochester, New York.

C O P Y

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

W.L. Buchanan

3/15/22

2

Clinton Avenue, North, is MRS. IENA COMINSKI, sister of EMMA GOLDMAN who is referred to above and who resides at #462 South Goodman Street, Rochester, N.Y.

HYMAN HOCHS, correct name HYMAN HOCHSTEIN, resides at #74 Ellicott Street, Rochester, N.Y., and owns the residence. He is married and has three children and is a nephew of EMMA GOLDMAN. He was formerly connected with the American Express Company in Rochester but is now in charge of correspondence for the Rosenberg Brothers, Tailors. From inquiries made at the Rosenberg plant it was learned that his position is a responsible one and his reputation is very good. Under a pretext he was interviewed by Agent in connection with papers addressed to his house for one NEPNAU, one of the subjects mentioned above, and stated he never knew any such person.

Agent learned from a confidential friend who was well acquainted with HERMAN GOLDMAN, brother of EMMA GOLDMAN, that HERMAN GOLDMAN had always been opposed to Socialism and was not on speaking terms with the rest of the family.

Agent then was introduced to HERMAN GOLDMAN and upon being interviewed, he stated that he had never had any correspondence with his sister and he did not believe that the other members of the family in Rochester had received any correspondence. He did state that the last information he had was that she was in Stockholm, Sweden, and that BERKMAN was there also and he thought that if she could get away from BERKMAN she would be all right, but he did not believe there was

7-1100

841

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409014

[Agent Report In re: Suspected Anarchists, Buffalo, N.Y. [19]22 March 15 / W.L. Buchanan [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 3 p.; 34 × 22 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59. Summary: Agent Buchanan describes his efforts to verify the names and addresses of Goldman's relatives in Rochester, New York.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

W.L. Buchanan

3/15/22

3

any way for her to get away from him.

RUDIN, #529 Mercantile Building, Rochester, N.Y. Agent made inquiries among a number of people in the Mercantile Building, especially in offices close by #529, but no one had ever heard of such a man. This is the same number as DR. COMMINS' office and when DR. COMMINS was questioned on the telephone on the pretext that an old friend from New York wished to know RUDIN'S address, he stated that RUDIN'S first name was David and that he was a distant relative, but his present whereabouts were unknown.

CONTINUED.

7-1100

842

The Emma Goldman Papers

Monthly General Intelligence Report No. 10, 1922 March 15 [Washington, D.C. (ex-
cerpt)] / Agent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 4 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.
Summary: The Bureau of Investigation notes that the Swedish government does not know what to do with
Goldman and Berkman, who cannot get visas to any other country.

449,870
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-9-86 BY SP4 E/W/EN

MAR 18 1922

61-45

MONTHLY GENERAL INTELLIGENCE REPORT NO. 10

(Being a digest of the newspapers of the
District of Columbia for period from January
16th, 1922, to March 15th, 1922.)

| Subject | Page |
|--------------------|-------|
| India | 11-12 |
| Japanese | 16-17 |
| Labor | 13-14 |
| Mexico | 8-10 |
| Negro | 18-19 |
| Radical activities | 1-7 |
| Sinn Fein | 15 |

Prepared by
Special Agent.



61-45-27
RECORDED
INDEXED

The Emma Goldman Papers

Monthly General Intelligence Report No. 10, 1922 March 15 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] / Agent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The Bureau of Investigation notes that the Swedish government does not know what to do with Goldman and Berkman, who cannot get visas to any other country.

RADICAL ACTIVITIES:

Recent investigation by this office of the All-American National Committee, which is closely allied with the Concord Club and the Von Steuben Society, reveals that some of the most serious propaganda is being circulated throughout the United States by German sympathizers. In some instances this propaganda has been of such a nature throughout the New England States as to destroy many successful business enterprises. The following from the "Star" of February 3rd, is a fair illustration of the sinister activities of these combinations:

"What is characterized by government officials as 'despicable and pernicious' in activities of an alleged German firm, seeking to transfer various industries in the United States bodily from this country to Germany, was disclosed today in correspondence between Secretary of Labor Davis and E.M. Waring of the American Electric Cutting Company of New York.

Mr. Waring wrote Secretary Davis early in the week inclosing a copy of a letter he had received from "The InterOcean Holding Company" located in New York City.

The letter according to Mr. Waring's copy, read as follows:

'You have recently received from us a card in reference to 'Helping Germany Come Back'

In this connection you realize that labor conditions in central Europe make it obvious that it might be advantageous to have some of your products manufactured. Be that as it may, we know that you are interested in at least securing quotations on tentative quantities.

The writer personally is more or less familiar with your product, and inasmuch as he is booked to sail for Europe on February 4th, in company with others of this organization,

249,870
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1-9-86 BY SP4/EW/EL

- 1 -

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844

The Emma Goldman Papers

Monthly General Intelligence Report No. 10, 1922 March 15 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] / Agent [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: The Bureau of Investigation notes that the Swedish government does not know what to do with Goldman and Berkman, who cannot get visas to any other country.

RADICAL ACTIVITIES - 2

he suggests that you permit us to secure manufacturing figures for reproducing your article in Germany for resale in America.

For that purpose, we suggest that you provide us with a sample, and in addition the rates, specifications and plans that would help us in quickly securing the information.

Mr. Waring's letter of accompaniment said: 'This is undoubtedly a plan to transfer our industries bodily to Germany and would work untold injury to both the business and labor interests of our country. Their plan is undoubtedly to secure control of the best of everything that we have and flood the markets of the world and doubtless later compete here, if possible. Cannot this be circumvented in the interest of the future welfare of our country?'

On the letterhead the words 'department of propaganda and statistics' had been carefully inked out, according to Mr. Waring. The letterhead also bore the inscription 'organized at the instance of various German, Hungarian and Czechoslovakian interests.'

In his reply Secretary Davis complimented Mr. Waring on the patriotic stand he had taken in refusing to be led into the scheme for depriving American workmen of means of securing an honest living.

The Secretary added that he could not conceive of any one in this country undertaking a more 'despicable and pernicious activity' than was suggested by the copy of the letter. The administration, Mr. Davis said, has worked hard to secure to the people of the United States a return of the prosperity which they normally enjoy. He pointed out that several million wage earners are now out of employment and that the suffering which this condition has brought on many American homes does not have to be left to the imagination.

The Secretary says he has too much faith in the business morality and integrity of the great majority of American manufacturers to believe that an enterprise of this kind will find response to the alleged unscrupulous practices.

The Stockholm police authorities are in a quandary over the case presented by Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, the advocates of anarchy, who now find it

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Summary: The Bureau of Investigation notes that the Swedish government does not know what to do with Goldman and Berkman, who cannot get visas to any other country.

RADICAL ACTIVITIES - 3

impossible to secure permission to go to any of the surrounding countries. Thus far Germany, Norway and Denmark have refused to grant them passports to cross their borders. The soviet representative here when asked if Russia would allow the noted pair to return, denounced them in unequivocal terms, declaring that both had caused enough trouble within Russia and that the bolsheviki were unwilling to give them another opportunity."

" Star" January 20, 1922.

" The American Relief Administration expects to withdraw from its undertaking in famine-stricken Russia by next September 1, Edgar Rickard of that organization said today after he had conferred with Secretary Hoover.

By that date, Mr. Rickard said, the Russians should be able to feed themselves with the products of their harvests.

More than 1,500,000 children are being supplied with a balanced ration now, Mr. Rickard said, and this number will have been increased by the middle of March to 2,200,000. Several million adults also are being fed."

" Star" February 16, 1922.

" Renewal of the demand from the American Legion that Grover Cleveland Bergdoll, Philadelphia draft dodger, who escaped to Germany, be returned to this country for punishment will be made to the House soon by Congressman Fitzgerald (Republican) of Ohio.

Fitzgerald will ask immediate adoption of a resolution calling on the State Department and the Department of Justice to proceed in the matter of extraditing Bergdoll.

With other ex-service members of the House

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409000

[Agent Report In re:] Anarchist Black Cross of Russia, Boston, 1922 March 16 / D. DiLillo [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 6 p.; 34 x 22 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59. Summary: Agent DiLillo submits a translation of Berkman, Goldman, and Alexander Schapiro's appeal for money to help anarchists imprisoned in Russia, which was printed in *Il Vespro Anarchico* in Italy.

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from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

RETURN TO U-H

Instructions received from Special Agent in Charge L. Letherman.

| | | | |
|--|--|---|--------------------------------|
| REPORT MADE AT:
Boston, Mass. | DATE WHEN MADE:
Mar/15, 1922. | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
March 16, 1922. | REPORT MADE BY:
D. DiLillo. |
| TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS OF RUSSIA, now known as : Anarchist
SOCIETY FOR AID TO ANARCHISTS IN RUSSIAN PRISONS. : Activities. | | | |
| FACTS DEVELOPED:
<u>EMMA GOLDMAN</u> , <u>ALEXANDER BERKMAN</u> , <u>A. SHAPIRO</u> . [A. 23 1922] | | | |
| <p>Issue No. 18 for February 8, 1922, of "IL VESPRO ANARCHICO" the anarchist-individualist newspaper edited by PAOLO SCHICCHI of Collesano, and published at Palermo, Italy - allots considerable space to the Russian situation in general and to the Russian anarchists in particular, "who, on account of their opposition to the Bolshevik government, are strenuously persecuted by the Soviet Russia authorities".</p> <p>It is obvious to say that "IL VESPRO ANARCHICO" being an anarchist publication contains inflammatory articles against the Russian Bolshevik government, the leader of which, NICOLAI LENINE, is described in it to be "Red Czar, the personification of imposture and fraud, of falsehood and deceit, the coward and terrible hyena, the thief and the assassin", and who is accused "to trade the fate of the Russian proletariat with the capitalists and the politicians at the future conference of Genoa".</p> <p>What is considered to be of interest to the Bureau, however, inasmuch as the anarchist activities on behalf of the Russian anarchist prisoners may in the near future be developed in this country, is an article edited in the form of an appeal, signed by EMMA GOLDMAN, ALEXANDER BERKMAN and A. SHAPIRO, appearing on page two, first column, of "IL VESPRO ANARCHICO" for February 8th, this year. The article, which is addressed to all the proletarians of the world.</p> | | | |
| REFERENCE: | COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:
WASHINGTON 3, BOSTON 2. | | |

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847

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409000

[Agent Report In re:] Anarchist Black Cross of Russia, Boston, 1922 March 16 / D. DiLillo [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 6 p.; 34 x 22 cm.

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Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

D. DiLillo.

-2-

March 16, 1922.

translated into English reads as follows:

"ON BEHALF OF RUSSIAN ANARCHISTS"

"Having left Russia a short time ago, we feel that our first and most urgent duty is to raise our voice on behalf of our prisoners in Russia.

"It is ~~and~~ ^{sad}, it is tearing to speak of political prisoners in the territory of the Social Revolution, and the fact that we must speak of it throws a singular light on the Russian situation.

" Notwithstanding, unfortunately, the facts are facts! And we do not speak of the contra-revolutionaries who might be considered the enemies of revolution. For as much as it may seem unbelievable the prisons and the penitentiaries of Russia are today populated by the best revolutionary element of the country, by men and women animated by the highest ideals, by the most generous aspirations. Throughout the large country, in Russia and Siberia, in the prisons of the old regime as well as in those of the new one, in the tombs of the 'Ossoy Oldell della Ceka', are rotting revolutionaries of all parties and of all movements: revolutionary socialists of the left wing, massimalists, communist followers of the 'workers opposition', anarchists, anarcho-syndicalists and universalists - adhering to several schools of social philosophy, but all of them true revolutionaries, the majority

7-1160

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848

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409000

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Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

D. DiLillo.

-3-

March 16, 1922.

of whom took an enthusiastic part in the revolution of November, 1917.

"The position of these political prisoners is miserable. Without considering the anguish and the moral sufferings of all kinds, even the only physical existence is unbearable. Considering the general conditions of Russia and the lack of building material and skilled workers, it is impossible to maintain the prisons in habitable conditions. As a consequence the hygienical conditions in general are of the most primitive. But worst of all is the question of food. Never, during all its period of dominion, the Bolsheviki government has been able to furnish sufficient food to its prisoners. Their rations are absolutely insufficient to maintain even the most miserable life. The alimentation of the prisoners must be provided almost completely by relatives, friends and comrades. But now the situation has become still worse. With the fact that there has been collected only 52 per cent of alimentary taxes, without hope to collect more on account of the terrible famine which struck the Volga provinces, and also with the fact of the total failure of the economical organization of the government, the situation of the population of the prisons is really the most desperate.

"The needs of political prisoners in Russia are taken care of by the political Russian Red Cross, within the limits of its very scarce means. This is an organization very active and efficacious, a member of which is one celebrated revolution-

7-1160

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849

The Emma Goldman Papers

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D. DiLillo.

-4-

March 16, 1922.

ary VERA FIGNER. It depends only on voluntary contributions and has obtained great success when it is considered how difficult it is in Russia to donate a part of one's own insufficient ration. Nevertheless the Red Cross has been able to provide to the most elementary necessities of the political prisoners.

"Of all, less the anarchists. Not because the Red Cross makes distinction. On the contrary, this organization is perfectly impartial despite the fact that the majority of its members are elements of the right wing. But for political reasons, the Russian anarchists have adopted long since the system to aid their comrades in prison, and for many years it has been the constant work of the Anarchistic Red Cross (later known under the name of Black Cross) to take care of the anarchists detained in the Russian prisons.

"In all periods, it has been a herculean effort of the anarchists enjoying freedom to think of their comrades kept in prison. Many of the most active lost their lives in the service of revolution, many of them died in the first battle line, while many others have been shot or are rotting in the Bolsheviki prisons. The majority of those who are still living and free are constantly in danger of starving to death. The 'Black Cross' must really make superhuman efforts so as to prevent the starvation of our comrades in jail. It has accomplished a noble work of sacrifices and abnegation.

"But if up to the present time the undertaking has been hard and difficult, now it has become immensely worse.

7-1100

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850

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

D. DiLillo.

-5-

March 16, 1922.

The new bolshevist politics of systematical persecution of the anarchists is a terrible obstacle to the work of the 'Black Cross'. Many of its members having been themselves put in prison, the organization has been reorganized under the name of the SOCIETY FOR AID TO ANARCHISTS IN RUSSIAN PRISONS. It continues untiringly to distribute to the prisoners all that it is able to collect. Unfortunately it can do very little. Our free comrades deprive themselves even of the most necessary in order to send to the prisoners a pound more of bread or potatoes. They willingly divide their last bite. But they are so few, and their comrades in prison are so many and need so much!... From the prisons of Moscow and Petrograd, from Orel and Vladimiro, from the distant provinces of the East and from comrades exiled in the frozen countries of the North arrive terrible news. The dreadful flagellum produced by insufficiency of alimentation, the feared 'zinga' (scurvy) is near to them all. Their hands and their feet swell, their teeth fall... their bodies fall in dissolution.....

"Do you want to listen, Oh, comrades of the world, to their desperate outcries? The Russian anarchists cannot provide at present even the most indispensable necessities without the aid of foreign comrades. In the name of the SOCIETY FOR AID TO ANARCHISTS IN RUSSIAN PRISONS, in the name of our martyred comrades who are now freezing and starving to death in the prisons of the Bolsheviks, on account of their ideals, we appeal to you, comrades and friends of all

7-1169

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851

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409000

[Agent Report In re:] Anarchist Black Cross of Russia, Boston, 1922 March 16 / D. DiLillo [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 6 p. ; 34 × 22 cm. Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Agent DiLillo submits a translation of Berkman, Goldman, and Alexander Schapiro's appeal for money to help anarchists imprisoned in Russia, which was printed in *Il Vespro Anarchico* in Italy.

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Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

D. DiLillo.

-6-

March 16, 1922.

countries. Only your immediate and generous aid can save from starvation our imprisoned comrades in Russia.

"Send your contributions directly to: Redaction Brand, R.A. R.P. Elandsatan, 48, Stockholm, Sweden.

"Only donations in money are requested. On account of the depreciated value of Russian money, even the smallest contribution forwarded by friends in Europe and America will be a sensible aid.

"Fraternally

ALEXANDER BERKMAN,
Delegate of the Society
For Aid to Anarchists
in Russian Prisons,

EMMA GOLDMAN,

A. SHAPIRO, Secretary
of the Anarcho-Syndicalist
Union "Golos Truda", Moscow.

"Stockholm, Jan. 12, 1922.

"All anarchist and syndicalist newspapers are requested to reproduce this appeal."

CLOSED.



7-1169

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852

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman—Anarchist Activities, New York [19]22 March 17 / Albert L. Weitsman [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p. ; 25 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Agent Weitsman describes his unsuccessful efforts to locate several of Berkman's former correspondents, using addresses from Berkman's address book confiscated in Riga.

Notes: Broken type. Follow-up report to 870708035. Broken type. Follow-up report to 870708035.

| | | | |
|---|--|---|---|
| REPORT MADE AT:
New York City | DATE WHEN MADE:
3/17/22 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
3/14-15-16/22 | REPORT MADE BY:
Albert L. Weitsman.
MAR 21 1922 |
| TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
IN RE: ALEXANDER BERKMAN - ANARCHIST ACTIVITIES. | | | |
| FACTS DEVELOPED:
At New York:

Continuing on the above investigation for the purpose of verifying the addresses of former correspondents of Alexander Berkman's, I was engaged during the above period in visiting various addresses and post offices.

One correspondent who had signed herself "Edna," is believed to be Edna Jane, 27 E. 62nd St. She is said to be a moving picture actress and the wife of J. A. Chapple, who is also engaged in the same industry, and has moved to 157 E. 75th St. Through inquiries made at the post office covering the latter address, it was learned that this woman receives considerable mail and further inquiries are to be made by the carrier in order to learn from which points the mail is forwarded.

Another correspondent of Berkman's, who signed herself "R. H. Cleveland," gave an address which might have been either 222, 225 or 259 E. 73rd St. On closer inspection it was thought that there was possibility of the proper address being 2259 E. 73rd St., Brooklyn, N. Y. The post offices covering the foregoing addresses were visited and thorough inquiry made and in each case I was informed that there was no record of such person.

The signature of another correspondent was "A. P." the address given being 606 West 115th St. Guarded inquiries were made at Washington (3) New York (1) | | | |
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853

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman—Anarchist Activities, New York [19]22 March 17 / Albert L. Weitsman [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 19 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Agent Weitsman describes his unsuccessful efforts to locate several of Berkman's former correspondents, using addresses from Berkman's address book confiscated in Riga.

Notes: Broken type. Follow-up report to 870708035. Broken type. Follow-up report to 870708035.

-2-

the above address with no result and thereafter a visit was made to Post Office Station "H", 178 West 102nd St., which covers the above address. The Superintendent, after having questioned the carriers, informed me that there was no record of anyone receiving mail under the above initials, nor could the carriers remember having ever received mail at the above address for anyone whose initials were "A. P."

Another correspondent of Berkman's signed himself "Max B," and gave his address as 1356 - 182nd St. Inquiry in the neighborhood developed the information that there is no such number, east or west, on 182nd St. Various other inquiries were made in this street, both east and west, as well as inquiries at the Tremont Post Office Station at 1931 Washington Avenue, Bronx, but no information was obtainable regarding this person.

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854

The Emma Goldman Papers


810409006

[Agent Report In re:] "Smitty" - Radical, Cleveland, O[hio] 1922 March 17 / Bliss Morton [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. - 1 p.; 34 x 21 cm.
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.
 Summary: Agent Morton describes his unsuccessful efforts to locate "Smitty," whose name was taken from Berkman's address book.
 Notes: Light copy; barely legible.

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General Records of the Department of State
 Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

RETURN TO U-H
 FILE
 Page 1.

| | | | |
|--|--|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| REPORT MADE AT:
Cleveland, O. | DATE WHEN MADE:
Mar 17 1922 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
Mar 17 1922 | REPORT MADE BY:
Bliss Morton. |
| TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
"SMITTY", 8013 Platt Ave., Cleveland, O. | | | |
| FACTS DEVELOPED:
<div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <p>At Cleveland, O.</p> <p>In the Bureau letter indicated below is given two names and addresses obtained from confidential papers of ALEXANDER BERKMAN prior to his deportation.</p> <p>Agent requested investigations of two separate sources, whose operatives have voluntarily obtained similar information previously. One source simply reported subject could not be located. This office has no record of a "Smith", "Smitty", "Schmidt", or any similar names living in that locality. The Post Office had no record of any such name in that locality.</p> <p>The second informant stated the number "8013 Platt Ave." is on a building in the rear of 8015 Platt Ave. 8013 is a shop/ and was conducted by an Italian named Alla, who had been there from 1910 to 1917; he owned the property at that time and sold it to a man named Elsner, whose son is a lawyer at 231 Soc. for Savings Bldg. Since Alla left, two colored men, Leatherman & Henderson, electrical contractors, have had the shop. Neither Alla, Elsner, the colored man, nor any one at 8015 Platt knew anything of subject.</p> <p>If subject later is heard of, further report will be made.</p> | | | |
| REFERENCE:
Bureau 2. | COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:
Washington 3. | | |

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The Emma Goldman Papers

810409053

[Letter] 1922 March 17, London [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Under-secretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / B[oyston] A. B[eal, American Embassy, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Beal sends Hurley a copy of Goldman's address list, probably obtained from British Intelligence.

Notes: For enclosure, see 810409054. For related documents, see 810409050 through 810409052.

RETURN TO U-N
FILE

861.0-668



LONDON, March 17, 1922.

No. 1632.

Dear Bill:

I enclose herewith copies of a list of addresses found in possession of Emma Goldman which I have just received from our friends who ask to be informed if they are of any importance.

Yours ever,

10
D. J.
&
Chief Postal Inspector
3-11-22 B. A. B.
W. L. Hurley, Esq.,
&c., &c., &c.,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

Enclosures:

Copies of list.

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856

The Emma Goldman Papers

[List of Names in Goldman's Address Book, 1922 March? 17? (government transcript)] / [Emma? Goldman?]. - 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives, Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Someone in British Intelligence copies a list of addresses, supposedly from Goldman's address book.

Notes: Enclosed with 810409053 and 810409052. List is very similar to one that the Latvian secret police took from Berkman in Riga, see 810409026 and 810409027. For related documents, see 810409050 and 810409051.

COPY

Anderson, Marg. 24 W 16 S. New York.

A.Aline, 715, Merrit Bldg. Gorod Billy.

B. Max, 537 E. 162 St.

Ed. Sehre, 45, W. 39 St.

M.A.C. Dr. - 1457 East Parkway.

Cummins, Saxe Mercantile Bldg., Main St. Roc.

Cornevaux, Mlle C. - 134 W. 70th St. N.Y.

Cleveland, Riva Hossin - 2259 W. 73 St.

Fishman, Minnie, 243 Ft. Wash. Ave, N.Y.

Hochs, Hyman - 74 Ellicott St. Roc.

Miller, J. (Libby) - 340 Manhattan Ave. N.Y.

Sina Camensky - 462 South Goodman. R. N.Y.

A.J. 1336 Wolmot Ave. Inee Arbor or 661 Seneca Av. Detroit.

Bessie Kimmelman c/o Mr. Freedman 989 9th Ave. N.Y. City

Grace K. - 1421 Clayton St. Denver.

R.B. & Madeleine. Carl's friends of Essex Co. 70 - 5th Ave,

Jac. M. - 307 Arcade Bldg. Pittsburgh.

L.M. - 121 S. Pearl Albany.

Dorothy M. - 80 Grove St. N.Y.

Alvina Ritzke - 314 W. (or N) 58th St. N.Y. City

Mary H. VOB 24 Charles St. or Provincetown.

O. ST. F. P. 1011 - Holland Bldg. St. Louis.

Kate, Box 47, Jeff. City Ms.

M.C.A. 24 W. 16th - NY.

L.D.A. C.O. 63 / 36 City
19 - 83.

Edwin Buch..... 49 W. 39 St. Ny.City.

M.B. 753 E 182nd St.

A.S.B. (old friend of Bab). 3 Monadnock St. Dorchester Mass.

B.B. (the Amer....King) 21 Van Dam St. M.

Kitty, 1310 Yeon Bldg. or 419 C of C Bldg. Portland.

A.B. (sugartop) 715 Merritt Bldg. Los Angeles.

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857

The Emma Goldman Papers

[List of Names in Goldman's Address Book, 1922 March? 17? (government transcript)] / [Emma? Goldman?]. — 2 p.; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Someone in British Intelligence copies a list of addresses, supposedly from Goldman's address book.

Notes: Enclosed with 810409053 and 810409052. List is very similar to one that the Latvian secret police took from Berkman in Riga, see 810409026 and 810409027. For related documents, see 810409050 and 810409051.

- 2 -

Smitty 8013 Platt Av. Cleveland, O.

S.S. c/o Mrs. Lawrence, Oneonta N.Y.

Rose.S. 95 5th Av.

Coo - 1117 Harris Bldg. - Chicago

Rudin - 529 Mercantile Bldg. Roch.

Sister - 475 Clinton Ave. N. - Rochester.

Bessie D. - (Mo's friend) - 2109 Harrison Ave. N.Y. City.

Lola - Washingt. Bookshop 17 W. 8th St.

Rose J. (or F) 274 Mercer St. Kansas City

M.F. Jake - 275 St. Washington Av. N.Y.

EGP - 7E. 15th St.

M. 1056 Nat Ave. Brone.

Sara G. (now business add) 38 E 59th N.Y.

J.H. 1722 Carr St. St Louis.

J.Hr. 40 - 7th Ave. City.

Hepnau - 74 Ellecott St. Roch.

Workers' Inst. - 1006 Ashland Bldg. Chicago, Illa.

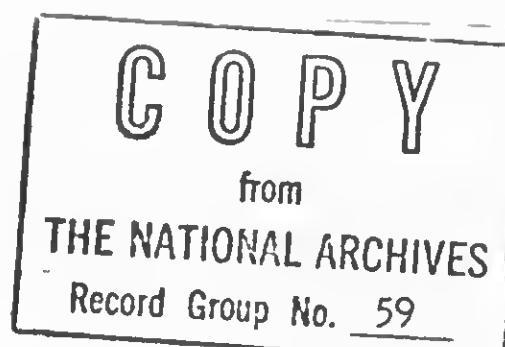
Mrs. J. Kagan, Route 2, Box 58 B, Petaluma, Cal.

Edna - 27 E. 62nd Str.

Miriam, Clinton Ar At. Westfall St. Rochester.

Dolly - 88 Washington Place. ?

Beu C. 613 Jackson St. Lopeka - Kans.



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

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858

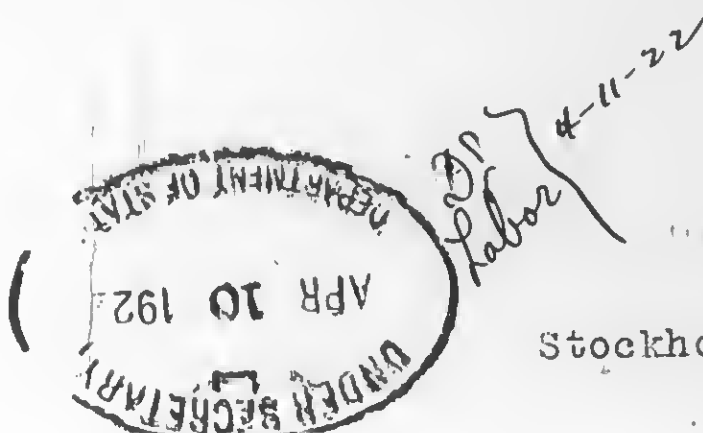
The Emma Goldman Papers

810409060

[Letter] 1922 March 21, Stockholm [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Under-secretary] Department of State, Washington [D.C.] / Hallett Johnson [American Minister, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Johnson informs Hurley that Goldman might stay in Sweden for a long time.



861.0-668

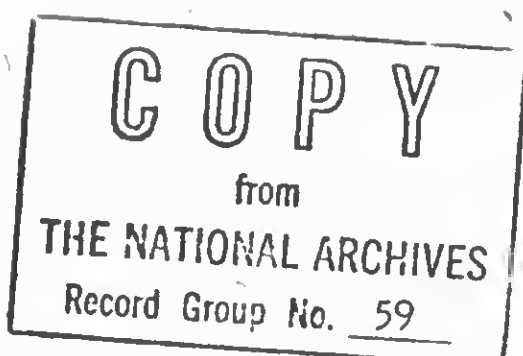
Stockholm, March 21, 1922.

Dear Hurley:

Emma Goldman is still quietly living here, having received further extensions to the length of time for which her visa is good. She seems to have convinced Branting that her bad health requires medical attention in Sweden and it looks as though she might be here for some time more.

Sincerely yours,

W. L. Hurley, Esquire,
Department of State,
Washington.



General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 861.0-668

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859

The Emma Goldman Papers

860404002

Radicals Refused Goldman Articles — 36 cm. In [(New York) World (March 22, 1922)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The World in New York prints a translation of an article from the local Jewish press, criticizing the radical papers' refusal to print Goldman's criticism of the Soviet state.

Notes: Portions illegible. Two shots of one page.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Rec

Office of t

RADICALS REFUSED GOLDMAN ARTICLES

Jewish Paper Scores Socialistic
Press for "Suppressing
Unpleasant Facts."

BIASED UNBIASED STAND

Blow to No One but Workers Is
Journal's Comment.

The Day, one of the Jewish language newspapers, yesterday published the following:

An extraordinary letter by Emma Goldman, the well known Anarchist, appears in a recent issue of the Freie Arbeiter Stimme (Free Workers' Press). In this letter she reports that she has sent a number of articles to America, asking her representative here to place them in the radical press. The letters are of a nature to discredit Bolshevism, foreseeing that it might be difficult to place these letters in the radical press she instructed her representative to place them in the capitalist press as a last resort.

The announcement by a prominent New York daily that the articles are to appear in its columns now makes it clear that the radical press refused to handle the articles.

(The daily referred to is The World, which has announced the publication, beginning next Sunday, of the Goldman articles.)

To the workers more than to any one else, this revelation must be thoroughly disquieting. The workers have always protested with more than a show of reason, that the capitalist press is in the main biased. They have always protested that a workers press is needed in order that they may get unbiased news. If unbiased, it is to be presumed, they meant a paper which, though radical in its editorials, would present reports of fact as they were received from disinterested observers.

Emma Goldman was, as far as the labor movement is concerned, a thoroughly reliable observer. No one doubts either her sincerity or intelligence. No one doubts, two years ago, her predisposition to report well on the Bolshevik situation. She was deported from this country not for her Anarchism, which she preached more or less freely for twenty odd years in this country, but for her outspoken sympathy with Moscow. This was all the more remarkable in the case of a philosopher of Bolshevism and Anarchism are as wide apart as the poles.

For whose benefit, then, are the radical papers suppressing these articles? Is this their idea of educating the workman—feeding him with biased news in his conception of the working class?

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860

The Emma Goldman Papers

Radicals Refused Goldman Articles — 36 cm. In [(New York) World (March 22, 1922)] / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

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For whose benefit, then, are the radical papers representing these articles? Is this their idea of educating the workman—feeding him with biased news? Is this their conception of preparing the working classes in their struggle with the capitalists?

Two years ago Trotsky, defending himself against charges of tyrannical suppression of Russian liberty of the press, insisted that Russia was in a state of war. And anti-Bolshevik propaganda would be aid and comfort to the enemy. To-day the Russian Revolutionary Tribunal no longer exists, but freedom of the press has not been restored. But even Trotsky's excuse does not obtain here. There is no Bolshevik state here, defending itself against counter-revolutionary armies supported by foreign powers. The workers are still looking for a system, they are still uncertain of their means. And they to find a way to liberty, they are being misled as to the success or failure of the Bolshevik experiment in Russia?

The rejection of Emma Goldman's articles by the radical press is a blow to no one but the workers. The workers are undoubtedly in need of a press—but not the kind that is unwilling to speak the truth when that truth is unpleasant. We presume that for Emma Goldman it was no particular pleasure to have to eat her own enthusiastic words about Moscow. But Emma Goldman has courage—the very quality without which a radical press is as disastrous to the workers as the most reactionary.

ing a Latvian transit visa permitting her to remain in the country until December 17. At the American consulate here, it was said she had not applied for a visa to go to the United States.

According to Soviet officials, her anarchistic beliefs strongly clashed with the communist program. Americans who saw her recently said she was anxious to return to the United States. She has been employed in assisting in the compilation of a history of the Russian revolution. Her attitude is said to have aroused the suspicion of Soviet officials. But she and Alexander Berkman, who was deported with her, were permitted to depart freely on the condition that they would not speak or conduct agitation on behalf of the anarchists.

Only executive decisions, it is said, from President Harding, besides the sports proceedings under which Emma Goldman was deported from the United States, will serve to allow her to return to the United States. Immigration Commissioner considered probable. It is not any recognition will be made by immigration authorities asking

LENINE MAY SUMMON CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Russia's Economic Might Said to Make Call Possible After Soviet Congress.

By the Associated Press. — Semptomat Moscow advises indicate that convocation of the constituent assembly is a possible, though not probable, prospect of the Soviet congress. It is said that the Soviet government is working to improve Russia's foreign and economic relations, and is ready to call the assembly in which he feels certain he can maintain control.

Moscow, Dec. 8 (By the Associated Press). — The attention of the political world in Russia is being concentrated on the all-Soviet congress, which will convene December 26. Party machinery is working to determine whether the government will continue to swing toward the right. There are many rumors of violent differences among the political leaders.

Lenine is said to be determined to brave the opposition of the left to the government's new economic policy. It is considered significant that Mr. Shantinkov, who is expected to be the central executive committee, has been sent to a post at Ham-grain levy.

During a closed sitting of the committee of the communist, communists declared there must be strict fulfillment of the new economic policy. He is expected to make announcement of new foreign commercial concessions.

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

from

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Office of the Counselor, File No. 861-C-6/8

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General Records of the Department of State

861

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In] re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist Activities, New York, 1922 March 22 [excerpt?] / Geo[orge] J. Starr [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Agent Starr reports that the New York World will soon print Goldman's articles on Bolshevik Russia, since the radical press has refused to print them.

Notes: Broken type; barely legible.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|-----------------------------------|
| REPORT MADE AT:
New York, N. Y. | DATE WHEN MADE:
Mar. 22, 1922 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
Mar. 22, 1922 | REPORT MADE BY:
Geo. J. Starr. |
| TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
RE: EMMA GOLDMAN : Anarchist Activities. | | | MAR 26 1922 |
| FACTS DEVELOPED:
At New York, N. Y. 61-291 | | | |
| <p>The above subject has written a series of articles on the collapse of Bolshevism which will appear in the New York Morning World, daily beginning March 26th. There is attached to the original of this report a full page large type advertisement of these articles which appeared in the Morning World, March 20th, 1922, which reads as follows:</p> <p>"Bolshevism in Collapse! A Series of Ten Brilliant Articles by EMMA GOLDMAN, The Anarchist, who entering Russia with high hopes, has just emerged, disillusioned and awakened to the truth after two years in the Grip of The Iron Hand of the Communistic State, and who writes from her refuge in Sweden a bitter expose of the shams and pretense with which LENIN and TROTSKY are tricking the Russian People. Of all visitors to the dark land, she best can write of conditions. The series begins Sunday, March 26th, and will appear Daily in the New York World."</p> <p>Attention is also called to the following excerpt from report of confidential informant P-132 dated March 22nd, 1922:</p> <p>"SPIVAK stated that he has given to J. COHEN (COHN) protest of this Federation against EMMA GOLDMAN on account of her publishing articles in New York World and J. COHEN refused to publish our protest stating that he has a letter from EMMA GOLDMAN in which she explains the purpose of writing of these articles and printing them in capitalist press. This letter will be printed in his journal, and then if the Federation insists, he will also print our protest."</p> | | | |
| REFERENCE:
W-222 | COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:
Washington 2; New York 2;
[illegible] | | |

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862

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In] re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist Activities, New York, 1922 March 22 [excerpt?] / Geo[rge] J. Starr [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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Notes: Broken type; barely legible.

-2-

Mar. 22, 1922

Geo. J. Starr

A reference to the same articles appears on pages 1 & 2, of report of Special Agent Ralph Palmera, dated 3-15-22 re confidential Number 3. The FITZI referred to in this article is ELEANOR FITZGERALD. The telephone number given, Spring 8363, is the Provincetown Players, 133 MacDougal St., New York City. FITZGERALD will be remembered as a former sweetheart of ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

Another reference to these articles appears on page 1, 2, & 3 of report of Special Agent Wm. Ralph Palmera, dated March 2, 1922 re Confidential Number 3. The STELLA referred to in this report is undoubtedly STELLA BALLANTYNE, EMMA GOLDMAN'S niece, who is understood to reside at the Stelton School, Stelton, N.J.

According to an article published in the New York World on March 22nd, it would appear that EMMA GOLDMAN sent her articles here to be published in the radical press, but foreseeing that it might be difficult to place these letters in the radical press, she instructed her representative to place them in the capitalist press as a last resort. The appearance of these articles in the New York World proves according to the "Day" (Jewish newspaper) that the radical press has refused to publish them.

In report of Special Agent Wm. R. Palmera dated 3-15-22 re confidential #3 on page 2, 2:40 P.M. incoming, reference is made to BEEWECK of the New York World, who asks CARLO TESCA for letters of reference to EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERKMAN. Investigation shows that this name should read, SAMUEL SPEEWACK, who is being sent to Europe by the Washington office of the New York World. This man should not be confounded with SPIVAK referred to in report of P-132.

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863

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409007

[Agent Report In] re: Alexander Ber[k]man - Anarchistic Activities, New York, 1922
 March 22 / Michael J. Clafter [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. -
 3 p.; 34 x 22 cm.
 Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.
 Summary: Agent Clafter describes his efforts to locate several people whose names appear in Berkman's address book.

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 from
 THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
 Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
 Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

RETURN TO U-H
 FILE

Instructions received from Special Agent Chas. J. Scully.

| | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|------------|
| REPORT MADE AT:
New York, N.Y. | DATE WHEN MADE:
Mar. 22, 1922 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
Mar. 18-20-21-22, 1922 | REPORT MADE BY:
Michael J. Clafter. | 811.01-304 |
| TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
RE: ALEXANDER BERGMAN Anarchistic Activities. | | | | |
| FACTS DEVELOPED:
At New York, N.Y. | | | | |
| <p>Reference is made to Bureau letters dated February 28th and March 9th, 1922, relative to verifying names and addresses. Agent went to Post Office Station "T", Bronx, New York, thinking that the address of M.J. JAKS, 275 Washington Avenue, might be 1275 Washington Avenue. The carrier who covers this district said there was no 1275 Washington, Avenue, Bronx, Agent verified same. Agent then proceeded to 275 Fort Washington Avenue, New York City and found an empty lot. The last number, is 271 Fort Washington Avenue, New York City.</p> <p>Regarding BESSIE KIMMEDIAN or ZKORIDIAN, 989 - 9th Avenue, New York City, Agent proceeded to 9th Avenue and tried to locate 989, but the last number is 925 - 9th Avenue. The carrier who covers this ground, does not remember ever having any mail for the above mentioned party.</p> <p>The address of DOLLY or POLLY, 78 Washington Place, New York City, the Agent found to be a furnished room house, and that name unknown there. The carrier who covers this house has done so for 10 years and does not remember ever having any mail for either of the names.</p> <p>The name of MILD. CORNEVANH 134 W. 70th Street, New York City, is unknown to carrier on this route and the present people living</p> | | | | |
| REFERENCE:
GER:JR 61-29156 | COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: Washington 3: New York 1: <i>mk</i> MJC:AH | | | |

7-1100

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864

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409007

[Agent Report In] re: Alexander Ber[k]man - Anarchistic Activities, New York, 1922
March 22 / Michael J. Clafter [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. -
3 p.; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Agent Clafter describes his efforts to locate several people whose names appear in Berkman's address book.

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from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

RE: ALEXANDER BERGMAN

-2-

March 22, 1922

Michael J. Clafter.

in 134 W. 70th St., have only been there since December 1st, 1921. This place is a rooming house and the whereabouts of the people who ran it before the present owners, is unknown.

J. MILLER or LIBBY MILLER lived at 540 Manhattan Avenue, New York City. This place is an apartment house, housing 60 families. The carrier drops the mail in the hall and the tenants look it over themselves. LIBBY MILLER lived at 540 Manhattan Avenue with her mother, sister and brother until she was married to MR. LUSSKIN, who is at present in business with LIBBY'S brother, ISADOR, at 170 Broadway. The firm name is "A. LUSSKIN & CO., Chemical Importers."

MINNIE FISHMAN, of 245 Fort Washington Avenue, New York City, is married to JACOB FISHMAN, and they have two children. They lived at the above address until September 21st, 1921, then moved to 710 River Side Drive, Corner 148th St. They receive very little mail.

The address of G. SARA 38 East 59th Street, New York City is a store, occupied by one HARRY GRUBER a tailor. Agent got in conversation with GRUBER Agent saying he was from the Board of Elections. HARRY GRUBER stated his wife's name was SARA, and came from Chicago, Ill., about 3 years ago. While in Chicago they lived at 3417 Broadway. At present they reside at 224 E. 67th Street. MR. GRUBER became a citizen March 23rd, 1905. He was naturalized at Superior Court County, Ill. They have three children.

ALVINA NITZKE, (should be NITSCHKE), of 314 W. 58th Street, New York City, has lived at this address for the past five years and is living there at present. The place is a rooming house. ALVINA NITZKE (or NITSCHKE) goes to work every day, and has a private mail

7-1169

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865

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409007

[Agent Report In] re: Alexander Ber[k]man - Anarchistic Activities, New York, 1922
March 22 / Michael J. Clafter [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice] -
3 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Agent Clafter describes his efforts to locate several people whose names appear in Berkman's address book.

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from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

RE: ALEXANDER BERGMAN

-3-

March 23, 1922.

Michael J. Clafter

box, and receives a quantity of mail, mostly first class. There is a man living with her, perhaps her brother, who is known as "BOB".

DOROTHY M., of 80 Grove Street, New York City, is known to be DOROTHY M. ABBOTT, either a wife or sister to LAWRENCE B. ABBOTT, a pronounced radical. DOROTHY M. has lived in this house for the past 5 or 6 years. It is a studio apartment house. She occupies one of the apartments.

IDA DIAMOND lives at 1056, 110e Avenue, Bronx, with a relative - DR. GOLDMAN. She receives very little mail.

7-1100

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866

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: An undisclosed agent reports that the Union of Russian Toilers protested against Goldman because she was publishing her anti-Soviet articles in the New York *World*.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible.

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|-------------------------------|
| REPORT MADE AT:
New York, N.Y. | DATE WHEN MADE:
Mar. 22, 1922 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
Mar. 16-19, 1922 | REPORT MADE BY:
[REDACTED] |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|-------------------------------|

62
md

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
**UNITED RUSSIAN PROFESSIONAL UNIONS
 INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST AID FEDERATION**

FACTS DEVELOPED:
19010
 At New York, N.Y.

Report re the above named subjects attached.

61-10

3/22/22
 [Signature]
 [Signature]

249 870
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 1-9-86 BY SP4 gln/ew

61-10-102
 MAR 22 1922
 RECORDED
 HOOPER
 J. M. B.

Washington 2: New York 2:

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867

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In] re: United Russian Professional Unions [and] International Anarchist Aid Federation, New York, 1922 March 22 [excerpt] / [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: An undisclosed agent reports that the Union of Russian Toilers protested against Goldman because she was publishing her anti-Soviet articles in the New York World.

Notes: Dark copy; barely legible.

Report [redacted]

New York, March 16-17, 1922.

In re: United Russian Professional Unions
International Anarchist Aid Federation. 19014

United Russian Toilers also protest
because she published her articles in

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868

The Emma Goldman Papers

870804006

[Letter] 1922 March 22 [London to Boylston A.] Beal [American Embassy, Department of State, London] / [G.] M. Liddell. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Liddell asks Beal for information on Stella Ballantine.

Notes: For response, see 870804004, 870804005, and 810617066.

Copy.

S.B. 18343/3

Scotland House,
S. W. 1.

22nd March, 1922.

Dear Mr. Beal:

Could you possibly give me any information about a lady of the name of "Stella" who in November last was residing at 36 Grove Street, New York? She was apparently corresponding freely with Emma Goldman prior to the latter's recent departure from Soviet Russia.

Yours sincerely,

C. M. LIDDELL.

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869

The Emma Goldman Papers

870804005

[Letter] 1922 March 23, London [to] W[illiam] L. Hurley [Office of the Under-secretary] Department of State, Washington, D.C. / B[oyleston] A. B[eal, American Embassy, Department of State]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

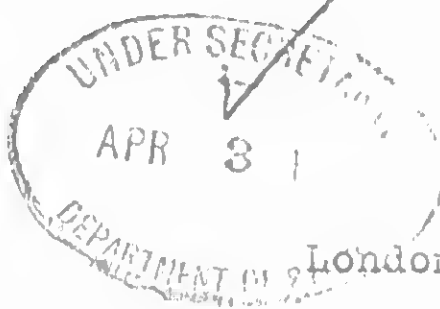
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Beal asks Hurley to send him information on Stella Ballantine.

Notes: For enclosure, see 870804006. For reply, see 810617066 and 870804004.

RETURN TO U.S.
FILE

811.01-302



London, March 23, 1922.

No. 1685.

Dear Bill:

Herewith a copy of a letter which has just come from our friends. Is "Stella" one of your best?

Yours ever,

B. A. B.

C. L. B.

U-2

W. L. Hurley, Esq.,

Department of State,

Washington, D. C.

Enclosure:

Capt. Liddell to Mr. Beal,
March 23, 1922.

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870

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Affidavit] 1923 March 23 [giving Emma Goldman's birth date] / T[au]be Goldman. —
1 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Summary: Taube Goldman signs an affidavit giving Emma Goldman's date and place of birth.

State of New York }
County of Monroe }----

Toby Goldman being duly sworn deposes and says
that she resides at 462 South Goodman Street in the City of
Rochester in said county and state. That she is the wife of
Abraham Goldman now deceased; that formerly she and said Abra-
ham Goldman lived in the City of Kowno, Lithuania.

Deponent further states that while residing
in said city of Kowno, she gave birth to a daughter, Emma Goldman,
on the 24th day of June 1870. That some years later the entire
family, including said daughter Emma migrated to the United States
of which country, deponent's husband Abraham Goldman became a
full fledged citizen according to due process of the law.

T. Goldman

Subscribed and sworn to before
me this 23 day of March 1922.

David Schoenberg
Notary Public.

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871

The Emma Goldman Papers

810403005

[Agent Report In re:] Rose or Riva Fleshin—Radical, Cleveland, Ohio [19]22 March 23 / Bliss Morton [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p.; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Agent Morton submits an undercover agent's report on Rose or Riva Fleshin's associations with Goldman and Berkman.

Notes: Reply to 870708029.

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from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811-01-304

RETURN TO U-H
FILE

| | | | | |
|---|---|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------|
| REPORT MADE AT:
Cleveland, Ohio | DATE WHEN MADE:
3/23/'22 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
3/23/'22 | REPORT MADE BY:
BLISS MORTON | 811.01-304 |
| TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
ROSE or RIVA FLESHIN- 2259 E. 73d St., ----- Radical.
Cleveland, Ohio | | | | |
| FACTS DEVELOPED:
At Cleveland, Ohio:-

The Bureau letter indicated below states subject's name and address was found in confidential papers of ALEXANDER BERKMAN. Agent has had a volunteer confidential operative make investigation concerning subject, and has received a rather complete report which is copied as follows:

"RIVA FLESHIN is the daughter of ISAAC FLESHIN, owner of THE ISAAC FLESHIN SCRAPIRON & METAL CO., 2259 East 73rd St., city. She is the oldest of MR. I. FLESHIN'S six children, (about 26 years old), and single. They are Russian Jews; emigrated to the United States, city of Cleveland, Ohio, ten years ago (1912) from the Russian State Samara (present famine district). Her occupation was general bookkeeper for her father; also, general housekeeping at home, for seven years, up to about one year ago, when she took up a course of bookkeeping at night school. Her other place of employment was at the Real Restaurant, 5612 Woodland Ave., up to the 10th of March, 1922, general help (6 months) for FLESHIN & HECKMAN (subject's mother and MRS. HECKMAN) At the above mentioned date the partnership was dissolved and MRS. HECKMAN is the present owner.

As to subject's citizenship, operative learned, that her father is a citizen.

Subject has a younger sister married, in town, to a Jew by the name of LEFKOWITZ. Her brother, second oldest in the family, SAM, left the United States about three and one-half years ago for Russia, to help in the Russian Revolution. At present he is a research department official in Petrograd Russia. He is sickly and is writing often to subject. Her younger brother married a short time ago, and moved to New York City.

As to her affiliation with radical organization, operative has to report that she is unknown in the Workers Party; also to the leaders who were connected with "The Toiler", etc., but as a matter of fact she is a radical of the most extreme type, and a very close friend of EMMA GOLDMAN, and ALEXANDER BERKMAN, who were deported to Russia. Her brother SAM was a friend of both, while in the United States, as well as in Russia before EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERKMAN left for Sweden.

SAM FLESHIN spent most of his time in New York (Greenwich Village, radical colony) with those radicals. Both subject and SAM | | | | |
| REFERENCE:
Mr. Hoover-2
Bureau letter
GPR-JR 3-1-22 | COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:
Wash:3; WL | | | |

7-1100

872

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Agent Report In re:] Rose or Riva Fleshin—Radical, Cleveland, Ohio [19]22 March 23 / Bliss Morton [Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 2 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Agent Morton submits an undercover agent's report on Rose or Riva Fleshin's associations with Goldman and Berkman.

Notes: Reply to 870708029.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

Agent Bliss Morton

3/23/'22

#2

In re: ROSE or RIVA FLESHIN - 2259 E. 73rd St.,
Radical. Cleveland, Ohio

are of the same type. SAM left Cleveland for Russia with EMMA GOLDMAN, ALEXANDER BERKMAN, and others, who gave him and others a send off in New York.

Subject is corresponding with ALEXANDER BERKMAN. The last long letter, operative learned, was received by subject from ALEXANDER BERKMAN from Stockholm, Sweden, last week. He wrote many letters about SAM, etc., after he passed the Russian frontier.

Subject has sent packets to her brother direct, who, as operative understands, is anxious to return, on account of his sickness (being five times wounded).

Subject has lived in Cleveland ten years. She is a very bright, intelligent, free thinking woman, the opposite of her parents, operative was told.

During EMMA GOLDMAN's lectures in Cleveland, on Birth Control, September, 1916, and previous to that time, subject was a close friend of EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

It will be remembered that EMMA GOLDMAN was arrested in New York City for her speech on birth control, February 8, 1916, and sentenced April 20, 1916, by Judges O'Keefe, Moss and Herbert to 15 days jail. BEN L. FITZMAN, M.D. her business manager (mother earth) was also arrested April 27, 1916, in this case. ALEXANDER BERKMAN (author of: "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist") was active during the labor strike in Homestead, Pa., 1892. Was at that time publishing "The Blast" with ELEANOR FITZGERALD at Frisco.

Property - one family house - 2259 E. 73rd St., and rear garages are owned by subject's father.

Subject is anxious for a general bookkeeping position. "

MATTER CLOSED.

873

The Emma Goldman Papers

870708041

[Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Shapiro, Wolff - Anarchistic Activities, Seattle, Wash: [19]22 March 24 / R.A. Darling [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. - 5 p.; 28 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Agent Darling submits the report of Confidential Agent F-54, who spoke with various anarchists in Home Colony, Washington, about Goldman and Berkman. He describes their disillusionment with Bolshevik Russia and their problems finding asylum. He suggests that the government help publicize the anarchists' attacks on Russia.

Notes: Broken type; light copy; portions illegible.

Attention of Mr. Hoover

1.

| | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|
| REPORT MADE AT
Seattle, Wash. | DATE WHEN MADE:
Mar. 24, '22 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
Mar. 9-22-1922 | REPORT MADE BY:
R. A. DARLING |
| TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
EMMA GOLDMAN - ALEXANDER BERKMAN
SHAPIRO - WOLFF | | ANARCHISTIC ACTIVITIES. | |
| FACTS DEVELOPED:
<p>4/12/22</p> <p>HOME COLONY, WASHINGTON:</p> <p>The following information is submitted herewith from Confidential Agent F-54:</p> <p>"Pursuant to instructions, Agent proceeded to HOME COLONY to locate information in re EMMA GOLDMAN, ALEXANDER BERKMAN, SHAPIRO and WOLFF, if same was to be found in private conversation or from private letters received from them. Agent went to and stopped with JAY FOM, well known anarchist, visiting amongst other anarchists and radicals living there, returning at noon on this date.</p> <p>"Of the first three above named anarchists - GOLDMAN, BERKMAN, and SHAPIRO - are all in Stockholm, very considerably troubled as to whether they will be permitted to remain there. This is a problem to them on three counts; first, that they are actively propagandizing anarchism wherever they are, and thus receive the hostility of the Swedish Government (or a part of it, since Sweden has a Socialist Premier); secondly, they might be put out of Sweden at any moment upon representations being made Sweden by the Soviet Government that they - GOLDMAN, BERKMAN and SHAPIRO - were enemies of the Soviet regime, and upon threatening intervention in the field of trade relations between Soviet Russia and Sweden. Their return to the hands of the Tcheka (Soviet Secret Police) might be effected. The Soviet state has become notorious for just such arrangements. Notably in the instance of the anarchist KHEIM, who was expelled from non-Soviet territory has recently been demanded by the Tcheka; and the thin coat which makes their continued stay on very precarious, in that every pro-Soviet influence in the Swedish labor movement and public opinion generally is being propagandized to make their expulsion from Sweden a cause celebre and thus 'embarrass' the party in power. In such a case so anarchists would be sure to find their lives in danger. It is expected that the Swedish Government will wish to their lives in or assassination by the Tcheka, as a way of not allowing their names to be used by the Tcheka as a means of propaganda. These are reported to be the reasons why the Swedish Government is so active in opposing to the Soviet Government, and why it can lay hands.</p> | | | |
| REFERENCE: | COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: | | |

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874

The Emma Goldman Papers

870708041

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Notes: Broken type; light copy; portions illegible.

R. A. Darling- March 2-12, 1922.

2.

"These three anarchists, as well as all or most others, are rapidly developing a 'holy terror' of the Russian communists. It can scarcely be doubted but that all three of them; or the first two, GOLDMAN and BERKMAN, would long since have been executed or assassinated while incarcerated within Soviet Russia, except for the Russian communists' belief that the 'European reaction' would have been too severe, as even prominent communists throughout Europe protested against their imprisonment and detainment in Russia. On sharp protest to LENIN, they were released and permitted to leave Russia on his personal orders, but this caused a considerable 'inside party quarrel' by the Tcheka's representations against it. As it was, on secret information lodged against them with either the Latvian or Lithuanian Government, GOLDMAN and BERKMAN were arrested in one or the other of these countries, and held incommunicado, the Tcheka having misrepresented the matter to the arresting government, that GOLDMAN and BERKMAN were 'spies against the Soviet'. Swedish business interests are reputed to be making enough money in trading with Soviet Russia to be favorably inclined toward whatever representations are made them by the Soviet, so that, as above stated, GOLDMAN and BERKMAN'S position is decidedly precarious in Stockholm.

"Upon severe examination and search, nothing incriminating on their part (as to documents, reports, etc.) against the Soviet being found upon them, the arresting government through which they had journeyed to reach Stockholm, released and permitted them to depart.

"It is the belief of anarchists with whom Agent conversed at HOME COLONY that, should they be expelled from Sweden, they will seek refuge in one or other of two places: London or Mexico. GOLDMAN is said to favor Mexico, as she imagines the 'social revolution' is due in the United States in a few years, and would like to be 'close at hand'. BERKMAN favors London.

"Both of these persons have come out of Soviet Russia with a good deal of information as to 'communist tyranny' towards all opponents and anarchists in particular. They immediately launched a tirade against the Soviet regime, appealing for 'assistance for imprisoned comrades' in Soviet jails, etc., claiming that of all prisoners, anarchists were the worst treated, that hundreds were starving, scores awaiting the death penalty, that 'bolshevism' and 'counter-revolution' charges were the weapons universally used by the Tcheka and communist party in Russia against anarchists.

"This indicates somewhat a return on the part of the Soviet state to the Right, that is to say, to the principle of order and regulated social control. On the part of the anarchists and 'left wing' elements opposed to state control of the free world, it indicates the lines of their future propaganda, which will be against Soviet Russia and the Russian Communist Party. It is on the basis of the reports received by the U.S. and U.K. that

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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R. A. Darling—March 9-22, 1922.

3.

All left wing groups not affiliated with either the COMMUNIST THIRD INTERNATIONAL, the RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL or the official COMMUNIST PARTIES elsewhere, a big 'drive' in hostile criticism, extreme scepticism, and, presumably, in the near future, forms of active opposition will be made by all such groups against all and everything known as 'communistic', especially will it be directed against the COMMUNIST PARTY OF RUSSIA, THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL and THE RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL.

"In this connection, this Agent desires to include the following suggestion, one based upon observation of the effect the protestations and charges made by GOLDMAN and BERKMAN have already had amongst the radical world generally. Such charges and protests by persons as prominent as these two (and others, such as the reports of the I.W.O.'s delegate to the RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL, GEORGE WILLIAMS - an exceedingly hostile and adverse report), - these should be examined carefully by competent officials and given the widest circulation through the press; for nothing known to this Agent causes or can cause such consternation, divisions, splits, mutual back-biting, group hostility throughout the radical world as publicity of their own antagonisms.

"The recent brochure issued by the Headquarters of the I.W.O. in Chicago, entitled 'THE WORKERS' OPPOSITION', an emanation from the pen of ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI, formerly and for three years, chief commissar of 'Social Service and Russian Women's Relief' (the soviet bureau supervising prostitution, the social evil generally and much 'social relief' work), is an example. This document is 'from the inside' of the very communist policy. It illustrates what a bureaucracy has developed under the soviet regime, how affairs are handicapped, oppressed, defeated through insufferable (in her words, at least) red tape; how the 'real workers' are cheated of the 'rights of self initiative' and 'self government'; how graft, favoritism, inefficiency is universal throughout the regions of soviet control, and is a direct appeal to the scepticism and even active opposition of the radical world against the dictatorship of the COMMUNIST PARTY IN RUSSIA.

"Competent examination and culling from this brochure and from similar reports, given wide publicity through, say, an institution like the Associated Press, would tend to destroy and minimize the hitherto fanatical support of the radical world towards soviet Russia, that support very conceivably being sufficient to affect American foreign policy towards soviet Russia, or at least to sway our government's officials. Not all of such reports should be republished, be sure, but competent selection should be made, as, already, the whole element has so split, and will continue to split radical support and even interest in communistic Russia as those which are coming out of Russia from the mouths and pens of outstanding radicals, of whatever school.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870708041

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R. A. Darling- March 9-22, 1932.

4.

"In the above connection, the last issue of 'THE DAWN', a new anarchist weekly publication in Seattle, is illustrative. (Refer to report of Agent Darling, entitled 'The Dawn' under date of March 25, 1932). It contains an article signed 'X.Y.Z'. 'X.Y.Z' is ^{BERMAN}BERMAN, and he assumed this anonymity because of the danger an article would subject him to while still within Soviet Russia. It should be sifted, selected and given publicity. The article was brought out of Russia (before BERMAN came out) by a 'wobbly delegate', presumably by some delegate of the I.W.W. at the RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL.

"GOLDMAN and BERMAN (as well as SHAPIRO) and anarchists in Europe, at their recent 'international congress' in Berlin, formed, secretly, the program of 'infiltration of the trade unions of the world.' This was three fold in its purpose: to spread the propaganda of anarchism amongst wage workers universally, to destroy the Red TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL'S chances of capturing the trade unions, and to sabotage and upset government and industry generally by working through the 'economic forces' of trade unions, planning active support to all and every strike movement with a view to achieving a 'general international strike' at the earliest date possible. This word from their congress has gone forth to the anarchists of the entire world, and will tend to bring about that 'unity of action' of all red forces within the trade unions, and of which, below, more will be covered apropos W. Z. FOSTER'S latest move, the THE TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE.

"At their Congress, the question of where to locate their 'international central offices' caused much debate and thought, some speaking for Berlin, some for London, and most for Stockholm, which latter city was finally chosen, 'because of our strong support there.' This evidently means that the anarchist movement and the anarcho-syndicalist unionism of Sweden has a strong hold upon the government.

"The general tone of the Congress was for 'organization' as anarchists, something rather foreign to anarchists hitherto, and indicating the great jealousy and envy the spectacle of left wing socialists controlling a great state - Russia - has created in the hearts of anarchists generally. In other words, their itch for power feeds upon the phenomenon of Soviet Russia and its Communist Party to such an extent that even anarchists are willing to 'organize', adapt, recognize and identify themselves as an 'official organization', a brand new departure for anarchists, since the historic split between ^{LEE}LEE and ^{BARONIN}BARONIN over the Paris Commune and the former International.

"It indicated, too, a tendency (such as has always potential amongst anarchists hitherto) to, if not repudiate, at least to no longer stress their 'propaganda by deed', political assassination,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

870708041

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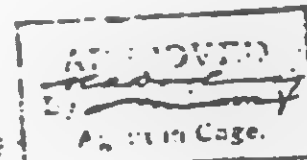
R. A. Darling, March 9-22, 1922.

5.

in short, substituting for it, propaganda amongst trade unionists and wage workers generally. This gives anarchism a new angle, and, as will be covered below, relates them to the trade unions in a manner largely foreign to America hitherto; tending, in short, to the development of an anarcho-syndicalistic spirit here as against the trade unions (as they exist at present) and the I.W.O.

"Of WOLFF nothing was ascertained, and the opportunity and advisability for extensive inquiry did not present itself."

Investigation Continued.



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878

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409001

[Agent Report In re:] C. Beu, General Information, Kansas City, Mo. [19]22 March 25 / Ed Portley [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 3 p.; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Agent Portley describes his efforts to find several people whose names appear in Berkman's address book.

Notes: C. Beu is Ben Capes.

C O P Y
from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

| | | | |
|--|---|---|-------------------------------|
| REPORT MADE AT:
Kansas City, Mo. | DATE WHEN MADE:
March 25, '22 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
March 24, '22 | REPORT MADE BY:
Ed Portley |
| TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
C. BEU :613 Jackson Street, Topeka, Kansas | | | |
| FACTS DEVELOPED:
At Kansas City, Missouri.
Agent was handed by Special Agent in Charge, Schmitz, a letter from the Director dated March 1, 1922, G.F.R. of which the following is a copy:
"The following names and addresses were obtained from the confidential papers of the Anarchist, Alexander Berkman, who was deported from this country -
Beu C. 613 Jackson St., Topeka, Kansas.
Rose J (or F) 274 Mercer St., Kansas City.
Kate, Box 47, Jefferson City, Mo.
I desire that you make a complete and thorough confidential investigation of the above mentioned individuals and advise me in great detail as to same.
Prompt attention to this matter is desired."
Agent was instructed to go to Topeka, Kansas and make investigation as required towards locating Subject.
<u>AT TOPEKA, KANSAS.</u>
Agent examined the City Directories of Topeka for the past 5 years, and found no record therein of Subject.
Agent interviewed the Superintendent of Mails, but found no record of Subject, also interviewed GEORGE RENTER, Jr, who delivers the mail at 613 Jackson Street, he has delivered mail at that address for 4 years, and does not remember ever having any mail for a person of such name.
Agent finds that 613 Jackson Street is the Grand Opera House, there are two suits of rooms in the house on the second | | | |
| REFERENCE: | COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:
2 copies Chicago | | |

RECEIVED
811.01-304

UNDER SECRETARY
APR 1 1922
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

card
all names
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The Emma Goldman Papers

810409001

[Agent Report In re:] C. Beu, General Information, Kansas City, Mo. [19]22 March 25 / Ed Portley [Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice].— 3 p.; 34 × 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: Agent Portley describes his efforts to find several people whose names appear in Berkman's address book.

Notes: C. Beu is Ben Capes.

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from
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Record Group No. 59

General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

Ed Portley

March 25, 1922.

Page 2.

and third floors at front. L. M. CRAWFORD, the owner of the Opera House occupied these rooms until September, 1919, when he leased the second floor to a MRS. BEN CAPES. The third floor was rented to the following persons since MR. CRAWFORD vacated. MRS. T. SCHUTES, MRS. ENGELS, JOHN FUNK.

Agent interviewed L.M. CRAWFORD, MRS. SCHUTES, MRS. ENGELS and JOHN FUNK, they never knew or heard of Subject, or any person who would likely to be masquerading under such a name.

Agent finds that MRS. BEN CAPES got a lease on the rooms in September 1919. She lived prior to that time at 312 East 12th Street, Topeka, Kansas. Little is known of her at either place, only that her husband was alleged to be a traveling salesman, who seldom appeared. Agent was informed at the Superintendent of Mails Office that 613 Jackson was the last address of MRS. BEN CAPES, and no forwarding order had been left.

Agent again appealed to the Carrier on said route, who stated that since MRS. CAPES left 613 Jackson Street he delivered her mail to the TROOP HOTEL. At the Troop Hotel Agent was informed that MRS. BEN CAPES lived there a short time, and since she left they have been forwarding her mail to 325 Adams Street, Chicago, Illinois.

Agent desired to place MRS. BEN CAPES, for the reason that the name C. BEU may be Ben Capes, with given and Sir names reversed for illustration. The name Kate Box 47, Jefferson City, Missouri, appears in Director's letter, this evidently was KATE RICHARDS

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880

The Emma Goldman Papers

810409001

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THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

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General Records of the Department of State
Office of the Counselor, File No. 811.01-304

Ed Portley

March 25, 1922

Page 3.

O'HARE, who was then in Jefferson City Penitentiary.

It may be possible that the names given and herein quoted may be the given names and not the surnames.

It is possible that Subject may have been identified with the many travelling show troops who have made Topeka, Kansas, getting their mail in route, and in care of the show.

CLOSED UNLESS OTHERWISE ORDERED.

EP:K

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881

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 March 25, New York [to Harry M.] Daugherty, Attorney General [Department of Justice], Washington, D.C. / R. McGlaughlin. - 1 p.; 34 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.

Summary: McGlaughlin asks the attorney general if he can stop publication of Goldman's articles in the New York World.

Notes: For reply, see 891216009.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

186233-13

The National Association of Book Publishers

334 Fifth Avenue, New York

Telephone VANDERBILT 7440

President J. W. HILTMAN
President of D. Appleton & Co.

Secretary FRANK C. DODD
Treasurer of Dodd, Mead & Co.

Treasurer ALEXANDER GROSSET
President of Grosset & Dunlap

Vice-Presidents

JOHN MACRAE, Vice-President of E. P. Dutton & Co.

CHARLES C. SHOEMAKER, President of Penn Publishing Co.

OGDEN T. MCCLURG, President of A. C. McClurg & Co.

ALFRED R. MCINTYRE, Vice-President of Little, Brown & Co.

FREDERIC G. MELCHER, Executive Secretary

Mr. Mr. Daugherty
Attorney General
Washington D.C.

3/20/22



RECORDED

March 25. 1922

MAR 31 1922

186233-13

MAR 27 1922

See 133149

CRIM. FISHER. RE. INVESTIGATION

Dear Sir! I don't know if it is within your province or not - to stop the publication of articles in a New York paper by Emma Goldman.

It seems to me that any true American will, without seeing even the name of Goldman, we know what a menace she was to this country for so many years & we know that this is just propaganda to pave the way for her coming back to this country - as this newspaper puts it - 'she has a change of heart' it looks to me as if the paper was aiding her scheme to get back here.

I simply bring this to your attention & must apologize for trespassing upon your time.

R. McGlaughlin

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882

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1922 March 27, New York [to William J. Burns] Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Edward J. Brennan, Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Brennan sends Burns copies of Goldman's articles in the New York World.

OFFICE OF
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

TELEPHONE, BARCLAY 8160
POST OFFICE BOX 241
CITY HALL STATION

Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation

15 PARK ROW, 14TH FLOOR
NEW YORK, N. Y.

CJS-JTD.

61-291

March 27, 1922.

Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

General Intelligence Division

IN RE: EMMA GOLDMAN
Anarchist Activities.

Dear Sir:

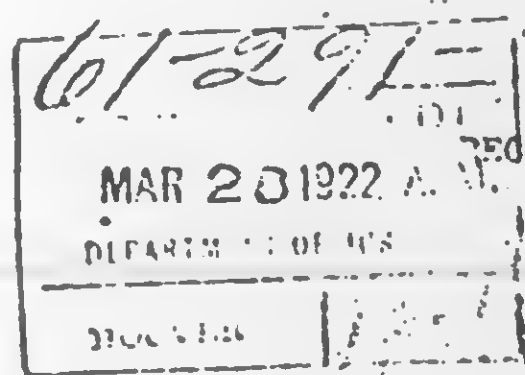
I am attaching clippings from the New York World of March 26th and 27th, articles by Emma Goldman, which are self explanatory.

Yours very truly,

Edward J. Brennan
EDWARD J. BRENNAN
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE.

Rec'd - 9/10/51

ENC. 3-25-12
3-29-22 W



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883

The Emma Goldman Papers

[General Intelligence Report?, 19]22 March 27 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] / [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.
Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Quoting from the advertising campaign, the Bureau of Investigation reports that the *Detroit Times* will print Goldman's articles on Soviet Russia.

P-3

3/27/22

(4)(7)(C)

RUSSIAN AFFAIRS IN THE UNITED STATES AND ABROAD.

The *Detroit Times* has announced, that beginning March 27, 1922, this paper will publish a series of articles proving "Bolshevism in Collapse", by Emma Goldman. Advertising the appearance of these articles, the *Times* states:

" Emma Goldman departed from this country as a dangerous anarchist, entered Russia with high hopes. She was initiated into the mystic circle of Russia's mad rulers. No secrets were kept from her. An anarchist when she went there - an anarchist now - she writes from a temporary haven in Sweden this extraordinary expose of the Lenine-Trotsky rules which instead of building up a new Russia on the ashes of the old, has brutalized, starved, basely subjugated and made degenerate, a nation of 167,000,000 people. She has drawn aside the curtain of lying propaganda and has bared the wicked truth. A self-confessed anarchist tells of anarchistic crime that even she found revolting.

7-1166

884

The Emma Goldman Papers

In Russia She Longs For Jail — 28 cm. In [Los Angeles] Daily Times (March 29, 1922) / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The Los Angeles Daily Times prints the report of Alexander Schwartz, who returned from a visit to Soviet Russia quite disillusioned. Schwartz describes his meeting with Goldman in Russia.

Notes: Portions illegible. Two shots of one page.

Daily Times

MARCH 29, 1922 — (PART II)

IN RUSSIA SHE LONGS FOR JAIL.

*Prefers American Prison to
Life With Reds.*

*Emma Goldman's Regrets
Are Told by Traveler.*

*American Communist Cured
by Visit to Slavs.*

Emma Goldman, the anarchist who was deported with 100 other "undesirables" by the Federal government, and who is now in Russia, declares that she "would rather be in prison in America than free in Russia," according to M. Alexander Schwartz, who spoke yesterday at the noon luncheon of the City Club on "Russia from the Inside."

Mr. Schwartz said that he went with his wife to Russia as a Socialist, enthusiastic over the governmental experiment there, but after studying at first hand the actual workings of the Bolshevik regime, he has returned to this country, thoroughly cured of any belief in the soundness of the Communist rule. Mr. Schwartz said, in part:

"When I landed in Russia, the first person I wanted to talk to was Emma Goldman. I wanted to find out from her what she thought of Soviet Russia. I found her cooking soup. It looked good and I said so. 'Oh,' said Emma, 'that's not Soviet soup. That's American soup. I brought over a few cans with me.'"

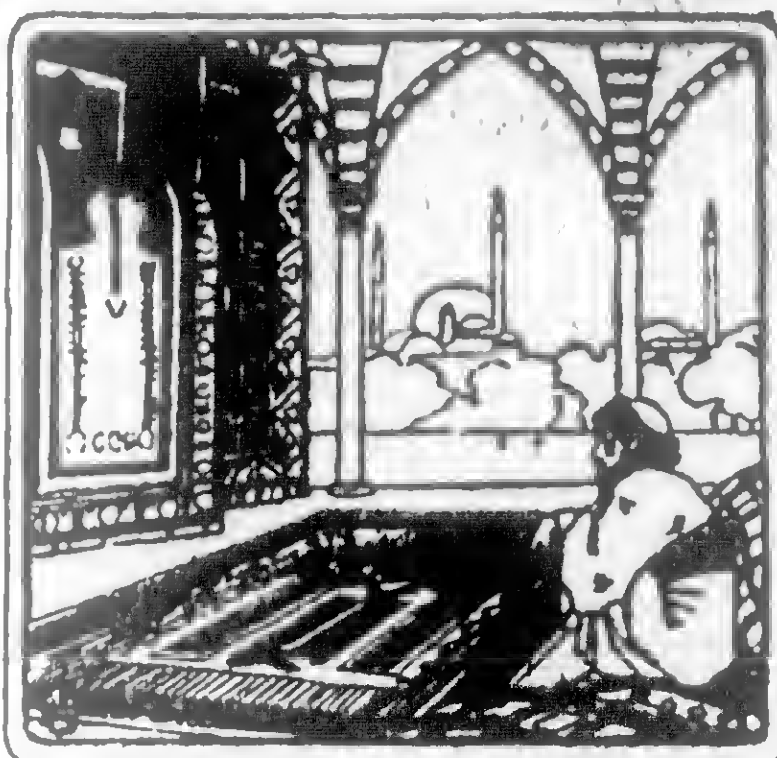
TELLS OF MISERY.

"And then she told me of the miseries of life there, and said she would rather be in prison in the United States than free in Russia."

"What I saw in Russia has made a 100 per cent American out of me," Mr. Schwartz continued. "For speaking frankly of the terrible conditions I saw in Russia, my wife and I were thrown into prison and my wife died as the result of her experiences, and lies buried there."

"My advice to the nations of the world is to stay out of Russia, and let that country work out its own salvation."

"There is no free speech, free assembly, free discussion, free press."



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The Emma Goldman Papers

In Russia She Longs For Jail — 28 cm. In [Los Angeles] Daily Times (March 29, 1922) / [author unknown].

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 59.

Summary: The Los Angeles Daily Times prints the report of Alexander Schwartz, who returned from a visit to Soviet Russia quite disillusioned. Schwartz describes his meeting with Goldman in Russia.

Notes: Portions illegible. Two shots of one page.

With Roberts marriage
not except when his wife
to his injecting a little
to life, according to a
divorce begun yesterday by
the Smith Roberts. Mr.
the complaint states
a great deal of his wife
and give her little love
and then to prove it,
so bestowed the pinches
and on others, it is

ing to Mrs Roberts's suit,
and had a faculty of pay-
on to other women. When
alled and at their house-
soon after their mar-
e found him attempting
the guests.
complaint states that the
ere married on Mt Lowe,
7, last, and separated in

and Under Drug Law
to Basoco was sentenced
months' imprisonment yester-
noon by Police Judge
on a charge of selling
The narcotic peddler
ted by State Pharmacy
Boden and Detective
Tom O'Brien at North
d Franklin streets Mon-
be taken to deport him
served his sentence, an-
aid.

ornamental experiment there, but
after studying at first hand the
actual workings of the Bolshevik
regime, he has returned to this
country, thoroughly cured of any
beliefs in the soundness of the Com-
munist rule. Mr. Schwartz said,
in part:

"When I landed in Russia, the
first person I wanted to talk to
was Emma Goldman. I wanted
to find out from her what she
thought of soviet Russia. I found
her cooking soup. It looked good
and I said so. 'Oh,' said Emma,
'that's not soviet soup. That's
American soup. I brought over a
few cans with me.'

TELLS OF MISERY.

"And then she told me of the
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terrible conditions I saw in Rus-
sia, my wife and I were thrown
into prison and my wife died as
the result of her experiences, and
has buried there.

"My advice to the nations of the
world is to stay out of Russia,
and let that country work out its
own salvation.

"There is no free speech, free
assembly, free discussion, free press
or religious liberty in Russia to-
day. The Communist party is Rus-
sia's God, and Lenin is simply
trying to save his own soul now
by opening the doors a little and
permitting harter and exchange
because the people demanded it.

GET FREE BREAD.

"The 144,000 Communists in
Russia are remaining there hold on
the government simply because
they receive bread from the gov-
ernment, while the 144,000,000
other Russians suffer if the leading
nations of the world should attempt
to interfere in Russia. Lenin and
Trotsky and the other Communists
would raise the cry that the cap-
italists are trying to crush Russia,
and this would arouse the pres-
ent indifference men to Russia's
deaths, so I say to the nations of
the world, stay out of Russia.

"There is no government, no
law, no order the streets in the
cities are in a total state of ap-
proar and on every side is star-
vation and decay. I traveled all
over Russia, and I was unable to
find a single person who would
say a good word for the Communist
government. An American con-
sult place is worth 2000 Russian
rubles, so you can see what Rus-
sian money is worth.

"I know there is propaganda get-
ting on here in the United States
in favor of soviet Russia. When
a man begins to talk against
our government, and the glories of
free Russia, I would not imprison
him, but I would send him to Rus-
sia. In six months he would be
back in the United States and
would be, I guarantee, a 100 per
cent American."

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tful Specimens in a Wide Variety of Weav-
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Barker B
ESTABLISHED 19

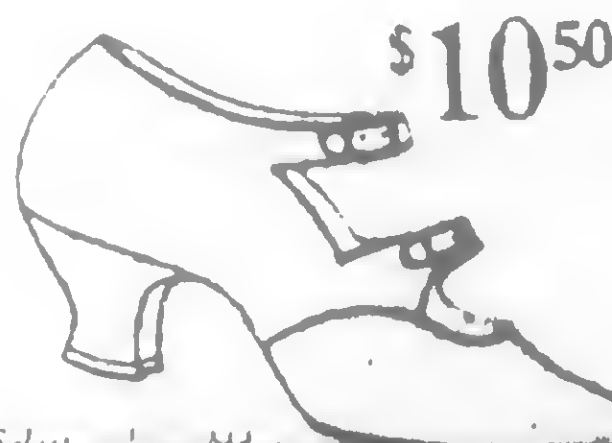
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WETHERBY-KA

New Spring Ar

In Distinctive V

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Many
Styles

combin

The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1922 March 29, New York [to William J. Burns] Director, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. / Edward J. Brennan, Agent in Charge, Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation via FOIA.

Summary: Brennan sends Burns copies of Goldman's articles in the New York World.

OFFICE OF
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

CJS-JTD.

Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation

15 PARK ROW, 14TH FLOOR

NEW YORK, N. Y.

March 29, 1922.

TELEPHONE, BARCLAY 8160
POST OFFICE BOX 241
CITY HALL STATION

Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

In Re: Articles by Emma Goldman.
New York World.

Dear Sir:

General Intelligence Division.

I am attaching herewith articles by Emma Goldman
appearing in the New York World of March 28th and 29th.

Yours very truly,

Edward J. Brennan
EDWARD J. BRENNAN
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE.

APR 4 1922

61-291-80
RECORDED

MAR 30 1922

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887

The Emma Goldman Papers

891216009

[Letter] 1922 March 30 [Washington, D.C. to] R. McGlaughlin, New York / W[illiam] J. Burns, Director [Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice]. — 1 p. ; 34 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 60.
Summary: Burns explains to McGlaughlin that he cannot legally interfere with the publication of Goldman's articles in the New York World.
Notes: Dark copy. Reply to 891216010.

COPY

from

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVE

Record Group No. 60

Records of the Department of Justice
Central File Number 186233-13 (Section 3)

186233-13-263

GFR, JR.

186233-13-263

MAR 31 1922

March 30, 1922.

Mr. R. McGlaughlin,
The National Association of Book Publishers,
534 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Dear Sir:

By reference from the Attorney General,
your communication of the 25th instant with regard to
the publication of articles in the New York papers
by EMMA GOLDMAN, has come to my attention.

Under the existing Federal legislation,
it is impossible for this Department to take any action
with regard to the publication of these articles.

Yours very truly,

W. J. Burns
Director

RECORDED H

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888

The
Emma
Goldman
Papers

A Microfilm Edition

Reel 65

Government Documents

December 23, 1919 to March 31, 1922

Edited by
Candace Falk
Ronald J. Zboray
and
Daniel Cornford

Government Documents Editor:
Alice Hall

CHADWYCK-HEALEY INC.

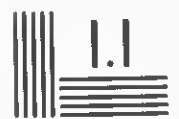
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Cambridge, England

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